

Liberty

June 2000

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Child
Torture
in America

Hillary, Newt, and Little Elián

by Gene Healy

The Drug Czar Takes a Hit

by Paul Rako

Congress Doesn't Rate

by J. Bishop Grewell

A Dumber Shade of Green?

by Jane S. Shaw

Gun Rights From A to Z

by Brien Bartels

Also: R.W. Bradford celebrates the greatness of Thomas Szasz, George Hollenback looks at Afrocentrist mathematics, Martin Tyrrell looks at the war that gave the world Hitler, Stalin and Roosevelt ... plus other articles, reviews & humor.



"It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose Liberty." — Francis Bacon

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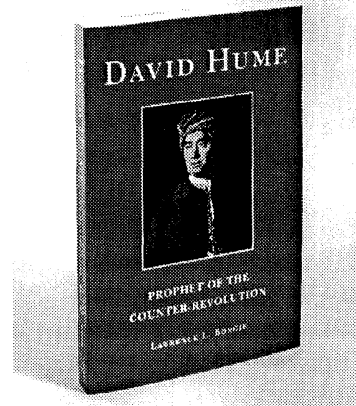
DAVID HUME

Prophet of the Counter-revolution

Second Edition

By Laurence L. Bongie

Foreword by Donald Livingston



Though usually Edmund Burke is identified as the first to articulate the principles of a modern conservative political tradition, arguably he was preceded by a Scotsman who is better known for espousing a brilliant concept of skepticism. As Laurence Bongie notes, "David Hume was undoubtedly the eighteenth-century British writer whose works were most widely known and acclaimed on the Continent during the later Enlightenment period. Hume's impact [in France] was of undeniable importance, greater even for a time than the related influence of Burke, although it represents a contribution to French counter-revolutionary thought which, unlike that of Burke, has been almost totally ignored by historians to this day." The bulk of Bongie's work consists of the writings of French readers of Hume who were confronted, first, by the ideology of human perfection and, finally, by the actual terrors of the French Revolution. Offered in French in the original edition of *David Hume* published by Oxford University Press in 1965, these vitally important writings have been translated by the author into English for the Liberty Fund second edition. In his foreword, Donald Livingston observes that "If conservatism is taken to be an intellectual critique of the first attempt at modern total revolution, then the first such event was not the French but the Puritan revolution, and the first systematic critique of this sort of act was given by Hume."

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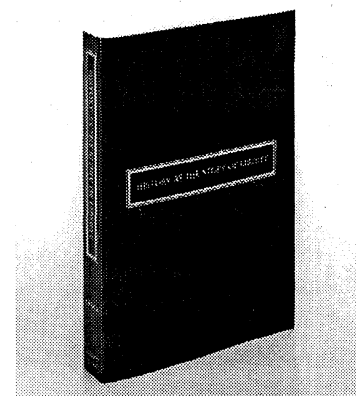
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HISTORY AS THE STORY OF LIBERTY

By Benedetto Croce

Translated by Sylvia Sprigge

Foreword by Claes G. Ryn



Benedetto Croce (1866–1952) is perhaps best known as the author, in 1902, of *Aesthetics*, a work of enduring influence. *History as the Story of Liberty* was written in 1938 when the Western world had succumbed to the notion that history is a creature of blind force. A reviewer at the time noted the importance of Croce's belief that "the central trend in the evolution of man is the unfolding of new potentialities, and that the task of the historian is to discover and emphasize this trend: the story of liberty." As Croce himself writes, "Even in the darkest and crassest times liberty trembles in the lines of poets and affirms itself in the pages of thinkers and burns, solitary and magnificent, in some men who cannot be assimilated by the world around them." The first edition in English of *History as the Story of Liberty* appeared in London in 1941. The new Liberty Fund edition includes modest improvements to the translation by Folke Leander and arranged by Claes Ryn.

Preface, foreword, index.

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Inside Liberty

June 2000
Volume 14, Number 6

4 Letters A bully pulpit indeed.

7 Reflections Liberty's editors take stock in hysteria, take note of good and evil in England, take aim at mis-named "liberals," take a look at Al Gore's grades . . .

Features

17 A Sage at Eighty R.W. Bradford celebrates the ninth decade of Thomas Szasz.

19 Hillary, Newt, and Elian Gene Healy explains why children rights' activist Hillary Clinton wants to send little Elián back to his father and parents' rights advocate Newt Gingrich does not . . . and why the case is such a difficult one.

23 The Drug Czar Takes a Hit Paul Rako takes a close look at Drug War Chief Barry McCaffrey's case against drug legalization.

29 The Messy Business of Rating Congress In baseball, you can't tell the players without a scorecard. In Congress, J. Bishop Grewell explains, you can't tell the players *with* a scorecard.

32 Plagiarism on the Nile George Hollenback examines the Afrocentrist claim that the Greeks stole their mathematics from black Egyptians.

35 Childhood Isn't a Bowl of Cherries Psychologist Dolores Puterbaugh observes parents tying up their kids, force-feeding them, and drugging them, and wonders: what will these kids be like when they grow up?

37 Back Where You Came From A bureaucrat learns how the other half lives. A short story by Scott Gossard.

Reviews

41 A Dumber Shade of Green? Jane Shaw examines a conservative manifesto on environmentalism.

43 The Origin and Consequences of the First World War Martin Tyrrell takes a close look at a new book on the war that gave us the triumph of communism and naziism.

46 Straight Shooting Reference This new gun encyclopedia isn't perfect, but it's full of useful information, opines Brien Bartels.

47 Thieves Take, Minds Make Bettina Bien Greaves looks at a new book on the relationship of ideas to rights.



54 Notes on Contributors Who we are.

54 Terra Incognita The real world, really.

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Letters

A Simple Explanation

I hate to disappoint Jerome Tuccille, but I don't have a candlelit shrine to Ronald Reagan in my house. Like most libertarians, I have a healthy skepticism towards politicians. In fact, one joke I like to tell is that my favorite spectator sport is "Pile on the president! Pile on the president!" But I am very careful not to specify which president.

Nor were my motives for reviewing *It Still Begins With Ayn Rand* "diabolical." I have a deep interest in libertarian history and greatly enjoyed *It Usually Begins With Ayn Rand* when I read it a few years ago. So when I heard about a sequel, I asked to review it. I bear no personal animus towards Tuccille (whom I have never met). My goal in the review was simply to tell *Liberty's* readers that a writer who has written so many good books came out with a pretty awful one.

Martin Morse Wooster
Silver Spring, Md.

The Author of Liberty

I agree with the two lessons that R. W. Bradford found in the Hillsdale scandal ("Learning from Hillsdale," May). I'd like to add a third; The moral or other failure of Christian or libertarian individuals does not constitute proof of the incorrectness of their views, but only of the weakness of their characters.

Unfortunately, just as some Christians paint this tragedy as evidence that libertarianism doesn't fit well with Christianity, some libertarians see it as evidence that Christianity is incompatible with liberty.

In his letter (May), Robert Markley portrays Christianity as an enemy of science, enlightenment and liberty. He's wrong on all three points. Christianity places a very high value on knowledge, as witnessed by its preservation of much of ancient knowledge during the Dark Ages (caused not by Christianity,

but by the moral and political meltdown of Imperial Rome). Christianity affirms the basic postulates which make scientific inquiry possible, such as the existence of a rational, objective reality and the possibility of human understanding of it (many, if not most, pioneers of science were believers). And Christianity promotes liberty in theory (and led to it in practice) by insisting on a higher God-given basis for the unalienable rights of man. Indeed, in the final analysis, I believe this is the only sure bulwark for liberty.

It is, of course, true that many medieval Christians, like modern ones and people generally, committed acts of stupidity and cruelty, especially those who held positions of power and authority. Along with Markley, I'd affirm that any version of religion that rejects science, the Enlightenment and liberty is wrong and that organized religion, like the state, must be viewed with Actonian suspicion. However, I reject his claim that *all* religion is, by definition, antithetical to these values. In fact, one good test for religion is how well it upholds these human needs. I'd assert that Christianity properly understood passes this test, to say the least.

As a Christian who is also a libertarian sympathizer, I have both a warning and a promise to offer. If libertarians leave God out of the picture, they will fail to secure liberty for themselves and those they love. And there is a very large audience for the message that God is the author of liberty and not only wants us to be free, but has designed reality in such a way that freedom works best.

Steve Sawyer
Fountain Hills, Ariz.

In Defense of Homeschooling

Liberty has published one of the most amazing — even preposterous —

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and cowardly (because anonymous) swipes at home-schoolers.

Pages 31-32 of the February 2000 *Liberty* say:

This points to another problem Hillsdale faces: its student body. Hillsdale may manipulate the students' lives, but many of the students like it that way. An active recruiter of home-schoolers, Hillsdale attracts the sort of students who have led intellectually cloistered lives, being taught comfortable traditions rather than challenging ideas. Many of these students arrive believing, for instance, that Genesis is the literal truth, and that evolution is a hoax. Roche himself wrote an entire chapter in his book *A World Without Heroes* attacking Darwin's theory of evolution.

He goes on to say:

... tradition, dogma, authoritarianism, are central to Hillsdale College. And the students who are willing to accept that are intellectually docile, much like medieval peasants. And this is why so many Hillsdale professors praise the Middle Ages, as a time when people "knew their place." Hillsdale education stops before the nineteenth century begins — read Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas and Adam Smith — but no Foucault, no Derrida, and no Darwin.

I think that I have hardly ever read anything so uninformed and outright inane. Even though I read a lot of things about home-schooling from various political views, including the hard left at times, I scarcely find such bald and baseless insinuations or attacks. Of course there are exceptions, but home-schoolers are widely recognized for having exceptional academic achievement and ability.

My wife and I have home-schooled our children for over eight years with considerable success. None of them has ever attended a public or private school. Yet they are all socially adroit, enjoy neighborhood sports, skiing, swimming, and chess, and are computer-competent for their ages.

Our kids also excel academically,

and are perfectly bilingual (English and Spanish) and are learning French to boot. Our two oldest boys read for pleasure for 2 or 3 hours a day (we do not have a television). The kids do receive strong "tradition" in their education but they are not isolated from opposing or a liberal dose of different views. Of course, I must admit that my children are ages 3 to 11 and the oldest is only in 9th grade. Thus, there is not as much discussion of conflicting premises as there will be later. The younger ones

especially do not find much need to discuss different theories of cursive writing or whether $3 + 3$ is really 6, and we do not encourage such debate.

I know some home-schooling families who are less successful than ours, but I see a general tendency towards betterment and success in all of them. One young lady we know well has been a straight A student at a secular Texas college for two years and has received a full scholarship. She was home-schooled by Genesis-believing, Baptist

From the Editor . .

Editing each issue of *Liberty* is a bit like preparing the menu at a fine restaurant. You see what's in season, find fine chefs to prepare it, present it in the most attractive way you can and hope it satisfies the tastes and pleases the intellectual palates of your patrons.

This month we had hoped have as our featured entrée an investigation into the charges that Jacob Hornberger of the Future of Freedom Foundation has leveled against Harry Browne and the leadership of the Libertarian Party. Martin Solomon, Peter Gillen and I have examined thousands of pages of documents, interviewed dozens of people, and assembled a huge amount of information. But as deadline loomed, gaps in the story remained and our conclusions remained tentative. We decided the story would not be ready in time for publication in this issue.

Happily, our editors and contributors were more successful in preparing their entrées than were we, resulting in a *Liberty* with something to satisfy every appetite for fine intellectual cuisine. Consider the following . . .

The case of Elián González has had some genuinely weird effects. Child rights advocate Hillary Clinton, who normally is happy to snatch kids from their parents, is strangely silent. Meanwhile, Newt Gingrich, normally an advocate of parents' rights, calls for keeping the little boy away from his father. Gene Healy sorts through the issues, where he discovers some important truths for libertarians.

Somehow, Paul Rako got hold of Gen. Barry McCaffrey's case against drug legalization. He got off his motorcycle long enough to examine the Drug Warrior-in-Chief's argument. This is Paul's first contribution to our pages since his celebrated "Letter to the President."

Last month, we offered David Boaz's Congressional scorecard; this month we offer Bishop Grewell's case against Congressional scorecards. George Hollenback checks out claims that the Greeks stole their math from the black Egyptians. Dolores Puterbaugh takes a look at the consequences of the sad fact Americans are so busy these days that they tie their children up for hours at a time. Scott Gossard tells the story of a bureaucrat getting his just desserts.

In our book review section, Jane Shaw takes a close look at a conservative manifesto about the environment. Martin Tyrrell examines a new book about World War I, the great war that led to communism, nazism, and massive growth of the state even in the countries that managed to avoid totalitarianism. Bettina Bien Greaves reviews a new book on how the world works, Brien Bartels examines an encyclopedia on guns and gun rights, and Richard Kostelanetz trolls the net for rare books.

And as always, we lead with an appetizer cart full of *Reflections*, from regulars like Steve Cox, David Boaz, Bart Kosko, Tim Slagle, Alan Bock . . . to amuse, inform and stimulate your intellectual appetite!

R. W. Bradford

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parents with little more than high school diplomas.

Moreover, not believing Darwin hardly makes one cloistered intellectually. After all, many academics and scientists — some of whom do not accept Genesis as "literal truth" — also reject Darwin. Think of Berkeley's Paul Johnson or Lehigh's Michael Behe, to name just two of the more prominent ones. Roche (despite his sins) is neither singular nor academically loony on account of his views on Darwin. So far as I know, no one has refuted biochemist Behe's claim that "irreducible complexity" makes it impossible for a Darwinian scheme to explain the development of the eye or certain specialized cells.

Maybe Darwin is not read as much any more because he is simply not believable anymore, just like so many other forgotten giants of the past. No one in my family devours Pelagius, Anselm, Newton, or Semmelweis nearly as much as people once did. Does that mean we are akin to "intellectually cloistered" and unchallenged "peasants"?

By the way, in spite of being in universities for 10 years and having 5 earned degrees — and I didn't go to Hillsdale — I have no idea who Foucault and Derrida are. Should I care? I did have the misfortune of attending public schools. Perhaps I missed Foucault and Derrida there, whereas I would have got them if I were homeschooled or at a private (even cloistered) school.

If the writer of this piece really wants to blame a primary and secondary system of education for producing "intellectually cloistered lives, being taught comfortable traditions rather than challenging ideas," and for causing pupils to miss out on intellectual greats like Foucault and Derrida, perhaps he should find another whipping boy besides home-schooling.

John Cobin
Santiago, Chile

Anonymous responds: Good grief. The only thing I said about home-schooled

students was that Hillsdale College is an "active recruiter" of them, before going on to say that "Hillsdale attracts the sort of students who have led intellectually cloistered lives, being taught comfortable traditions rather than challenging ideas."

Where is the "swipe" here? It seems to me to be a pretty plain statement of two different facts: (a) that Hillsdale recruits home-schooled students; and (b) that Hillsdale "attracts" students who've had "intellectually-cloistered" lives.

Both propositions are patently true. Hillsdale in its appeal to politically conservative students does in fact recruit the home-schooled. And it does tend to attract the "intellectually-cloistered."

Cobin goes on to assume that my general observations about Hillsdale students are aimed primarily at the home-schooled, and further, that I believe that these observations are true of all home-schooled students, not just those that choose Hillsdale. I cannot find a scintilla of evidence to support either.

I generally do not care to speculate about other people's motives, but I wonder why an intelligent man would attack a straw man at such length. I surmise that perhaps Mr. Cobin is, well, I hate to say it, a little paranoid about criticism of home-schooling. He seems to go overboard very quickly. I mean, does he really believe that any piece written anonymously is "cowardly"? Would he apply this rule to *The Federalist Papers*?

Hillsdale's Reign of Error

The more I read Gary Wolfram's "The Truth About Hillsdale" (April) and Anonymous' "Is It True What They Say About Hillsdale?" (February) the more I am inclined to agree with Anonymous. That's not to say that I don't find some things missing or shaded in Anonymous' account, but those are far less glaring than those in Mr. Wolfram's essay.

For instance, on the subject of ran-

continued on page 22

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, typewritten letters are preferred. *Please include your phone number so that we can verify your identity.*

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Reflections

Mr. Rearden meets Mr. Thompson —

Perhaps it is a sign of a civil society that the richest man in the world can sit down and politely chat with the President of the United States, even though the President is trying to destroy his company and in fact has just succeeded in reducing his net worth by \$11 billion. The April 5th conference on the "new economy" in which Bill Clinton and Bill Gates shared a panel was full of praise for the technological marvels that Bill Gates has helped bring to billions of people, but all the praise Bill Clinton could muster was to compliment Gates for giving \$750 million to charity. Charity is good, but the achievements of Bill Gates, market entrepreneur, have changed our world in ways that his philanthropy can never hope to mimic. Too bad Bill Clinton declines to acknowledge that.

—Jane S. Shaw

Gentlemen's D — As the walls of privacy continue to crumble around the seekers of power, the *Washington Post* recently obtained Al Gore's high school and college transcripts. While the relevance of 30-year-old college grades is certainly doubtful, there are some interesting tidbits. The environmentalist author of *Earth in the Balance*, for instance, got a D in Natural Sciences 6 (Man's Place in Nature) and a C-plus in Natural Sciences 118. As the *Post* put it, "the self-proclaimed inventor of the Internet avoided all courses in mathematics and logic," but you knew that. He got a C-minus in economics, a tad better than he would deserve today. He got a C and a C-minus in his first two government courses, but he soon took to the study of power, rising to a B, a B-plus, and A-minus in his junior year, "and he aced his senior government thesis on the impact of television on the presidency." (Somehow you can get all Cs your first two years at Harvard and still graduate cum laude.) Sadly, as a graduate of Vanderbilt University, I am embarrassed to report that Gore briefly enrolled in the Divinity School there, where he received an A-minus in Ethics. As I said, the relevance of old college grades is dubious. Since I never took an ethics course, maybe I should just conclude that Al Gore's forgotten more about ethics than I ever knew.

—David Boaz

Microfallout — Far be it from me to suggest new ways for trial lawyers to make money, but it seems to me some sharp lawyer could devise a class-action lawsuit for shareholders of Sun, Oracle, Novell and other high-tech companies that urged the Justice Department to go after Microsoft. The grounds? Most of those companies' stock prices went down and therefore lost shareholder value in the stock-market debacle that followed Judge Jackson's announcement that Microsoft was Guilty-Guilty-Guilty.

—Alan Bock

Tubin' Cubans? — Little Elián González looks bound for Cuba, and he probably will be an outcast the rest of his childhood. Other Cuban boys, who entertain them-

selves in the streets of Havana by playing cat's cradle with rat entrails, will never believe his fantastic tales about Toys R Us and Disney World. I'm sure eventually even he'll doubt some of the things he witnessed, like air conditioned buildings and cars. The only evidence of his trip, his new puppy, will be lucky to make it past Christmas Dinner. The State Department has its hands tied here though. If they didn't send him and his father back, parents in Cuba would start stuffing their children into inner tubes and heaving them out to sea like Frisbees®.

—Tim Slagle

The torch is passed — Keep an eye on Robert Kennedy's eldest daughter, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, presently lieutenant governor of Maryland, longshot prospect for vice president, likely the next governor, and — who knows — someday maybe the first female president. She's a Democrat's dream — a Kennedy who's never raped or killed anyone.

—David Boaz

Teach your children good — Presidential candidate Bush has proposed a multibillion-dollar program designed to combat illiteracy in the public schools. It's a revolutionary idea, designed to meet the revolutionary conditions of our time.

Unfortunately, however, more than a few billion dollars will be required if we want to deal with the problems of illiterate schoolteachers.

—Stephen Cox

Take stock in hysteria — As we prepare this issue of *Liberty* for the printer, the stock market is falling sharply. This week alone, the NASDAQ fell 25% and the aggregate value of stocks fell an amazing \$2 trillion. These are astonishing numbers, but what's more astonishing is that practically no one seems worried. Those few who do proclaim their distress mostly seem to be partisan opponents of Bill Clinton, anxious to blame any crash on his decision to extort a few billion from Microsoft Corp. by means of an anti-trust suit.

There's a scintilla of logic to their case: the crash was touched off by a court decision against Microsoft, instigated by Clinton's administration. But blaming the crash on that decision is like blaming the Civil War on the Confederate officer who fired on Fort Sumter. Does anyone doubt that the Civil War would have occurred if the Confederacy had decided to allow Union forces to continue to occupy an island in Charleston's harbor?

Trees don't grow to the sky, and stock prices cannot rise rapidly forever. If the sharp declines of this week portend a genuine crash, on the magnitude of 1929 — and it's not evident to me that they do — it won't be the result of Clinton's ridiculous persecution of Microsoft. If and when the crash comes it will happen for the same reason that every other crash has happened: because assets got ridiculously overvalued, and fear overcame greed. In a market inflated by

speculation, collapse is inevitable.

I lived through the silver boom and collapse of 1979–80. At the time, I was a major dealer and a substantial speculator in the white metal, doing hundreds of thousands of dollars of business each week. I was well aware that prices were crazy and that the price of silver could not sustain itself. But knowing that doesn't help you much in the real world: if you liquidate your position at \$20, you missed a lot of the profit you'd have made if you held on to \$30, at which point the price was even crazier and less sustainable. If you sold at \$30, you kicked yourself when it got to \$35, etc, etc.

I survived by keeping my position relatively stable, playing spreads between different forms of silver and making good profits as a broker. When the inevitable crash came, I lost a lot of money, but far less than I made on the way up. To tell the truth, it was a relief.

I think the stock market today is in the same kind of situation. The fact that otherwise rational people think it makes perfect sense for a stock like Amazon.com to rise higher and higher as its firm's losses become greater and greater is just as loony as the claims in January 1980 that silver would soon be trading at \$1,000 per ounce. But people who bought silver at the ridiculous price of \$25 doubled their money if they liquidated at \$50, just as people who paid absurd prices for shares of Amazon.com a few months ago made ridiculous profits if they sold out at the right time.

The problem is that I don't know where the top will come or whether we've already seen the top, just as I didn't know where the top would come in silver prices in 1980. For all I know, we've already seen the top and the Dow will fall to 4,000 and the NASDAQ to 400 in the next month — or maybe this is just a temporary correction and the Dow will top 15000 and the NASDAQ top 10000 by the end of the year. Sorry, I'm not running seances here.

One of the things that helped me live through the silver boom and bust was my conviction that prices are ultimately subjective, the product of expectations that can change very quickly and unpredictably. It's basic Austrian economics, though a great many people who claim familiarity with

Liberty Live . . .

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The 1999 Liberty Group — Join Bill Bradford, Tim Slagle, Fred Smith, Durk Pearson and Alan Bock as they presciently analyze the current political madhouse and slaughter sacred cows with abandon. This is a fast-paced journey of libertarian commentary that explores the issues of the day and predicts outcomes for the elections of tomorrow. (audio: A401; no video available)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Share the Excitement!

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

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

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

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

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

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

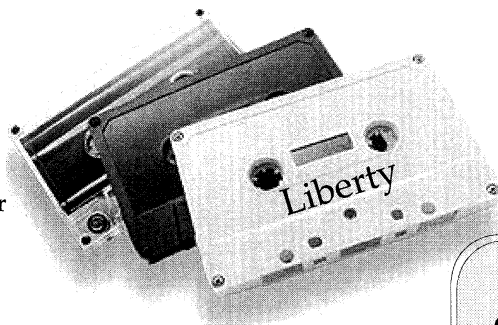
The New Liberty and the Old — R.W. Bradford explains how fundamental changes are reshaping the libertarian movement, and forthrightly takes on the advocates of the non-aggression imperative. (audio: A416; video: V416)

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

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

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

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



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Austrian economics seem to have missed out on this insight. For a good explanation of the uselessness of economics (or any other rational discipline) as a means of predicting stock or commodity prices, see Mises' *Human Action*, especially chapter 30, "The Place of Economics in Learning," especially the subsection "Forecasting as a Profession." —R. W. Bradford

Capital punishment — The Clinton administration, in its usual manner, spent one day shedding crocodile tears over the fact that Americans are saving less of their money than ever before, then moved on to the next sound bite. Nobody suggested the obvious: eliminating taxes on savings. —Alan Bock

Genetic fallacy — Get your hands off of my genes! That's what I felt like saying as I read "Better Living Through Genetics" (April) by James Wood. It was a surreal experience to find this article in *Liberty* and definitely rubbed my libertarian nature and my scientific sensibilities the wrong way.

Woods starts off by telling us that learning how genes work and then altering them is a utopia promised by Science. He then suggests (by asking the rhetorical question: "What could possibly go wrong?") that something terrible is about to happen as a result. He describes in chilling detail the awful things that could happen when people make the wrong choices with a powerful new technology. People might try to change their kids-to-be's genes so that they'll be smarter, prettier, taller, healthier, or even (gasp) have green eyes. People might try to alter presumed weaknesses of character by genetic modifications. "A little more research, and we will know how to tweak the genetic makeup to cure or avoid such problems," the author warns (or perhaps just scoffs).

As a result of the existence of these new technologies, we are forced to make choices we really don't want to make since, if we don't, somebody else is likely to get a competitive edge on us or our kids. He finds this alarming: "Microsoft or Monsanto or Genentech has no more right to dictate our futures than does a federal government."

Wow. This is a far cry from how I see things. I expect people to make lots of mistakes, especially with powerful new technologies, but I expect that people will eventually learn as a result of these mistakes. One does one's best to keep out of the way of other people's idiocies. Unless the government forces us all to make the same stupid decisions, only those who make stupid choices will suffer the consequences of doing so.

Of course, it is an awesome thing for people to be gaining access to technologies that allow them to fundamentally

change what it means to be human and certainly any sensible person will think carefully before making use of such technologies. But these technologies offer us wonderful opportunities, among them longer life, greater intelligence, and more happiness. I don't see how Microsoft or Monsanto or Genentech dictate the future any more than Ford or General Electric or AT&T do.

The idea that the existence of choices forces you to make choices in order to keep up with other people strikes me as peculiar. You could get along without cars or airplanes if you really felt that was important, but it is undeniably true that people who did use cars and airplanes would be able to travel a lot faster and a lot farther than you ever could. You could even live in a remote place without electricity and telephones, to avoid being "forced" to make choices about electricity and telephones. What it really comes down to, it seems to me, is that Mr. Wood doesn't like other people's choices, such as buying high tech products by Microsoft or Monsanto or Genentech.

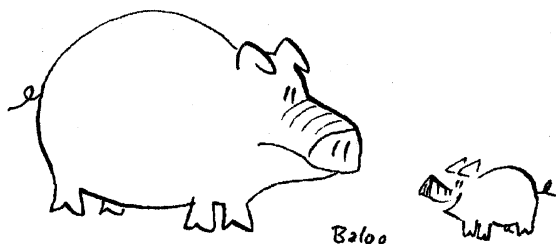
"In sum," says Mr. Wood, "the new technologies invite conceptualizing future humans as information-processing systems genetically pre-set to fit narrowly defined ranges of acceptable normalcy." Really? I think most people today have a rather narrowly defined range of acceptable normalcy. Provided central authority does not prohibit market choices beyond that narrow range, the new choices should increase diversity, not decrease it. (For example, it has recently been discovered that hair follicles are immune-privileged sites, that is, are not attacked by the immune system; hence, it will be possible in the fairly near future to grow a full head of hair with follicles from somebody else or perhaps even a full coat of fur from mink hair follicles. Just think of what a new generation of biopunks could do with this!)

I don't believe that many scientists or people in general think that human behavior is "genetically set." Genes interact with environmental factors. I suspect that those people who actually believe human behavior is genetically set will eventually learn better the same way people usually learn better: by observing the results of genetic tinkering.

Wood's article reminds me of people who hate the marketplace because it leads to choices of which they disapprove, just as FDA Commissioners believe people are too dumb to make their own choices of prescription drugs, medical devices, dietary supplements, and foods, or too dumb to understand complex information about biochemical mechanisms. The FDA's "solution" to this problem is to stick guns in people's faces to protect them from their own mistakes. In so doing, the FDA has become a major threat to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is not clear from Woods' article what "solution" he proposes as to the availability of genetic engineering to people who make choices other than those he approves.

As for me, I welcome the new opportunities — even if it means that a few biopunks will be growing glow-in-the-dark green feathers. —Sandy Shaw

The wages of perjury — So there's a chance the Arkansas Bar will actually suspend President Clinton's license to practice law because of his propensity for perjury. What a tragedy that would be. I really expected Our Boy Bill



"Hey, Pop — how about a people-back ride?"

to open a storefront law office in Hope and focus on making legal services available to the poor and disenfranchised at cut rates, didn't you?

—Alan Bock

Siege heil! — You don't find the word "siege" in news stories about peaceful countries very often. But one day recently (March 18), the front page of *The New York Times* used the word twice above the fold, in headlines reading "Under Legal Siege, Gun Maker Agrees To Accept Curbs" and "Seeking Clues By Simulating Davidian Siege." The striking thing is that both these stories involved a siege by the United States government of some of its citizens. It's a good thing we live in a free country or we'd really be in trouble.

—David Boaz

What's in a name? — Libertarians often complain that American liberals have no right to a label based on the word "liberty." American liberals base their ideas and policies on government control. And the old "classical liberals" pretty much were libertarians. *The Economist* still calls itself liberal in that sense as it calls for an end to drug prohibition and calls for less government control in most cases.

So let's give liberals a name we can live with. American liberals won't accept anything with "socialist" in it and that term can provoke too many debates about definitions and history. The name "socialist" would also not be fair because we could just as well apply it to their conservative opponents. Both groups favor a double-digit state in terms of how much of gross domestic product the state consumes.

I suggest we call American liberals "controllers." They want to control the economy through taxes and regulations and lawsuits. They want to control guns and tobacco and toys. They want to control speech and education and sexual conduct. They want to control the environment and even outer space. Government is just their preferred means to their end of control. So let's give them their logical due and call them as they act and not as they describe themselves. Calling them "controllers" also makes it easier to describe their policy goals in the more accurate terms of control: gun control, speech control, education control, sex control, health control, corporate control, etc.

The clear problem with this idea is that in some cases we could call conservatives "controllers" with equal merit. Conservatives want to control drugs and abortions. They want to control the content of films and TV and the Internet. These control points are defining issues for many conservatives. But conservatives on the whole do not want to control guns or the economy. Many conservatives have fought hard for economic freedom and can take credit for at least slowing the advance of "liberal" economic control in the last seven or so decades. American liberals will surely call for more economic control in the years ahead as Baby Boomers age and demand more state subsidies and as more debate focuses on how humans affect the environment. So the "controller" label favors liberals on net — on matters of money. And a strategic point is that conservatives are a minority in the intellectual trades. Real progress comes when you bloody the bully's nose.

Recent history shows that you can give birth to a label through sheer repetition. That happened with "sexual harassment" and "political correctness." It has even hap-

pened to some degree with "drug prohibition." And no one speaks of "gun freedom." Yet gun freedom is just the issue we debate under the loaded label "gun control."

Definition is destiny in modern politics. The digital sound-bite era favors one-line arguments and one-word pigeonholes. So we should choose our labels as we would choose our dueling weapons. Why keep saying "liberal" if we don't mean it? Why not say "controller" or something else if we do mean it? To repeat a label is both to reinforce it and to accept it. It is politics through other means — through definition.

—Bart Kosko

Smoking on the Thames — Britain's Labour government now plans to legalize cannabis (or marijuana) for medical uses, according to a March 24 report from Reuters. The move surprises some, but is said to be a compromise between Mo Mowlam, the cabinet minister in charge of anti-drug strategies, who wanted a study on full decriminalization of marijuana, and Prime Minister Tony Blair, who preferred no change. The move may have been prodded also by a report from the Police Foundation, headed by Prince Charles, which recommended that marijuana use be "depended." Meanwhile, in California, the people voted for medicalization of marijuana in 1996 and patients still have trouble getting authorities to recognize their rights instead of throwing them in the calaboose.

—Alan Bock

The hole truth — Scientists now claim that unusual cold in the Arctic stratosphere over the last winter might delay recovery of the ozone layer. Oh, that's why eliminating Freon from air conditioners has had no effect upon the ozone hole. The extra energy required for them to run on Freon substitutes has increased carbon dioxide, and accelerated Global Warming, which in turn causes Global Cooling, which inhibits ozone production. Does anyone still doubt that the envi-

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ronmental movement is being led by Witch Doctors?

—Tim Slagle

The generosity tax — Let's see, the federal government is wallowing in multibillion dollar surpluses, yet some flack in the IRS gets newspapers to run stories about how evasion of gift taxes is "costing" the federal government all of \$275 million a year? Why not just get rid of the gift tax? Or is penalizing generosity what the government is really all about?

—Alan Bock

This little Al had to work, that little Al got to play — In 1926, the redoubtable Al Smith was running for reelection as governor of New York; his opponent was one Ogden L. Mills. Smith had been reared in poverty. His mother worked in an umbrella factory; his father was a wagon driver. Mills, on the other hand, was a wealthy socialite. But there was one delightful thing about him — his final campaign slogan, which was probably the worst campaign slogan ever invented. Trying to capitalize on the notion that poor people are just into politics for the money, while rich people can give the public the benefit of truly disinterested service, one of Mills's p.r. guys came up with this battle cry: "Al Had to Work or Starve; Mills Never Had to Work."

That did it. Smith won with a margin of 257,000 votes.

Unfortunately, we will probably not hear any Mills-like slogans in this year's presidential election, because neither of the major-party candidates ever Had to Work. They are both rich boys, and they both act like it. On the great scale of privilege, however, Gore ranks somewhat ahead of Bush.

Gore was born to power as well as wealth. He was reared, not as a tobacco farmer, as once he claimed (to an audience of tobacco farmers), but as a Little Prince Charming of the Washington elite — the elite that Bush's daddy eventually entered, only to be expelled by the machinations of, among others, Little Prince Charming.

Gore constantly proves that he sees the world from the Ogden L. Mills perspective. He never entertains the slightest doubt that he who Never Had to Work is best qualified to shape the lives of everybody else. That shaping, of course, requires no actual, socially demeaning, mentally debilitating effort from him. After all, he invented the Internet simply by Congressional decree.

Gore has a terrible case of rich-boy political myopia, and we can confidently expect him to stumble over quite a few sofas as a result. The man who claimed to have invented the Internet will certainly continue to lecture the country like a

kindergarten teacher, and he will certainly say many things that Barney the Dinosaur would never permit to escape his purple jaws. Whether people will notice, or care, or even enjoy being talked to in that way — that is another question. They wouldn't take it from Ogden L. Mills, but that was a long time ago. They've been taking it from the Kennedys for almost 40 years.

—Stephen Cox

The Fabian approach — For the first time in my lifetime, people have become suspicious of the United States census. The recent report that the Census Bureau provided information to help authorities round up and incarcerate Americans of Japanese ancestry during World War II certainly did not help its case.

In some cities, up to sixty percent of the people flat out refused to fill out the form. On April 6, Census director Kenneth Prewitt agreed to limit the intrusiveness of the long form, by mailing it continuously to 250,000 households a month, rather than 2 million once every 10 years. That would ensure that 30 million households will have to fill it during each decade, rather than the 20 million that are required presently. When all else fails, resort to gradualism, and make it bigger.

—Tim Slagle

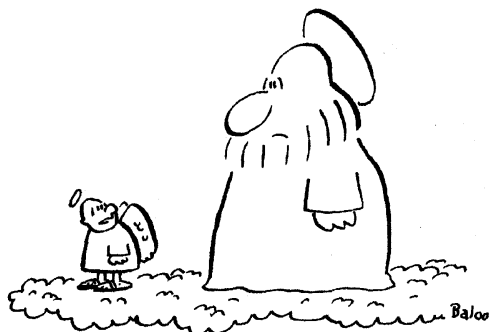
Limeys, lorries and levies — In the February *Liberty*, R. W. Bradford reported how the citizens of Washington state rebelled against rising road license fees and voted themselves a substantial cut. I wish the citizens of the U.K. had the means to do the same.

Bradford recorded his own dismay when the license fee hit \$100. In the U.K. it is now £150, or about U.S. \$237. But that is just the beginning. Fuel averages over 70 pence per litre, or (with the pound at \$1.58) about \$5.00 per Imperial gallon, and can be as high as \$5.57 (if my math is right). What is that in U.S. measures? \$6.60 a gallon?

Of that sum, approximately 80 percent is tax, levied in cunning ways. Part is a landing tax on the crude, which is extracted from beneath international waters in the North Sea. There follows a hefty excise tax on the refined fuel. After fuel company and dealer have added their costs and markup, a 17.5 percent sales tax (VAT) is levied to produce the retail price. The poor U.K. motorist ends up paying more for fuel than any other driver in Europe, the bulk of the bill being made up by a tax, upon a tax, upon a tax. Furthermore, Britain has the most congested roads in Europe — by actual study — while some 30 percent of road accidents are due to poorly designed or poorly maintained roads. Yet, of the £30 odd billion raised directly from motorists in taxes each year, only one sixth is spent on roads (in some years, less).

The most frustrating thing is foreign travel. In France and Spain, which have superb highway networks, the fuel tax is vastly lower. One can fill a small diesel car for about \$20.00. In the U.K., it costs \$60.00. If traditionally statist nations can build far better roads while charging much less tax, why do the citizens of a traditionally free country have to pay three times more for a road system consisting largely of upgraded medieval cart tracks?

It's even worse if you're in the trucking business. The European average license fee for a tractor/trailer is about £1,100. In the U.K., it is about £4,500. That, added to the high



"You told me to be fruitful and multiply? — But what about geometric progression?"

price of fuel, has driven many small firms out of business, while others are being forced to move, or consider moving, across the Channel.

Bravo, the citizens of Washington! But spare a thought for the poor Brits, bled white by their government, and with no constitutional means to stop the torment. —Nicholas Dykes

The limits of the Bill of Rights — I grow so weary of hearing Liberal Urban Professionals (Lippies), claim that the Constitution was never meant to be taken seriously; that our founders left loopholes so that modern societies could reinterpret the document. Usually the Second Amendment falls victim to this "Organic, Living, Breathing" argument.

I would suggest that the Founding Fathers could never have envisioned that the First Amendment would be misinterpreted by modern civilizations, and give people a right to utter such nonsense. Along with not having a right to yell fire in a crowded theater, I think that no person should have the right to endanger my liberty by saying something so ignorant and uninformed. Let's rewrite the First Amendment, to get stupid remarks out of the mouths of imbeciles and make our streets safer. —Tim Slagle

It's not your father's census — Some libertarians sound as if the census only got objectionable after the feds started asking about race, income and home ownership. I think they're nuts.

The Constitution clearly authorizes an actual enumeration. Does it follow that every resident must identify herself? Applying the doctrine of contemporaneous construction, the answer is a resounding NO. The first census, administered by people most familiar with the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention on the census, gives the best guidance. The first census did *not* mandate self-identification:

In the census of 1790, the federal marshalls were simply instructed to count the population and were told what items of information to secure. The marshalls then posted the information which they had assembled in a public place for all to see, and to give persons who had not yet been included the *opportunity* to have their information added to the returns for the appropriate district. . . (Population: *The Vital Revolution*, ed. Ronald Freedman, pp 86-87, emphasis added)

Let's go back to the censual ways of our (Founding) Fathers. —Martin Solomon

Blinded by ideology — On March 23, the *New England Journal of Medicine* reported a case where a vegan went blind due to a vitamin B-12 deficiency. This should serve as ample warning to any PETA members trying to get state legislatures to legislate against meat. Thirty-three years old and 100% blind! I bet he doesn't hang out with his PETA buddies much anymore. Kind of hard to swallow that, "Humans were meant to be vegetarians" crap when you're bumping into walls. I wonder: Is it wrong for a blinded vegan to exploit a seeing

eye dog? Since cows aren't as smart as dogs, isn't it less cruel to eat a cow than to exploit a dog? —Tim Slagle

Back to the place from which he came — I note with sadness that, as we go to press, the Clinton administration is about to succeed in its attempt to force six-year-old Elián González back to Cuba. Yes, I know. As a general rule, a child belongs with his parent. But general rules do not apply in every case — that's why they're general rules. There *are* cases when a child does not belong with his parent. No humane person, for example, would insist that a child belongs with a parent who seriously abuses him.

I believe the hurdle that must be exceeded for the state to intervene is an extraordinarily high one. I don't want the courts to take a child from his parents unless the harm to the child is real and very serious. This isn't because I have even the slightest sympathy for those who abuse children. It's because I believe that, in general, the risk that the state will abuse a child is much greater than the risk that his parents will. The justice provided by the state is very rough on all concerned, and especially rough when the state gets involved with families. A family has to subject a child to terrible abuse before I'd countenance state interference.

I think the prospects are plain in Elián's case. Far more and far worse abuse will await the little boy in Cuba than could possibly occur to him in the custody of his relatives in Miami. The problem is not that Cuba is a poor country. The

Coming in Liberty

White Paper on the Browne Regime

In early March, Jacob Hornberger of the Future of Freedom Foundation issued a lengthy indictment of the Harry Browne presidential campaign and the leadership of the national Libertarian Party, charging them with serious conflicts of interest and wasting \$1,000,000 of donors' money.

Liberty's staff is conducting a thorough and independent investigation of the charges. We've already examined hundreds of documents and interviewed dozens of people.

The cases for and against the charges, the evidence and our conclusions will be presented in a special "White Paper," in our July issue, available on newsstands and mailed to subscribers in late May.

problem is that it is a totalitarian country. It abuses people in ways that mere poverty cannot: it denies them freedom of speech, freedom of belief, freedom of movement . . . freedom of just about everything. Cuba's poverty is a consequence of its totalitarianism, but it is far from the worst consequence.

I believe I've read or heard a thousand commentaries about what should be done about Elián. And I can only think of two — one in *The Wall St Journal* and one in *Liberty* — that give any reasonable consideration to the question: what's best for him? The others talk about the law, about the importance of family, about the way in which the Cuban community in Miami is exploiting the case, about how the Castro regime is exploiting the case . . . but virtually no one cares about the six-year-old child who is about to be sent back to the same totalitarian hellhole from which his Mother gave her life for his escape.

Republican conservatives are critical of Clinton's desire to help the abusers. They say they support Elián's right to stay here but haven't even introduced the citizenship legislation that would prevent Clinton from sending him back to Cuba. Their reason? The Democrats would filibuster. But since when is fear of filibuster sufficient reason to countenance evil? And who knows whether there would be enough votes in the Senate to kill a filibuster? There's always a chance that senators would somehow find enough sympathy in their hearts for this unfortunate little boy to give him something that all their children should get for free, something that costs them nothing at all.

Meanwhile, Elián's father has the best lawyer money can buy, the repulsive Gregory Craig, erstwhile mouthpiece of Bill Clinton. who, according to his own sworn testimony, explained to his children that his client had "misled the American people, misled his family, and misled his colleagues and that is wrong and the president should have made full disclosure earlier," thereby distinguishing himself as a mouthpiece who will even spin-doctor to his own kids. What better person to take a small child from his loving family and send him back to a totalitarian nightmare from which his mother gave her life for his escape?

And how did Elián's father come up with the money for a high-priced attorney like Craig? Well, he didn't. The United Methodist Board of Church and Society is paying for his services. There's no surprise here. The Methodists, I recall, funded the revolutionary activities of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe. Just last week, their friend confiscated all land in his country that is owned by white people in order to help finance his dispatch of troops to the Congo to support yet another dictator, in hopes of getting part ownership of the Congolese mining operations. These will be immensely profitable as soon as the Congolese dictator gets the popular rebellions in his country under control and his slaves back into the mines — but don't bother fashionable churchmen with complicated things like that. Compared to the human tragedy that their investments in Mugabe

have had as dividends, sending one little boy into Hell may not seem like much of an opportunity. Still, you take what you can get. With international communism a spent force (no thanks to the mainline churches), you have to be satisfied with less bang for your buck.

—R. W. Bradford

For a few dollars more — Congress and the administration seem bound and determined to send more of our money to Colombia to help fight the misbegotten drug war. Let's see, Colombia is now home to the most aggressive herbicide spraying program in the world and the recipient of more U.S. military aid than any country outside the Middle East. The program hasn't worked, but enlarging it will do the trick? Spending \$250 billion since 1980 has done almost nothing to affect the propensity of Americans to do drugs, but \$1.7 billion for helicopters for Colombia will finally get it done? Sure.

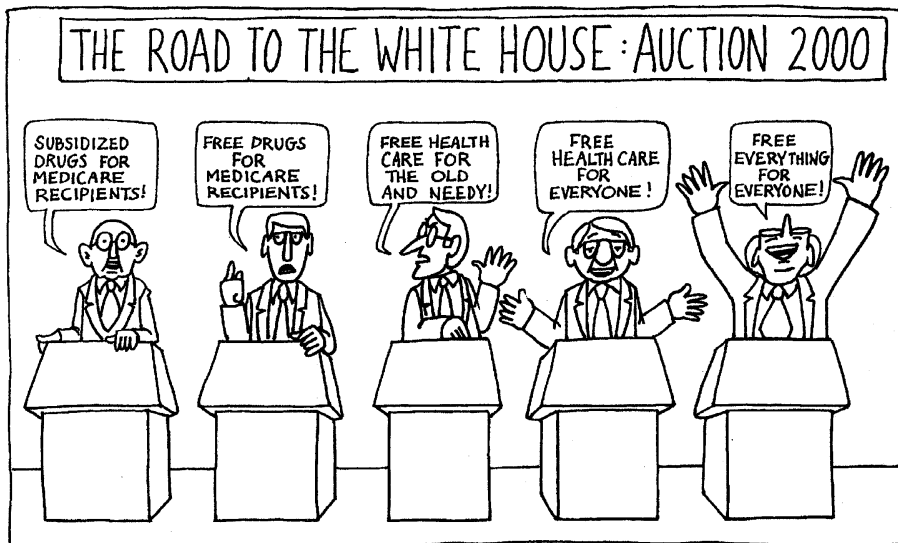
—Alan Bock

Charity, forced and unforced — The man who gave his country the Internet and a robust economy has been laying plans in his campaign speeches to extend this Gore-given period of unparalleled prosperity. He's concerned "that too many will be left behind" as the vast majority of Americans enjoy the benefits of advanced technologies and their increasing wealth. Al Gore fears that we as individuals and as a nation will "squander our prosperity." And he has a pocketful of proposals to prevent us from robbing the future of its potential.

What is Gore's evidence that Americans' prosperity will be squandered? He should log on to the World Wide Web to see how charities are reaping record contributions online from individuals who wish to exercise their social consciences and match their charitable giving to their personal concerns and interests.

Most well-known charities now maintain Web sites. One site, guidestar.org provides information on more than 620,000 different charitable groups, with a sophisticated search engine to locate areas of interest — and with financial data, online profiles and 501(c)(3) status.

The levels of giving in recent years are as impressive as the variety of funded causes, online and off, suggesting that



SHCHAMBERS

Al Gore's fears and concerns are irrational or disingenuous. According to *The NonProfit Times*, the top five U.S. charities, ranked by total income, fall into the human services category:

1. National Council of YMCAs: \$3,248,700,000.
2. Catholic Charities USA: 2,309,000,000.
3. Salvation Army: 2,078,200,000.
4. American Red Cross: 2,057,800,000.
5. Goodwill Industries International : 1,503,700,000.

All rank between 88.6 percent and 73.1 percent in total revenue devoted to programs — higher percentages than any government give-away program ever.

The next 45 organizations listed include health, conservation, civic/cultural, religious, relief/development and many more human services groups. Number 50 on the list is Father Flanagan's Boy's Home with \$138.3 million. Fascinating to me are the off-list causes able to attract substantial funding support, including over \$110,000 committed to the Leo Reward Fund, established to catch the man who hurled a 10-year old dog named Leo to its death after a minor traffic accident.

And over \$500,000 has been raised for a private effort to bring down an estimated three tons of garbage from the slopes of Mt. Everest. An eight-man team of climbers with a larger team of Sherpas will haul out the debris over a two month period this year. If you check guidestar.org, you'll find 27 Celtic culture organizations competing for donation dollars.

Total giving for 1999 should come in at over \$180 billion, up from \$175 billion in 1998, reported Daniel Borochoff, president of the American Institute of Philanthropy. "When times are good, such as now, people tend to give more," said Ann Kaplan, editor of *Giving USA*. In October 1999, the White House held a conference on philanthropy, its first such "official" conference ever held. The "recommendation" was made that individuals should give up to 5 percent of their asset value, as philanthropic organizations do. "Charitable contributions would quickly reach 9 percent of GDP, instead of the current range of around 2 percent," Ann Kaplan predicted.

I've not heard recommendations or proposals coming from Mr. Gore nor from his tax-and-spend Congressional comrades for returning tax dollars to their producer victims so that charitable giving goals can be achieved. All the benevolence and generosity expressed in \$180 billion of charitable contributions last year came from a tax-burdened American population with relatively little tax benefit for their donations.

Mr. Gore, like politicians and policymakers on the left and the right, doesn't really want more privately-made contributions because that kind of giving is controlled and directed by the donor rather than caterers to special interests and recipient constituencies. The proposals I hear from Gore and his cronies are for more spending of tax funds, like the \$2 billion in foreign aid to escalate the War on Drugs and to prop up Pastrana's government in Colombia.

As strange as the Leo Reward Fund may seem to some, the \$100,000 contributed by pet-loving, cruelty-curbng citizens may actually produce and punish the dog killer. And achieving that goal is obviously very important to those contributing voluntarily to the fund with their hard-earned and hard-taxed dollars. Foreign aid, however, and most other

government redistributions of wealth, are not only ineffective but too often are counterproductive. According to Doug Bandow of the Cato Institute, "aid to such nations as Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Zaire subsidized the very worst autocratic and corrupt dictators. This made chaos and war more, not less, likely."

Since World War II American taxpayers have had more than \$1 trillion "contributed" to foreign assistance. But a United Nations report in 1996 showed that 70 of the recipient countries were poorer than they were in 1980; 43 were in sadder shape than in 1970.

The decision to squander or not to squander prosperity should be left to the prosperity producers, Mr. Gore. It might be an interesting experiment for your poll-driven administration and campaign to set up its own Web site — deathstar.org? — and offer all giveaway programs to gauge support from the potential givers rather than the takers that are already speaking loudly and clearly to you. I wouldn't be a bit surprised if dead-dog Leo and Father Flanagan were voted more dollars than Colombia's President Pastrana.

—Dyanne M. Petersen

Wouldn't that be heartless? — The House voted to rescind new rules on organ transplants, promulgated by the Department of Health and Human Services, that would have sent more organs across state lines. The issue was whether the "sickest" anyplace in the country should be moved up in the queue or whether most organs should be used in the state in which they were donated. Unfortunately, nobody proposed the single step that would do most to alleviate the chronic shortage of transplantable organs: allowing them to be bought and sold. Nobody expects the surgeon who does a transplant to work for free; why should the person providing the organ? —Alan Bock

Joy in Mudville — The stock market downturn of April 14 (which was, by coincidence, the anniversary of the "Titanic's" sinking) prompted a lot of thoughts, real or alleged, in a lot of craniums. I know someone who must have lost, given what I know about his portfolio, over 100 million dollars. Probably he did not have cheerful thoughts on April 14, although he should have: during the past year, the market had given him over twice that amount. But I haven't heard from him yet.

I did hear from Fox News, by far the best of the news channels, though not a distinguished source of opinion in regard to this particular event. Fox pronounced April 14 "Wall Street's worst day ever" — a patently ridiculous thing to say. The Dow's decline of 617 points may be the worst in its history, but its percentage of decline, 5.66, is not at all on the historic scale.

Oddly, Fox went on to present a feature about someone who analyzes the traumas of people who have recently made enormous profits on Silicon Valley stocks. This man claims that such people suffer from "sudden wealth syndrome," a curious collection of symptoms that include tasteless spending, suspicion of other people's designs and approaches, and a besetting fear of losing one's money as easily as one acquired it.

I take this particular symptom, not as a sign of sickness, but as a sign of robust health. It reflects an instinct for the

economic truth, an instinct that Americans have often notably lacked. During the depression of the 1930s, pioneer libertarian Isabel Paterson found herself constantly listening to the complaints of people who simply could not fathom the idea that their investments had turned sour. To them, it seemed somehow unnatural, inconceivable in the literal sense of that word. They insisted that there must be a way to keep anything like that from happening. To these people, Paterson replied in the following immortal words:

Let us begin with the elementary fact that in any economic system by which one can make a couple of million dollars, one can LOSE the same amount. The two possibilities, dear children, are equally inherent. You can't have one without the other, sad as this may seem.

Paterson herself lost money, a lot of money, in the market. But she knew what to do with that fact. She could take her loss without becoming cosmic about it.

The important thing, as it seemed to her, was to scotch this idea that Something Ought To Be Done to Prevent These Things. It's true, of course, that people can improve their odds by putting their money into companies that actually make a profit, as opposed to companies that just put "dot com" in their names and let it go at that, or by pulling the money out a minute before all the other suckers and gamblers do. But sooner or later, there's going to be a downturn. Bad investments — including unpredictably bad investments — are going to be cleared out.

If you think that this can be Prevented, you will have to turn to government to do it. Government won't be able to, of course, short of abolishing markets altogether, but it can make a pretty good show of screwing things up while it tries. Watch out, then. If the market stays down the rest of this year, you may see some scary proposals coming out of the political candidates.

It is possible, though — wait a minute, I'm not saying it's true, I'm just saying it's possible — that we as a people may slowly be learning something about markets. We may be reaching the point where a big downturn can happen and the neighbors will *not* all leap to embrace the first New Dealish plan that comes down the pike. We may be reaching that moment of zenlike serenity in which people who lose (and most people lose something in a big market decline) can still keep smiling. In San Diego, where I live, more

money was lost last week in tech stocks than anywhere else in the world, except the San Francisco Bay area. But looking out my window today, I see only sunshine and happy people. There is still joy in Mudville, even though mighty Qualcomm has struck out.

—Stephen Cox

Don't trust any law over 30 — Defenders of Al Gore dismiss his illegal fundraising phone calls from the White House as merely violations of "an obscure 1883 law." Now, the fact is that everyone involved in politics in Washington knows that you can't raise campaign funds on federal property. That's why the two parties maintain office suites near the Capitol so that members of Congress can dash over there and make fundraising calls. And every few years the *Washington Post* runs a story about a senator being accused of accepting a campaign contribution in his office — no doubt a situation that frequently arises, since members of Congress meet most of their constituents, lobbyists, and other visitors in their official offices. But they're not supposed to solicit and accept funds there, and everybody knows it. Certainly a man who was a son of a senator, a House member for eight years, and a senator for eight years knows this law.

But what is perhaps most interesting about this way of dismissing Gore's transgression is the implication that the law's great age makes it an obscure anachronism. It's a law from 1883; who could be expected to take it seriously? In fact, of course, laws should probably be taken more seriously the older they are. Sure, there are the laws that have become an embarrassment, like the remaining laws against sodomy. And there are the merely ridiculous laws, like the law against painting birds in Harper Woods, Michigan. But many old laws are those that have stood the test of time, perhaps because they are just obvious. Indeed, the origins of the oldest laws are lost in the mists of history. When was the law against murder passed, for instance? But to Gore's defenders, perhaps the law against murder is "an obscure pre-modern law." Serious laws, laws you could expect people to follow, are new laws — the Clean Air Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act, the Violence Against Women Act. I guess that's why Gore pledges to pass new and oppressive campaign-finance laws even as he violates the existing laws with impunity.

—David Boaz

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The Borking of Science — Those who can recall the Bork debacle will remember how the nominee tried to scurry away from his 1971 *Indiana Law Journal* essay's view of the First Amendment (viz., that the freedom of speech clause protects only political speech) by insisting that he now believed that all speech (somehow) contributed in some measure to political discourse — except pornography. Why was that the sole exception? No doubt because it was the only thing he could get away with claiming was subject to censorship.

It might seem strange to look back upon 1987 as some kind of platinum age for free speech, but apparently that's exactly what it was. Since then, the proposed candidates for the censor's ax have come to include everything from "commercial speech" (advertising? all persuasive rhetoric?) to the "falsification of history" (e.g., Holocaust denial) to the much-

continued on page 18

Thomas Szasz: A Sage at 80

Thomas Szasz is one of the greatest libertarians of the 20th century.

He is one of a handful of libertarians who have risen to positions of intellectual prominence in the world at large, thanks to his pathbreaking work in psychiatry, and perhaps the only libertarian intellectual who is better known to non-libertarians than to those in the movement. His reputation in the world at large has been achieved by his brilliant criticism of his own profession — a criticism that is so vigorous that I wonder whether Szasz himself considers psychiatry to be a valid scientific discipline.

Most libertarians who achieve acclaim in the world at large soft-pedal their beliefs to one extent or another; Szasz never has. His books bristle with trenchant logic and positions so radical that they make Murray Rothbard and Ayn Rand seem like moderates.

Yet Szasz has never received the acclaim he merits among libertarians. The reason for this, I think, is that his field is far from the center of most libertarians' interest. The simple fact is most libertarians are far more interested in matters politic or economic than in matters psychologic. And those who do find psychology interesting seem mostly to be interested in feel-good pop psychology of the sort found in the self-help books that make their way onto best-seller lists. There's an irony here: Szasz's interest in psychiatry focuses on an aspect that is far more relevant to libertarian thinking than is the psychology of, say, Nathaniel Branden.

The publication of Szasz's *The Myth of Mental Illness* in 1960 was a turning point in American psychiatry. At the time, psychiatry in the United States hardly differed from that in Soviet Russia: It was a pseudo-science that enabled the political and economic elite to segregate people with unpopular or eccentric views or behavior into special "hospitals." Szasz identified these hospitals as prisons for holding people who had committed no crime, and their inmates as innocent victims. For Szasz, imprisoning someone who had committed no crime is such an egregious violation of rights that it cannot be tolerated in any civil society.

This was not a popular belief. But it was one that Szasz stated boldly and defended ferociously. He was always ready to grapple with the rationales of those who disagreed with him, always willing to point out the errors in their arguments. His responses to the arguments of his critics were as devastating as any I've ever heard. His battle against psychiatric tyranny was often a lonely one, but he has never tired, never lost his good humor.

And he made substantial inroads against tyranny. Eccentric people in America are no longer routinely locked up for the convenience of their families or communities. Were it not for Tom Szasz, they would be. In this alone, he has accomplished more actual good than any other libertarian I can think of.

But he has done far more than fight against the incarceration of innocent people. Just as fearlessly as he took on his own profession, he has taken on those who claim that ingesting drugs is a crime or a disease. *Ceremonial Chemistry* (1974) was a potent attack on the prohibitionists. He hasn't won this battle yet. But I wouldn't bet against him. Similarly, he has fought the notion that people who are overweight, alcoholic, or otherwise not meeting some puritan's standards suffer from a disease.

Sometime in the 1950s, Ty Cobb is said to have given an after-dinner speech to a group of sportswriters. At the time, Cobb was pretty much universally acclaimed as the greatest hitter baseball had ever known. His talk, as those of old-timers so often are, was a litany of complaints about present-day players: they didn't work as hard, they hadn't honed their skills, etc., etc. Afterwards, he was approached by a sportswriter who asked him what he thought his batting average would be if he played in the 1950s rather than between 1905 and 1928. Cobb responded, "Oh, somewhere around .320." "What!?" the sportswriter said. "You, the greatest hitter of all time, the man who hit over .400 three times, who retired with a batting average of .367 . . . you could only hit .320 against today's pitchers?" "Well," Cobb responded, "you have to remember, I'm over 70 years old."

When I learned that Tom Szasz turned 80 on April 15, I thought of that anecdote. In a movement full of brilliant people, his brilliance stands out. If I were asked to choose someone to defend just about any aspect of libertarianism in public debate, I'd pick him. The last time I saw him give a lecture, it was in front of a libertarian group, but he managed to make an argument or two that was so radical that several people in the audience posed hostile, argumentative questions. He instantly analyzed each argument put to him, ripped it into its components, identified its flaws and politely devastated it. Somehow, he did this with neither acrimony nor anger.

He's always a gentleman, always polite, without a mean bone in his body. If a young person came to me and asked me what libertarian I'd recommend as a moral and intellectual exemplar, Thomas Szasz would be the person.

—R. W. Bradford

discussed "hate speech" (i.e., speech the Left hates). Now it seems that the latest victim could be scientific dissent. At a recent conference in Washington, the president of the International AIDS Societies, Canadian Dr. Mark Wainberg, pointedly denounced Peter Duesberg (*Inventing the AIDS Virus*) and his fellow HIV skeptics (a group that includes such reprobates as Nobel laureates Kary Mullis and Walter Gilbert) and suggested that their heterodox advocacy is worthy of criminal prosecution.

Consider instead the precedent this would set. Soon we may thrill at the sight of environmentalists calling for the heads of those scientists who don't toe the (current) green line, not to mention those of evolutionists and creationists struggling to decapitate one another. Those, of course, are only some of the wonderful possibilities.

There are those who might suggest that we cut the good doctor some slack, since there is no First Amendment in Mark Wainberg's Canada, which, quite amazingly, has the ability to inspire a certain nostalgia for Robert Bork's America.

—Barry Loberfeld

Federalism inverted — The Supreme Court recently considered whether the state of Massachusetts can impose economic sanctions on Burma, by refusing to purchase goods from companies that do business in Burma. The National Foreign Trade Council argued that the Massachusetts government was usurping the foreign policy-making powers of the federal government. (A Cato Institute study issued in 1998 made the same claim.) Sen. Edward M. Kennedy joined an *amicus curiae* brief urging the Court to uphold the Massachusetts law. As the *Washington Post* put it, "Although Kennedy usually doesn't favor states' rights as a guideline in other areas, the group he joined argued that the Massachusetts Burma law was within the state's powers under the federal system." So Kennedy doesn't think states should be able to make their own rules about minimum wage, church burning, hate crimes, welfare, health care, or virtually anything else — but he does think a state should be able to have its own foreign policy. It's hard to imagine that that's what the Founders intended when they wrote the Constitution and the Tenth Amendment. Indeed, it's hard to conceive even a theoretical case for such a division of powers.

But don't think that Republicans understand the federal system any better. On the same day that the *Post* reported Kennedy's constitutional theorizing, it also reported that House Republican leaders were proposing to provide financial incentives for states that agree to strengthen their gun-law enforcement policies, as if the people of the several states were not in a better position than the distant federal government to decide what sorts of gun control and law enforcement policies they needed.

—David Boaz

William P. Moulton, RIP — On April 11, William P. Moulton was found dead in his room at the Lincoln Lawns Motel in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the victim of an apparent heart attack. He was 52 years old. Bill was a contributing editor of *Liberty* from 1987 to 1995, during which time he wrote several fine articles.

Like many libertarians, Bill was extremely intelligent but never lived up to his potential. He always had trouble getting

along with people. I imagine that when he was a child growing up in Traverse City, Michigan, his grade school teachers wrote "doesn't play well with other children" on his report cards. He was expelled from one high school and one university, and had trouble getting along wherever he went.

His National Merit scores were so high that he could choose nearly any college in America. He chose a conservative Roman Catholic school, the University of Dallas. Once there, he fell hopelessly in love and was spurned. The experience left him so depressed that he committed some acts of minor vandalism sufficient to get him expelled. He was admitted briefly to Michigan State University, but was asked to leave the school after they heard from Dallas. Northern Michigan University wasn't so fussy, and he enjoyed a semester there, successful enough that the University of Michigan offered him a full scholarship. But a few days after he began classes, he suffered an anxiety attack and returned to his home in northern Michigan without bothering to inform the university. There would be no more scholarships.

He was, however, admitted to a couple more colleges. At one of them his career ended in spectacular fashion. During a lecture in medieval history, he was so visibly bored that his professor interrupted himself to say, "Mr. Moulton, are we boring you? I suppose you have such mastery of the subject that you could give this lecture . . . would you like to come up here and lecture the class?" Bill replied that the professor had surmised correctly and proceeded to deliver a superb lecture on the day's subject. After the class, the professor took him aside and advised him that so long as he was head of the college's history department, Bill would never graduate with a history major.

His magnificent intellect took some strange turns. I remember he took an interest in Albanian numismatics. When he discovered that an important book on the subject was available only in Albanian, he bought an Albanian grammar book and dictionary and learned enough of the language to read the book. He learned to read a dozen languages by this method, though he never bothered to learn how to pronounce a word in any of them. His studies of ancient Assyrian won him repute among experts in the field.

From high school on, he interested himself in politics, usually in feckless ways. In 1968, for some bizarre reason, he volunteered to work in the campaign to elect as president the southern bigot George Wallace, who he thought was in some way libertarian. He was well-liked by his fellow volunteers (though they were puzzled by his long hippie-like hair) and by all accounts was a very successful campaign worker. He happily accepted an invitation to attend a reception for Wallace. But even dressed in his best suit, his long hair made him look countercultural. The local police and Secret Service protecting Wallace challenged his right to attend the reception. He made a remark sufficiently sarcastic that the polizei beat him up, smashed his watch, ruined his \$300 suit and bruised him badly. The local sheriff, informed by a Wallace campaign co-ordinator that Bill's invitation was indeed genuine and that he was not a hippie intent on assassinating the candidate, got him to agree not to sue, and returned to him the broken pieces of his expensive watch. I asked him whether this experience had changed any of the idiosyncratic right-wing beliefs he had at the time. "Well, I did remove the 'Support Your Local Police' bumper sticker from my car."

continued on page 52

Explanation

Hillary, Newt and Elián

by Gene Healy

Why is a children's rights advocate trumpeting parental authority while pro-family conservatives advocate having the federal government come between father and son?

One of the luxuries of being a reflexive antistatist is that you can usually figure out what you think about any given political issue in the time it takes your knee to jerk. But the Elián González case has proven, for me at least, to be an exception to the rule. On one side, you have communist tyranny and the Clinton Justice Department. On the other, you have a father seeking reunion with his son, obstructed by a gaggle of politicians who claim to know better than he does what's best for his kid. What's a libertarian to think?

As tough a time as I've had deciding what I think about the case, I've had an even tougher time figuring out why Hillary Clinton thinks what she thinks about it. I don't normally concern myself with what's inside Ms. Clinton's head. As a general matter, I suspect that the answer is: (1) a ravenous appetite for power, (2) smoldering resentment, and (3) a collection of liberal platitudes that would embarrass a fifth-grade social studies teacher. But given that the case of Elián González is intertwined with the question of children's rights — on which Ms. Clinton has spilled so much ink over the years — it's worth exploring why the First Lady hasn't spoken up forcefully for allowing the child to stay in the United States.

We know from the events of the past year that Ms. Clinton has enough influence with her husband to get him to free Puerto Rican terrorists and bomb the Serbs. But in the Elián González case, she's chosen not to exercise that influence. Asked by a reporter about her views of the situation, she responded tepidly: "I would like to have this case with good testimony being presented in court so whatever decision is made, it can be made as soon as possible." This is passing strange, given Hillary Clinton's background as a "children's advocate." In her early writing on children's issues, Ms. Clinton argued that children's interests often conflicted with the interests of their parents, and that in some cases, the state might legitimately override parental rights. Bear with me, dear reader, as I quote at length from her 1973

Harvard Educational Review article, "Children and the Law"; it is written in a style rather more bloated and turgid than you are accustomed to read in these pages:

The basic rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship is that certain individuals are incapable or undeserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position. It is presumed that under the circumstances society is doing what is best for the individuals. Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements include marriage, slavery, and the Indian reservation system. The relative powerlessness of children makes them uniquely vulnerable to this rationale. Except for the institutionalized, who live in a state of enforced childishness, no other group is so totally dependent for its well-being on choices made by others. Obviously this dependency can be explained to a significant degree by the physical, intellectual and psychological incapacities of (some) children which render them weaker than (some) older persons. But the phenomenon must also be seen as part of the organization and ideology of the political system itself. Lacking even the basic power to vote, children are not able to exercise normal constituency powers, articulating self-interests to politicians and working toward specific goals. Young children in particular are probably not capable of organizing themselves into a political group; they must always be represented either by their parents or by established governmental or community groups organized to lobby, litigate, and exhort on their behalf.

Thus, as with slaves, Indians and women in the bad old days, children today have their interests subordinated in a

dependency relationship protected by the state. And, as with slaves, Indians, and women, progress demands erosion of that dependency relationship. Accordingly, Ms. Clinton argued for reversing the legal presumption of incompetence under which minors labor, and, in some cases, allowing children's advocates to obstruct the wishes of parents in important decisions bearing on the welfare of the child.

One would think that Elián González, then, would have been a perfect test case for Ms. Clinton's view of children's rights. Young Elián, by all accounts, wants to stay in the

Ms. Clinton's refusal to embrace her child-advocate principles, I suspect, stems from a latent affinity for Cuban socialism. Ms. Clinton is a child of the New Left, and thus inherits the New Left's romantic fascination with Castro.

United States. He told Diane Sawyer as much himself. Moreover, there is little doubt that he'd be better off staying here. Here, he would grow up in a society where free expression is allowed, and the government is constrained by law. There, he'd be a possession of the total state, and grow up materially poor and spiritually impoverished.

Why then does Ms. Clinton consider it an open question as to whether the child can stay here? Given what she's written in the past, it's a little late in the day for her to claim that she's motivated by solicitude for the rights of the father. Nor can her ambivalence toward Elián González's fate easily be explained by political calculation. Even if she couldn't convince her husband to reverse course, she'd likely benefit by dissociating herself from his decision — particularly if federal officials go in with force and violence ensues. Instead, I'd suggest, her ambivalence has a simpler explanation. She's a communist sympathizer.

Ms. Clinton's refusal to embrace her child-advocate principles, I suspect, stems from a latent affinity for Cuban socialism. Ms. Clinton is a child of the New Left, and thus inherits the New Left's romantic fascination with Castro. Norman Mailer captured the tone in an "Open Letter" to Castro in the early '60s: "You [Fidel] belong not to the United States nor to the Russians but to We [sic] of the Third Force. So long as you exist . . . you give a bit of life to the best and most passionate men and women all over the earth . . . You are the one who can show the world that a revolutionary belongs to no one, that his actions cannot be predicted because he is possessed by a vision: he knows the world must grow better at a breathless rate or there will be no mankind." Crazy Yippie Abbie Hoffman did Norman one better, declaring that when Castro stood erect "he is like a mighty penis coming to life, and when he is tall and straight the crowd immediately is transformed."

The new century finds Fidel flaccid and withered, a decrepit and decidedly unromantic despot, presiding over a prison-state with no higher end than the preservation of his own power. But for some, Fidel's revolutionary afterglow

still lingers. How else to explain the "send him back" stridency of some of Congress's hardest leftists, such as Maxine Waters (D.-Calif.) and Jose Serrano (D.-N.Y.)? It seems to me that sympathy for the devil lies at the heart of Ms. Clinton's inconsistency on this most prominent of children's issues. Somewhere in the back of her mind, no doubt, she's thinking "At least little Elián will have guaranteed health care."

But if Ms. Clinton has dropped her child-advocate principles in this case, some of the most unlikely characters have been eager to pick them up. On Fox News's "O'Reilly Factor," former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich maintained that, even if Juan Miguel González's honest and uncoerced wish is to raise his son in Cuba, he should not be permitted to do so.

Gingrich argued that upon his return to Cuba, Elián González will be subjected to indoctrination and denied a myriad of opportunities that would be available to him in a free society. In this, Gingrich is surely right. But if that's what Juan Miguel González honestly wants for his son, then is it really any of Newt Gingrich's business?

The idea that the state should be empowered to second-guess competent and nonabusive parents in parental decisions has disturbing implications. Suppose a zealous, American-born commie wants to emigrate to Cuba, and take his young son with him? Should a court have the power to stop him? Suppose another father wants to move out to Idaho, join a white separatist cult, and have his child indoctrinated into the Christian Identity philosophy? Should the "best interests of the child" test trump the father's wishes where he is the sole surviving parent?

How odd that a nominally right-of-center public figure like Gingrich should embrace the doctrine that the state can interpose itself between a child and his father, in order to guarantee the child opportunities his father may not want him to have. The doctrine that Gingrich espouses in the case of Elián González was perhaps best expressed by Justice William O. Douglas, the most liberal member of the Warren

The idea that the state should be empowered to second-guess competent and nonabusive parents in parental decisions has disturbing implications.

and Burger Courts, in his dissent in *Wisconsin v. Yoder*. In that 1972 case, the Supreme Court held that the First Amendment's free exercise clause protected an Amish citizen's right to remove his children from school after the eighth grade. Justice Douglas argued in his dissent that there was a potential conflict of interest between Amish parents and their children: "While the parents, absent dissent, normally speak for the entire family, the education of the child is a matter on which the child will often have decided views. He may want to be a pianist or an astronaut or an oceanographer. To do so he will have to break from the Amish tradition. It is the future of the student, not the future of the parents, that is imperiled by today's decision. If a parent keeps his child out of school beyond the grade school, then

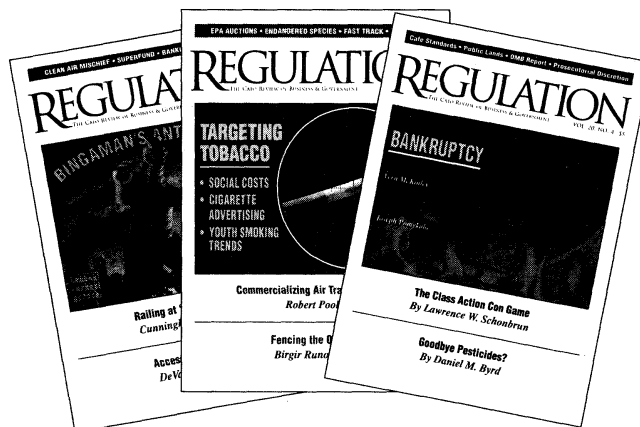
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the child will be forever barred from entry into the new and amazing world of diversity that we have today. The child may decide that that is the preferred course, or he may rebel. It is the student's judgment, not his parents', that is essential if we are to give full meaning to what we have said about the Bill of Rights and of the right of students to be masters of their own destiny."

If children are to be masters of their own destiny in the sense that Justice Douglas intended, they'll need help from the state. When their desires conflict with those of their parents in important matters, they'll need to turn to Ms. Clinton's "established governmental or community groups organized to lobby, litigate, and exhort on their behalf." The doctrine of children's rights is thus a stalking horse for the empowerment of Ms. Clinton and her ilk. Libertarians and conservatives who argue for Elián's freedom ought to be careful about flirting with the doctrine of children's rights. They might wind up kissing the very beast herself.

What then was the right thing to do in the case of Elián González? As everyone from Newt Gingrich to Hillary Clinton agreed, the matter ought to have been decided in family court. But the inquiry there should have been a narrow one, focusing on two issues: (1) is it Juan Miguel González's uncoerced wish to take his son back to Cuba? (2) does life in Cuba meet the standard for child abuse under Florida law? It's quite possible that the answer to the first question is no. There's some evidence that Mr. González acquiesced in his ex-wife's decision to take their son to America. And it's hard to believe that he can speak freely, surrounded by Cuban officials and with his mother a hostage back in Castro's island prison. If in fact Mr. González is not speaking freely, and there is good reason to believe he

actually wants his son to stay in the United States, then without question Elián González should stay.

But it's less likely that the answer to the second question — does the regime meet the standard for child abuse? — is yes. Cuba is a repulsive and despotic state, but it is not Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. It's unlikely that the Cuban government will torture or murder Elián González.

The image of that six-year-old boy being shuttled off to Castro's police state is a horribly sad one. And it must be a cold principle that demands it. But principles are cold and dispassionate, and heart-rending cases make bad law.

He will have adequate food, clothing, and shelter. And — no small matter — he will be with his father.

Nonetheless, the image of that six-year-old boy being shuttled off to Castro's police state is a horribly sad one. And it must be a cold principle that demands it. But principles are cold and dispassionate, and heart-rending cases make bad law. The idea that the state can, in cases that fall short of the standard of child abuse, trump parental rights, is exceedingly bad law. If Juan Miguel González honestly wants his son to grow up in communist Cuba, then he's a lousy parent and a poor excuse for a human being. But he's within his rights as a father.

That's my view as of this afternoon, anyway. Tomorrow it may be different. □

Letters, continued from page 6

dom searches, Wolfram writes, "I have never heard one student complain of his room being searched." This evasion is worthy of Bill Clinton! Do students not complain because random searches are the Hillsdale Way, and all right-thinkers have nothing to hide? I agree that it would be good if Anonymous could provide specific cases, but considering that the faculty expelled Mark Nehls for writing and publishing a newspaper off-campus, then making him sign a non-disclosure agreement, I can understand why no student would actually raise his hand and say, "Yes, Prof. Wolfram. My room was searched for no apparent reason and I didn't like it."

Mr. Wolfram apparently thinks Nehls' expulsion acceptable, for he makes no attempt to defend the administration's action. On the other hand, Anonymous doesn't say whether it was Nehls' publishing of *The Hillsdale*

Spectator that caused him to be expelled — but then, how could he verify it, given that Nehls was forced to sign an NDA? And what exactly does Wolfram mean when he says Nehls was "more interested in making noise than he was about solving problems"? What "problem" had to be "solved" here?

Wolfram writes a great deal about censorship or the lack thereof in Hillsdale's *Collegian*, but this misses the larger point that if, as Wolfram repeatedly claims, Hillsdale is a business, then its students are customers, yet they apparently are not treated thus. Hence, Nehls' expulsion. Hence, the school's appalling "no comment" regarding Lissa Roche's suicide and Dr. Roche's resignation. Wolfram wants it one way only, that is, he wants the flexibility of a business in its dealings with the world without any of the same culpability a business faces when it fails to satisfy its customers. He fails to realize that a

business has to keep its reputation, not with Rotarian smokescreens or the suppression of its unhappy clients, but by honest dealing when the unfortunate does happen.

Rob McMillin
Garden Grove, Calif.

Keep the Faith

In his May 2000 essay, "Learning from Hillsdale," R. W. Bradford wrote, "Private power can be just as corrupting as state power." With that insight he undermined the libertarian faith. A libertarian society would have far greater economic inequality than we currently have. Consequently, the rich would have considerably more power over the rest of us than they presently do.

As one who was hectored by a bully whenever the teacher left the room, I have learned to appreciate the presence of a power capable of restraining the

continued on page 39

Refutation

McCaffrey's Brain on Drugs

by Paul Rako

A vivisection of the drug warrior in chief.

With regard to the position taken by Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey opposing the legalization of drugs, there are a few concepts that need clarifying. The first and foremost is what Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey means by the word "drugs." It may be assumed from context and inductive reasoning that what he is referring to are not drugs in general such as aspirin, or even prescription drugs that enjoy quasi-legal status in that one need only find a doctor to write a prescription for them. What Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey means when he says "drugs" are psychotropic substances such as marijuana and cocaine.

To state that these two drugs should be illegal is even a little misleading since there is no better bronchodilator known to man than THC, the active ingredient in marijuana. Cocaine is of value as a topical anesthetic and was often prescribed by dentists and physicians until recently. Would Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey object if the child unfortunate enough to have him as a father was choking to death from asthma and somebody gave the kid a hit of marijuana? What if the kid was screaming in agony from poison oak or shingles or bee stings and someone had the presence of mind to whip up a cocaine poultice and apply it topically to the affected areas? No, I think not.

What Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey objects to is that someone would give his unfortunate offspring marijuana or cocaine for the psychotropic effects these substances have. I assume that this is because his children will need a lot of psychotropic substances to ease the pain of knowing that their father is a bigoted jerk who likes to see people suffer for no reason and that Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey does not want his children hitting him up for cash all the time in order to try different drugs to see if the emotional pain and embarrassment will go away.

My dictionary defines "psychoactive" as "influencing the mind or mental processes." Thorazine, Valium and Viagra are such drugs, but they are legal. Apparently Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey thinks it's OK to take Viagra and get happy for

having an erection but it's not OK to take marijuana and get happy whether your member becomes tumescent or not. So I can't see exactly what Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey means by "drugs," other than things which he objects to for reasons that are inconsistent with reality and human nature. Well, so much for trying to make sense out of what Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey considers to be "drugs."

Let's look at his first paragraph:

The so-called harm-reduction approach to drugs confuses people with terminology. All drug policies claim to reduce harm. No reasonable person advocates a position consciously designed to be harmful. The real question is which policies actually decrease harm and increase good. The approach advocated by people who say they favor harm reduction would in fact harm Americans.

—Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

We can see a glaring need for another definition at this point: It's the definition of the word "harm." Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey's definition of the word harm is: "Causing anything I don't approve of." I think a better definition of the word harm is: "Causing suffering." Like the suffering caused by the knowledge that your dad is a bigoted jerk and that you can't even take a puff or a toot or a couple of pills to ease the pain until he gets out of the public eye and stops bringing disgrace to the family name. So we immediately see a simple contradiction caused by Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey's prejudiced view of what constitutes harm. He thinks psychoactive drugs would harm his children. I think his children should have an IV installed and try the whole pharmacopoeia until Dad stops being an jerk. It won't keep Dad from

being a jerk but it might make the emotional distress bearable. Yes, psychoactive drugs are indicated for the treatment of mental illness and people like Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey make us sick.

The second paragraph goes on to say:

The theory behind what they call harm reduction is that illegal drugs cannot be controlled by law enforcement, education and other methods; therefore, proponents say, harm should be reduced by needle exchange, decriminalization of drugs, heroin maintenance and other measures. But the real intent of many harm reduction advocates is the legalization of drugs, which would be a mistake.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

To which my reply to this arrogant assertion is: Intelligent people present the facts and then draw conclusions from those facts. Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey states a conclusion after citing a series of facts that refutes his

Yup, abuse does wreck lives. That is the definition of abuse whether it's drug abuse, car abuse, child abuse or abuse of power, which is a specialty of Barry R. McCaffrey and his gang of jackbooted henchmen.

conclusion. What does that say about Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey?

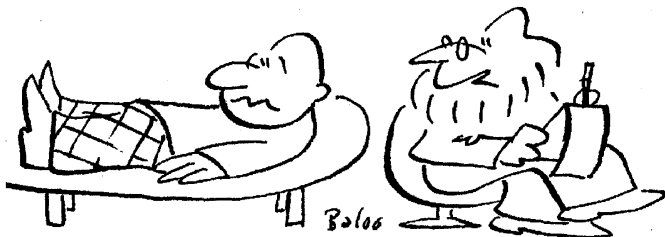
The third paragraph:

Lest anyone question whether harm reductionists favor drug legalization, let me quote some articles written by supporters of this position. Ethan Nadelmann, director of the Lindesmith Center, a Manhattan-based drug research institute, wrote in American Heritage (March, 1993): "Should we legalize drugs? History answers 'yes.'" In Issues in Science and Technology (June, 1990), Nadelmann aligns his own opinion with history's supposed verdict: "Personally, when I talk about legalization, I mean three things: The first is to make drugs such as marijuana, cocaine and heroin legal." With regard to labels, Nadelmann wrote: "I much prefer the term 'decriminalization' or 'normalization.'"

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

If Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey's confusion weren't self-evident from the previous paragraphs, he goes on to cite highly intelligent and respected professionals whose position directly contradicts his fantasy world conclusion. Hey now.

The fourth paragraph:



"Oh, there's nothing wrong with your memory — that's a completely new 'Star Trek' with all different characters."

People who advocate legalization can call themselves anything they like, but deceptive terms should not obscure a position so that it can't be debated coherently. Changing the name of a plan doesn't constitute a new solution or alter the nature of the problem.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

Hang on, I'm still laughing. OK, OK, no, no, wait, I'm losing it again, hold on, wait, I need a drink. OK, OK, now I'm better. Well, Barry is still slinging conclusions without any facts to support them. Can you say "pedantic semantics" Barry? I bet you can. I guess Aristotle would call this an inferred ad hominem argument. Kind of imply the other guy's choice of words are somehow sneaky or deceptive and therefore everything the guy says is false. Aristotle saw through this sort of stuff two thousand years ago, while the McCaffreys were just learning to sodomize sheep in the Irish Highlands.

The Evils of Drugs

The fifth paragraph:

The plain fact is that drug abuse wrecks lives. It is criminal that more money is spent on illegal drugs than on art or higher education, that crack babies are born addicted and in pain and that thousands of adolescents lose their health and future to drugs.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

Wow, what a pillar of cogent reasoning. Yup, abuse does wreck lives. That is the definition of abuse whether it's drug abuse, car abuse, child abuse or abuse of power, which is a specialty of Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey and his gang of jackbooted henchmen. Notice how Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey goes from arguing about drug use to making a rhetorical statement that abuse is bad. So is logic abuse Barry, and you should be incarcerated for it. But wait, no kids, we're not done yet. After pretty much saying Bad = Bad as a causative position, Barry goes on to say that it's criminal that people spend more money on drugs he doesn't approve of than on art or college.

No, Barry, it's not criminal, it's human nature. People have different values than you and even if you make us all pray in school and all go to your church, people will still have different opinions as to what is worthwhile. After seeing the Phish concert last week I can assure you that drug use is often done to greater appreciate the arts; the fact that drugs are more valuable to our society than college shows how useless our academic infrastructure has become now that the government is running so many schools.

As to Barry's heart-tugging bleatings about crack babies, well, we're back to that use/abuse dichotomy again and anyway, studies have shown that the low birthweights and other health problems of crack babies are overcome as early as 18 months after birth.¹ As to teenagers: oak trees and cars claim a lot more than do drugs.² Is Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey going to outlaw '57 Chevys and bridge embankments too?

The sixth paragraph states:

Addictive drugs were criminalized because they are harmful; they are not harmful because they were criminalized. The more a product is available and legitimized, the greater will be its use. If drugs were legalized in the U.S., the cost to the individual and society would grow astronomically. In the Netherlands when coffee shops started selling marijuana in

small quantities, use of this drug doubled between 1984 and 1992. A 1997 study by Robert MacCoun and Peter Reuter from the University of Maryland notes that the percentage of Dutch 18-year-olds who tried pot rose from 15% to 34% from 1984 to 1992, a time when the numbers weren't climbing in other European nations. By contrast, in 1992 teenage use of marijuana in the United States was estimated at 10.6%.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

Here's that pedantic semantic guy again. OK, so maybe I was wrong about Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey's ancestors sodomizing sheep in the Irish Highlands. Maybe they were in Salem, Massachusetts unleashing little gems like: "Witches were criminalized because they are harmful; they are not harmful because they were criminalized." Then another dose of rhetorical observation: this time his brilliant assertion is Good = Good. Yup Barry, availability and legitimacy are driven by demand and demand is caused by people thinking something is good. Then another burst of the good old semantic pedantic Barry with the bald-faced assertion that drug legalization will increase costs. Sorry Barry, it's Economics 101. You must have gone to a government-supported school.

You see, fines and jail are real costs of using the drugs your gang doesn't approve of. When you remove those costs, net costs go down Barry, not up. In addition, when you remove the enforcement costs and the price of those expensive jackboots for you and your cronies, social costs are reduced even further. And yes, Barry, you are right that use will go up. It's that Econ thing again. But when you say costs will rise and so will use, you are violating a fundamental law of economics. Oh well, you are a few sandwiches short of a picnic, so I guess I can understand. What I really like about this paragraph is that you trot out some real life, albeit unsupported, statistics to make a slam dunk case for your idiot position. You seem to have confused us with Homer Simpson: "Ohhhh! . . . Statistics! . . . This guy must really

The new generation is at risk for drugs because their older brothers and sisters have realized that most of what you say is a lie.

know what he's talking about! . . . Pass me a doughnut." Unfortunately your examples are so pathetic they self-destruct upon the most cursory inspection. I won't argue legalization won't increase consumption. This is because drugs are good when used according to valid medical needs. We need a lot of drugs in a world full of people like you. What nauseates me is your implication that teen use will skyrocket. Sorry Barry, I read the examples and I've got a few problems right off the bat. You compare teen drug use in the U.S. to that of 18-year-olds in the Netherlands. Well Barry, guess what? The statistics for 18-year-olds and the statistics for 13 to 18-year-olds are sure to be different no matter what. And there's a difference between "use" and "just trying." Are you too stupid to make a valid comparison or are the

numbers so close as to be statistically insignificant? Pass me a doughnut.

Paragraph seven goes on to say:

Many advocates of harm reduction consider drug use a part of the human condition that will always be with us. While we agree that murder, pedophilia and child prostitution can never be eliminated entirely, no one is arguing that we legalize these activities.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

Back to Aristotle again, but this time its guilt by syntactic association. If murder, pedophilia and child prostitution are bad, so is anything else mentioned in the same sentence.

There would be no HIV risk from needles if do-gooder slime like you would mind your own business and let people get a clean rig at the store without filling out a lot of paperwork.

Yes, Barry, love, marriage and baseball cards will always be with us too and guess what? No one is arguing that we criminalize these activities.

Heroin Maintenance

Oh boy, let's jump right into paragraph eight:

Some measures proposed by activist harm reductionists, like heroin maintenance, veer toward the absurd. The Lindesmith Center convened a meeting in June to discuss a multi-city heroin maintenance study, and a test program for heroin maintenance may be launched in Baltimore. Arnold Trebach argues for heroin maintenance in his book Legalize It? Debating American Drug Policy. "Under the legalization plan I propose here, addicts . . . would be able to purchase the heroin and needles they need at reasonable prices from a nonmedical drugstore."

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

There you go again Barry, slinging conclusions first and then no facts to back them up. Who died and made you King, Barry? Which is worse in your twisted worldview, Barry, veering toward the absurd or slouching toward Gomorrah or what? If veering toward the absurd is so bad in your book, it's a good thing you didn't go to The Other Ones concert with us last weekend. I noticed you didn't mention that individuals such as William F. Buckley and Nobel Laureate Milton Friedman have come out for legalization, as well as the refusal of many federal judges to take drug cases because the mandatory minimum sentencing laws end up destroying lives for no reason, especially African American and Hispanic lives.³

On to paragraph nine:

Why would anyone choose to maintain addicts on heroin as opposed to oral methadone, which eliminates the injection route associated with HIV and other diseases? Research from the National Institute for Drug Abuse shows that untreated addicts die at a rate seven to eight times higher than similar patients in methadone-based treatment programs.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

I'll give you one good reason, you know-it-all, Barry, because kicking methadone is brutal compared to kicking heroin, and that comes from my pal Doug, who has the San Quentin degree and the experience to state a simple fact. There would be no HIV risk from needles if do-gooder slime like you would mind your own business and let people get a clean rig at the store without filling out a lot of paperwork.

And I just love your statistics. Statistics used to show that a lot of people died of tuberculosis in Arizona, so you

Intelligent people present the facts and then draw conclusions from those facts. McCaffrey states a conclusion after citing a series of facts that refutes his conclusion. What does that say about McCaffrey?

wouldn't want to take the advice of your doctor to move there, since figures don't lie. (But liars do figure, hey Barry?)

Paragraph ten:

Dr. Avram Goldstein, in his book Addiction: From Biology to Drug Policy, explains that when individuals switch from heroin to methadone, general health improves and abnormalities of body systems (such as the hormones) normalize. Unlike heroin maintenance, methadone maintenance has no adverse effects on cognitive or psychomotor function, performance of skilled tasks or memory, he said. This research indicates that the choice of heroin maintenance over methadone maintenance doesn't even meet the criteria of harm reduction that advocates claim to apply.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

Ohhh! . . . A Jewish doctor! . . . You must be telling the truth! Pass me a doughnut. Sorry Barry, Doctor Goldstein is full of it. I can say this with authority since after Dave's mom died of cancer he gave me one of her methadone pills. I was nodding so hard I almost knocked myself out against the wall. This Goldstein is on somebody's payroll, probably the company that makes methadone.⁴ The patents for heroin have expired so there isn't as much juicy corporate money in peddling it as there is in banning it.⁵

How We Won/Will Win the Drug War

Oh golly Paw, let's peruse paragraph eleven:

Treatment must differ significantly from the disease it seeks to cure. Otherwise, the solution resembles the circular reasoning spoofed in Saint-Exupéry's The Little Prince by the character who drinks because he has a terrible problem, namely, that he is a drunk. Just as alcohol is no help for alcoholism, heroin is no cure for heroin addiction.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

And just as circular logic is circular logic so is circular logic circular logic. Heroin use is not a disease Barry. Mental illness is a disease and heroin use can help people with mental illness. You say addiction. I say maintenance. Ohhhh! . . . Saint Exupéry! . . . Pass me a doughnut.

Let us not ignore paragraph twelve:

As a society, we are successfully addressing drug use and its consequences. In the past 20 years, drug use in the United States decreased by half and casual cocaine use by 70%. Drug-related murders and spending on drugs decreased by more than 30% as the illegal drug market shrunk.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

These numbers are patently false,⁶ Barry.

Paragraph thirteen:

Still, we are faced with many challenges, including educating a new generation of children who may have little experience with the negative consequences of drug abuse, increasing access to treatment for 4 million addicted Americans and breaking the cycle of drugs and crime that has caused a massive increase in the number of people incarcerated. We need prevention programs, treatment and alternatives to incarceration for nonviolent drug offenders. Drug legalization is not a viable policy alternative because excusing harmful practices only encourages them.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

Yeah, Barry, and I bet if we peons just send you all our money you'll institute a whole host of programs just as useless as the ones in place now, but at least all your pals and relatives will have lifetime jobs pursuing a goal that can never be reached. The new generation is at risk for drugs because its older brothers and sisters have realized that most of what you say is a lie. Drugs and crime are a cycle only because your billions of dollars of criminalization programs raise the cost of drugs to the point where crime is the only income option for many people. I love when you want more of my money to try and fix a problem caused by your stupid policies to begin with.

Why is using some drugs so bad to you Barry, but alcohol and Valium and Xanax are just A-OK? Why do you insist that casual non-abusive drug use is harmful? Why must you

You seem to have confused us with Homer Simpson: "Ohhhh! . . . Statistics! . . . This guy must really know what he's talking about! . . . Pass me a doughnut."

weave this tissue of fallacies around your unfounded positions?

Paragraph fourteen:

At best, harm reduction is a half-way measure, a half-hearted approach that would accept defeat. Increasing help is better than decreasing harm. The 1998 National Drug Control Strategy — a publication of the Office of National Drug Control Policy that presents a balanced mix of prevention, treatment, stiff law enforcement, interdiction and international cooperation — is a blueprint for reducing drug abuse and its consequences by half over the coming decade. With science as our guide and grass-roots organizations at the forefront, we will succeed in controlling this problem.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

Well, Barry, I was getting worried that I would run out of brilliantly reasoned trenchant analysis, but I can see now my

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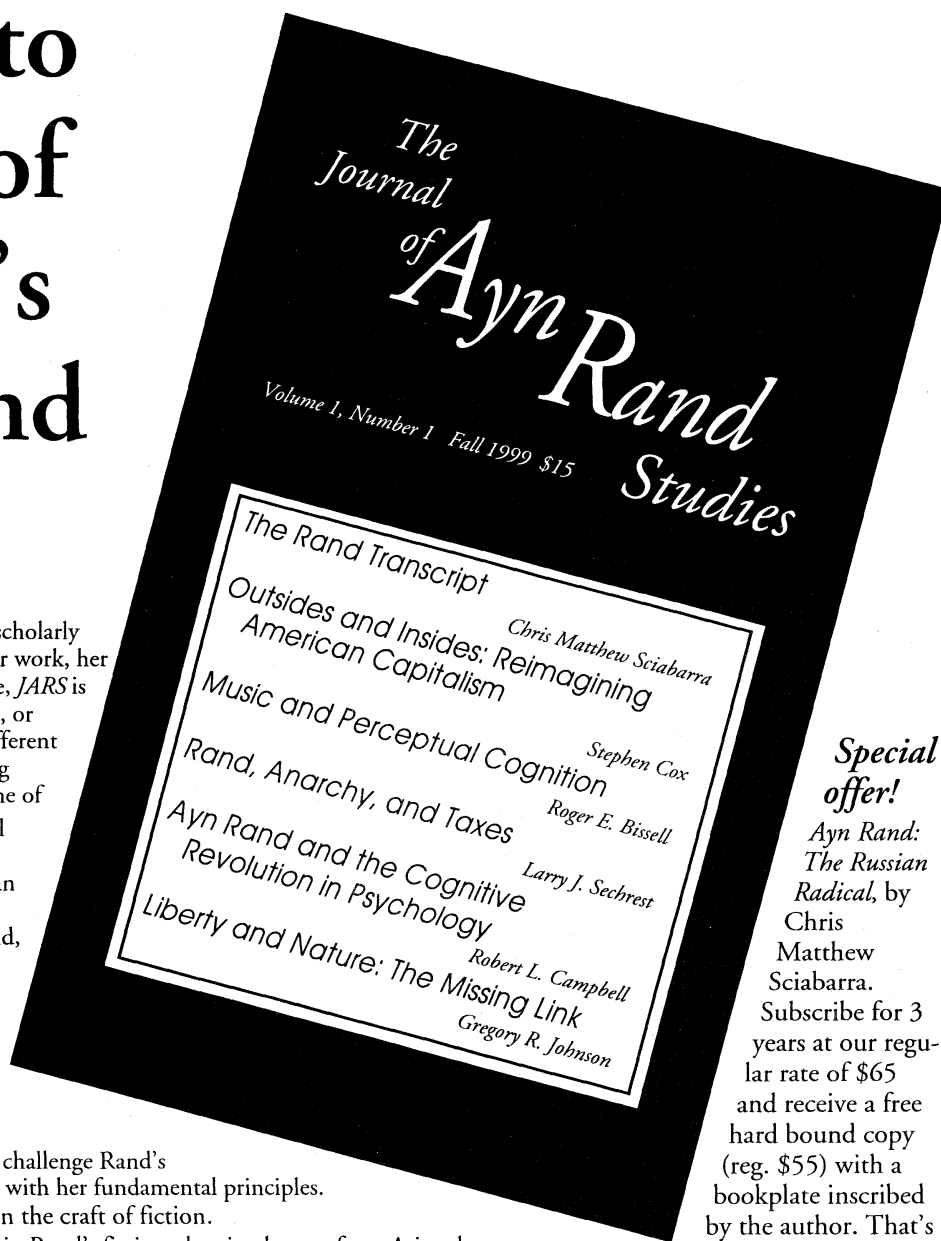
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concerns were unfounded. Actually I still am a little concerned because the second sentence, you know, the one after the stupid bald-faced assertion that has no basis in fact, yeah, Barry, that second sentence has struck me speechless. Let's savor it one more time:

"Increasing help is better than decreasing harm."

So I guess when your spiritual brethren nailed Jesus to the cross you would be up there dabbing mercurochrome on His palms, right, Barry? I want everybody to read Barry's second sentence again. Now, again. OK, one more time. Now say aloud the word "Evil." Thank you, folks. This is it, folks; there you have it; the crux of the entire government biscuit, as Zappa used to say. Take our money and harm us. Then get more of our money to help us. Repeat until no money. Next chump, please.

But wait, this paragraph goes on to detail how some big important sounding Office has devised a solution. Ohhhh! ... An Office! ... Pass me a doughnut please. The solution is so good it will be the final solution. Yes, Barry, it sure will be. The big important sounding Office had such a familiar name but I just couldn't place it until I scrolled up to the beginning of this letter and saw that the Office of National Drug Control Policy is the selfsame office of which you are the Director. Wow Barry, some coincidence that it was your office that came up with the solution and not Harvard⁷ or Hoover Institute⁸ or all those other places that think legalization is the solution. How about you just let us all keep our money and let us decide which drugs to do and then when we get addicted we can go to Betty Ford Center and hang out with all the movie stars and politicians? Your advocacy of this study wouldn't be a tiny bit self-serving, would it Barry? Science and grass roots? You pig, how about vengeance and tyranny? That's what really drives you Barry. May your head be carried on a pike through the streets while the screams of your loved ones echo from the burning buildings of your crumbling institutions. You pig. You dirty pig.

The pig's paragraph fifteen:

Pretending that harmful activity will be reduced if we condone it under the law is foolhardy and irresponsible.

— Mr. Barry R. McCaffrey

Huh? Barry? BARRY? It's the not condoning it that is doing all the harm. Harming people so you can help them is the sign of a psychopath. You know Barry, maybe I was all wrong about you. Maybe you're not a pig. Maybe you are a psychopath. You know, crazy. You know, mentally ill. Maybe you should take some psychoactive drugs, Barry. They help treat mental illness. It beats a straitjacket or prison anyway. □

(Mr. McCaffrey's remarks Copyright 1998, Los Angeles Times. All Rights Reserved, although I wouldn't be too proud of them if I was a prestigious West Coast Daily.)

Notes:

1. "Crack babies' catch up", by Dana Kennedy, The Associated Press, 12/6/92, <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/cocaine/crackbb.html>

2. Traffic crashes are the greatest single cause of death for every age from five through twenty-seven. Almost half of these crashes are alcohol-related. (NHTSA, 1996) http://www.madd.org/stats/stat_gen.html

3. By May 1993, 50 senior federal judges, including Jack B.

Weinstein and Whitman Knapp of New York, had exercised their prerogative and refused to hear drug cases. Federal District Judge Stanley Marshall remarked, "I've always been considered a fairly harsh sentencer, but it's killing me that I'm sending so many low-level offenders away for all this time." A Gallup poll of 350 state and 49 federal judges who belong to the American Bar Association found 8 percent in favor of and 90 percent opposed to the federal mandatory minimums for drug offenses. <http://www.famm.org/history9.html>

4. A little research shows the doctor to have started the first methadone program in California, so this also explains his prejudices. A choice quote: "Consumers of medicines have no expertise to evaluate claims." [http://nytsyn.com/live/Alcohol/AND_GET_THIS_KIDS:For_Dr._Goldstein's_views_on_marijuana_refer_to:_Quotes_from_the_National_Institutes_of_Health_\(NIH\)_Workshop_on_the_Medical_Utility_of_Marijuana_-_Roundtable_Discussion,_February_20,_1997_Natcher_Conference_Center_-_NIH_Campus,_Bethesda,_Maryland.](http://nytsyn.com/live/Alcohol/AND_GET_THIS_KIDS:For_Dr._Goldstein's_views_on_marijuana_refer_to:_Quotes_from_the_National_Institutes_of_Health_(NIH)_Workshop_on_the_Medical_Utility_of_Marijuana_-_Roundtable_Discussion,_February_20,_1997_Natcher_Conference_Center_-_NIH_Campus,_Bethesda,_Maryland.)

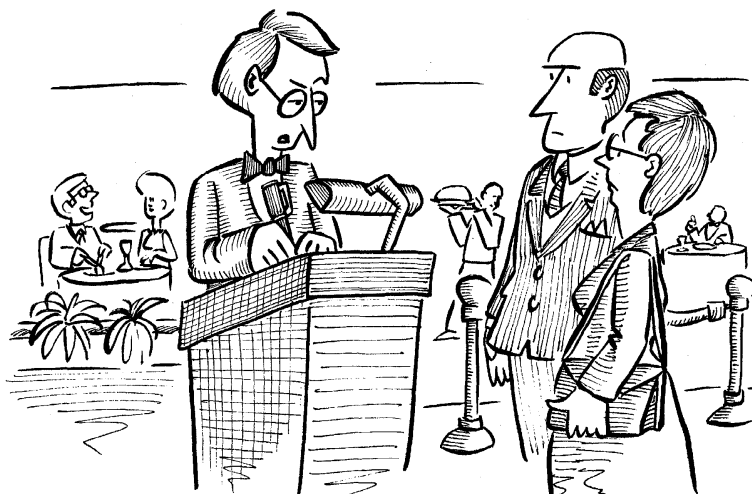
"[I]f someone is seriously ill and is not feeling well, and marijuana makes them feel better, who is to say that that's a bad thing?" (page 83, Avram Goldstein, M.D.) "[W]e know that there are no extreme immediate toxicity issues. It's a very safe drug, and therefore it would be perfectly safe medically to let the patient determine their own dose by the smoking route." (p 82) <http://www.mpp.org/nihquote.html>

5. Another leading authority on drug pharmacology, Dr. E. Leong Way, comments that — despite its fearful public image — "heroin does not have major effects on the motor and cardiovascular system and hence, the user can function effectively if access to the drug is not prevented." E. Leong Way, "Pharmacologic Assessment of Dependence Risks," in Krauss and Lazear. (p 394) <http://www.rahul.net/liberty/liberty/features/53nelson.html>

6. "Back to the '70s: The MTV Generation Inhales", by Robert L. Maginnis. Drug abuse among teenagers has risen significantly in recent years. A nationwide survey by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) in 1994 found that annual marijuana use among eighth graders rose from 6.2 percent in 1991 to 13 percent in 1994. The trend is also evident among tenth (16.5 percent to 30.4 percent) and twelfth (36.7 percent to 38.2 percent) graders. And cocaine, crack, heroin, and LSD use among teenagers is also rising and may soon rival the high rates of the 1970s. [1] <http://townhall.com/frc/insight/is95b3dr.html>

7. Son, Avery, *Legalize It: Optimality Conditions Under a Taxed Legalization Policy*, Mimeo, Harvard University (1994) <http://icg.fas.harvard.edu/~ec970/olson.html>

8. *Stop the War: A Former Police Chief's Plea to Clinton's New Drug Czar*, by Joseph D. McNamara (Hoover Institute) // www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/debate/mcn/mcn1.html



"Armed or unarmed?"

The Pseudo-Science of Rating Congress

by J. Bishop Grewell

Voting records don't tell the whole story.

As the political season heats up, one of the best indicators of what a candidate will do in the future is what he or she has done in the past. That means deeds, not words; and voting records are the clearest deeds of a candidate. Recognizing this, political groups and non-partisan research institutes often devise

scorecards that measure the voting records of elected officials. Americans for Democratic Action, the American Conservative Union, the League of Conservation Voters, the Chamber of Commerce, the National Tax Limitation Committee, The American Civil Liberties Union, the Christian Coalition and countless others play the scorecard game. In last month's *Liberty*, David Boaz of the Cato Institute took a turn at bat with a scorecard designed to show whether there was a libertarian residing in the 1999 U.S. House of Representatives. Creating these scorecards, though, is often more art than science.

Two summers ago, I undertook a scorecard project for the Political Economy Research Center (PERC). The plan was to measure the affinity of each congressperson for FME (free market environmentalism), with an ultimate goal of creating a little press for PERC upon release of the card and an award for the highest scoring member of Congress. Scorecards, after all, are generally useful to three specific entities: Political candidates who score highly, the group sponsoring the card, which enjoys press coverage while getting the candidates to consider its viewpoints, and finally, professors of political science, who find the cards useful for attempting to quantify ideology as a statistical variable in research projects.

The result of the project was a lot of wasted time on my part and on the part of my colleagues: time spent poring over votes recorded by *Congressional Quarterly* — and trying to determine whether each vote earned a positive or negative mark. We failed to come up with a rating system that we thought was valid. But our experience did provide a few clear lessons. And as my teachers always said, you should

learn from your mistakes.

1. Bills are messy.

Free market environmentalists have long heralded the value of the CAMPFIRE Program in Zimbabwe, which turns over the management of African wildlife to the local communities who then conserve habitat in return for trophy fees from the sustainable hunting of big game. The involvement of U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in helping to fund the program, however, has been a point of much skepticism. Some biologists on the ground in Africa have accused USAID funds of hurting CAMPFIRE by creating perverse incentives and bureaucratic webs that lessen the community's direct ties to the wildlife. So when a vote arose in the House to prohibit USAID funding from being "used to directly support or promote trophy hunting or the international commercial trade in elephant ivory, elephant hides, or rhinoceros horns," the FME position on the issue was not clear. While FME'rs may oppose government funding in general, they did not oppose it on the grounds that others did — those who found trophy hunting immoral or thought that it would hurt wild game populations. PERC was forced to exclude the vote from inclusion so as not to sully the scores.

Another roll call vote dealt with releasing funds for international family planning early. PERC does not believe that family planning programs need government subsidies. For one, private institutions can fund such measures through voluntary donations. Secondly, population growth is tapering off on its own with the United Nations projecting no growth after 2050. Hence, this vote would seem to deserve a "nay" from the free market position. From testimony in

Congress, however, it was clear the vote was really about abortion. With no free market environmental position on abortion, the vote was scrapped from the scorecard.

David Boaz attempted to avoid such issues by carefully picking the votes in his libertarian scorecard, but the complexity of bills even managed to trip him up on at least one vote. Boaz listed the eleventh roll call vote in his card as a vote to restore Selective Service Agency Funding. On the surface, this vote is clearly something libertarians would oppose and Boaz gave credit accordingly. If, however, one looks more closely at the vote and its surrounding debate, many of those who voted against restoring the funding did so because it would have resulted in \$17 million worth of cuts from FEMA and the EPA. When asked about the vote, Republican Thomas M. Davis III of Virginia didn't talk about the freedoms Selective Service violates, rather he said, "Nobody likes these cuts." Do protectors of the EPA deserve libertarian credit?

2. The voting process is messy.

One of the best arguments any libertarian can make for the cause is simply displaying the kind of votes that regularly take place in Congress. Consider the following vote description from the *Congressional Quarterly*:

Senate Vote 131. S 949. Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation — Revenue/Mining. Gregg, R-N.H., motion to waive the Budget Act with respect to the Murkowski, R-Alaska, point of order against the Bumpers, D-Ark., amendment to revise the Internal Revenue Code and repeal the "depletions allowance" tax break available to hardrock mining companies. Motion rejected 36-63: R 7-47; D 29-16 (ND 26-11, SD 3-5), June 26, 1997. A three-fifths majority vote (60) of the total Senate is required to waive the Budget Act. (Subsequently, the chair upheld the Murkowski point of order and the amendment failed.)

What in the world does this mean? Short of using the Rosetta stone, the average U.S. citizen would have a difficult time deciphering what legislators were actually voting on. As best as I was able to interpret from the *Congressional Record*: Senator Murkowski raised a point of order that the Bumpers amendment was not germane under an obscure section of the Budget Act. Senator Gregg, in response, proposed waiving the Budget Act in order to allow the Bumpers amendment to stand. Hence, a vote for Senator Gregg's waiver is a vote for the Bumpers Amendment.

Or consider a measure to authorize spending on transportation programs, including mass transit, which passed the Senate 96 to 4. It's pretty plain that free-market proponents would oppose this measure. But the *Congressional Record* made it clear that those who took the FME position did not

do so for free-market reasons: the only reason they opposed the bill was because their own states were not getting enough pork. Bad intentions don't warrant a pat on the back; we decided against including the vote in our scorecard.

3. Even when votes are clean, they are messy.

The content of bills and the intent of the member of Congress were not the only problems. There were also procedural difficulties in choosing which votes to include. In the Senate in 1997, PERC considered eighteen roll call votes to be environmental in nature. Of those, only six merited inclusion in our scorecard. One reason was that of the entire eighteen, seven were related to disposal of nuclear waste. Not wanting to overweigh an issue, we included only two of those disposal votes for our project: Our purpose, after all, was to create

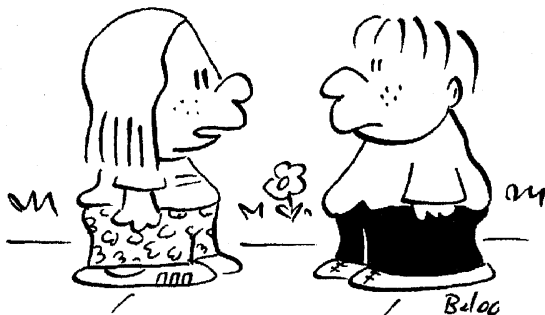
Rating Congress is like trying to tell time at night with a sundial. One may know that the hour is nearer to sunrise than sunset, but it is still an educated guess as to exactly when the cock will crow.

a scorecard of "free market environmentalism," not a scorecard of candidates' views on nuclear waste.

Another procedural question that arose was whether unanimous votes or votes where only a few members of a congressional body were opposed should be included. Senate Vote 207 dealt with a bill to end the embargo on Latin American tuna and redefine the "dolphin safe" label. The bill passed unanimously. By including the vote, the entire Senate's score would shift in one direction. This is useful in that it helps demonstrate the body's changing attitude. But including unanimous votes or overwhelmingly one-sided votes dampens the differences between individual members within a congressional body, thereby undermining the main purpose of the scorecards.

4. Scorecards — based on messy bills and messy votes — are messy.

In the 105th Congress (which included the years 1997 and 1998), we were able to find 30 votes in the U.S. House that we felt were environmental in nature, had a clear FME position, and had no strikes against them that would warrant exclusion. In the Senate, however, we could only find eleven roll call votes that matched all of these criteria. (Five votes from 1998 were added to the six votes from 1997 already mentioned.) With so few votes qualifying, the differences in scores between legislators lacked nuance. For instance, two senators who only voted differently on one issue would find themselves separated by nine points. In addition, twenty-one members of the Senate, or over 1/5 of the body, received an identical score. The same happened in David Boaz's scorecard, with 21% of the House receiving a score of 42. Lack of a substantial number of votes lessens the impact of the scorecard because senators and representatives may seem much further apart or much closer together in philosophy than



"School is okay in some ways, but it sure cuts into my day."

they really are.

An interesting point made by my PERC colleague Matthew Brown is that Boaz actually has an option to add nuance to his card that many scorecards don't. At the end of *Libertarianism: A Primer*, Boaz notes that there are two planes for defining the political ideology of libertarianism: economic freedoms and personal freedoms. Boaz could separate the roll call votes along these lines and give three scores for the representatives and senators: overall libertarian, libertarian on economic issues, and libertarian on personal issues. That way socially liberal but economically conservative representatives who score the same as socially conservative but economic liberals would be demarcated into different groups. While it may be messier, it would help add more detail.

So How Do They All Do It?

With all of these problems in creating a scorecard, how do other organizations accomplish the feat?

For one, broadening the scope of the scorecard solves several problems. Trying to pin down the philosophy of Congress on environmental issues alone is much more difficult than labeling senators and representatives as conservative, liberal, or libertarian. By including more votes, the differences between members of Congress become clearer and there is less lumping of legislators.

Oddly though, scorecard groups that measure these larger philosophies often limit the number of votes in their card for purposes of space, not wanting to scare off potential readers. For instance, Americans for Democratic Action, which has measured the liberal leanings of Congress since 1947, only uses twenty votes in each of the House and the Senate. This is despite the availability of many more votes every year meeting the organization's ideological criteria.

The basic problem with scorecards is that they give a false impression of accuracy and precision.

Boaz offers one legitimate reason for limiting the spectrum. His scorecard attempted to eliminate votes that fell into the messy category, votes that — like the one on CAMPFIRE — clearly have several possible interpretations, though, as I mentioned, not even all of Boaz's votes were squeaky clean.

Scorecards that are short on the vote tally, not by their own choosing but because their narrow interests limit the spectrum (as ours did), occasionally try to compensate by including indicators of congressional philosophy other than votes in their scorecard, but that leads to problems, too. For example, in 1997, the League of Conservation Voters, an environmental group, gave credit to congressmen who signed on to cosponsor a bill shifting air quality standards from Congress's jurisdiction to the EPA's jurisdiction. This begs the question: Why are some cosponsorships included and not others? Is it to help a candidate that the organization

likes, but who did poorly? The more items included in a scorecard, the more they need justification.

More often than not, I think the organizations that score Congress solve the problems by simply ignoring that they exist and plowing forward, arguing that the benefits of ranking Congress outweigh any troubles with the process itself. Disclaimers and detailed description of methodology are used to sidestep questions of effectiveness.

Remember the family planning vote that PERC chose to eliminate from its scorecard because debate had framed the issue as one of abortion? The League of Conservation Voters did not feel the same twinges of doubt. It included the vote, essentially labeling those who voted against the funding

No scorecard takes into account the intentions of a congressional member's vote. Votes are designated as black or white and if a member of congress votes incorrectly despite doing so for reasons that match that of the organization rating Congress, he or she is still punished.

because they were pro-life as also anti-environment. While the two camps may indeed overlap, no doubt several congressmen were unfairly categorized.

The basic problem with scorecards is that they give a false impression of accuracy and precision. When a legislator is assigned a number, the reader of a scorecard more or less assumes that the congressman's philosophy has been accurately quantified, and this is simply not true. No scorecard organization takes into account the intentions of a congressional member's vote. Rather, votes are designated as black or white and if a member of congress votes incorrectly despite doing so for reasons that match that of the scorecard organization, he or she is still punished.

Rating Congress is like trying to tell time at night with a sundial. One may know that the hour is nearer to sunrise than sunset, but it is still an educated guess as to exactly when the cock will crow. As Boaz wrote, "In the end, no ratings system is perfect. Any interested voter should watch the actual votes of his own representatives in Congress, not rely on a selective rating."

While there may be some merit to creating a general spectrum of where congressional members lie philosophically, the real value of a scorecard lies in explanations of each vote. This includes the underpinnings behind why it was or was not included and why each yea or nay vote is considered positive or negative by the organization. (Political scientists using the scores in their statistical analysis could use the explanations to adjust scores according to whatever it is they are trying to measure.) As it is unlikely, however, that the casual reader will take the time to read these explanations, scorecards generally lack value beyond that of lobbying tool, campaign pinup, and publicity stunt for the political fodder of slow news days. Perhaps that's enough. □

Historiography

Adding up Afrocentrism

by George M. Hollenback

It was the Egyptians who stole mathematical ideas and called them their own, not the Greeks.

In 1972, Richard A. Parker, an eminent professor of Egyptology, published a collection of Egyptian mathematical texts called the Demotic Mathematical Papyri. Dating from the third century BCE to the second century CE, the five texts are arranged in chronological order, their combined problems consecutively numbered 1–72.¹ Little does the good professor realize, however, that his scholarly tome is actually an intellectual time bomb, ticking away, waiting to explode nearly three decades later amidst the culture wars being waged between extreme Afrocentrists and their critics.

The major tenet of extreme Afrocentrism is that the civilization of ancient Greece — the cradle of Western civilization — was based on the much older civilization of “black” Egypt. George G. M. James articulated these views in *Stolen Legacy* (1954), arguing that the Greek philosophers were initiated into an Egyptian “mystery system” where they learned the secrets of Egyptian wisdom. Aristotle, however, took a shortcut. Accompanying Alexander the Great when the latter occupied Egypt in 332 BCE, Aristotle ransacked the great library at Alexandria, plagiarizing Egyptian works and claiming them as his own or assigning them to his cronies. There are a number of problems with James’ account, not least that the great library of Alexandria was actually a Greek library built only after Alexander and Aristotle were both dead. Apparently unaware of this little problem, Afrocentrist Yosef A. A. benJochannan later reiterated the same views in works such as *Africa: Mother of Western Civilization* (1971). Other Afrocentrists, such as the late Cheikh Anta Diop, have also espoused the stolen legacy thesis, albeit not in as reckless a fashion. According to the version of the argument found in Diop’s *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (1991), the Greek invaders looted the accumulated knowledge of ancient Egypt from existing temple libraries. Diop writes at length about the mathematical knowledge that was supposedly plundered from the Egyptians, the very claim that will be explored in

this article. Afrocentrist views were given a boost when Martin Bernal — a white scholar — published the first two volumes of his provocative *Black Athena* series in 1987 and 1991, arguing that Greek civilization was indeed profoundly influenced by Egyptian civilization.

In 1991 Mary Lefkowitz, professor of classics at Wellesley College, was asked to write a review article of *Black Athena* and its relation to the Afrocentrist movement for *The New Republic*.² Because she dared point out the wrongheadedness of certain Afrocentric claims, Lefkowitz found herself bearing the brunt of hostile responses that went far beyond the pale of normal scholarly disagreement. Then in 1993 the aforementioned Yosef A. A. benJochannan — billed as a “distinguished Egyptologist” — was invited to Wellesley to give the Martin Luther King, Jr. memorial lecture. During the lecture, he once again parroted the claims made nearly four decades earlier by James that Aristotle had stolen his philosophy from the great library of Alexandria. During the question and answer period, Lefkowitz asked how Aristotle could have stolen from a library that hadn’t been built until after his death. Obviously unable to answer the question, benJochannan responded that he resented its tone. Afterwards several of Wellesley’s best and brightest approached Lefkowitz, accusing her of racism and suggesting that she had been brainwashed by white historians. Not one to take this kind of nonsense lightly, Lefkowitz responded by writing *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History* (1996). In the process of debunking a number of blatant Afrocentrist falsehoods, Lefkowitz was also able to demonstrate through

scholarly detective work that the whole “Egyptian mystery system” embraced by James, benJochannan, Diop, and others was largely based upon eighteenth-century European fiction and Masonic myth. As the battle lines in the culture wars now stand, Afrocentrists rally around Bernal and *Black Athena*, while their critics rally around Lefkowitz and *Not Out of Africa*. Both titles have sold surprisingly well for works dealing with ancient history, and both continue to attract media attention.

The Demotic Mathematical Papyri are vitally important to the ongoing debate because the first two (comprising

The major tenet of extreme Afrocentrism is that the civilization of ancient Greece — the cradle of Western civilization — was based on the much older civilization of “black” Egypt.

problems 1–40 and 41–52) date from the Greek Period (332–30 BCE) and therefore reflect the state of native Egyptian mathematics during the time the Greeks controlled Egypt. If the Greeks had indeed made a practice of pillaging texts from Egyptian temples as suggested by Diop, papyri like these would have been representative of their booty. Conspicuously absent from these Egyptian texts, however, are the axiomatic proofs and theorems associated with Greek mathematics. What is found in the texts are simply practical examples of how to work specific problems. Most curious, though, is that a number of these problems are based on specific antecedents from much older problems in Babylonian mathematics that date from the Old Babylonian Period (ca. 2000–1600 BCE). The same kinds of problems do not appear in the older “classical” Egyptian papyri that date from the same time period as the Old Babylonian texts.³

What follows below is a summary of the relevant problem categories (some overlapping) of the Demotic Mathematical Papyri and their Old Babylonian antecedents:⁴

Pole against a wall — Problems 24–29 all involve a pole of a given length standing vertically against a wall, the top of the pole then sliding down the wall a certain distance as the bottom of the pole slides out from the wall a certain distance. Given the necessary information, one is to calculate either how far down the pole slid or how far out it slid. A problem set up in exactly the same format appears in the Old Babylonian text BM 85196 (ix).⁵

Diagonal of a rectangle — Problems 34–35 give the length of the diagonal of a rectangle together with the area of the rectangle and ask for the dimensions of the rectangle. The illustrated Old Babylonian text Db₂–146 sets up and solves the same kind of problem.⁶

Triangle in a circle — Problems 36 and 38 involve circles inscribed with equilateral triangles whose sides are given and ask for the areas of the triangles and the segments of the circles cut off by the sides of the triangles. These problems very closely resemble the illustrated Old Babylonian text TMS 1 which depicts a circle inscribed with an isosceles tri-

angle whose sides are given and from which information the height of the triangle and the radius of the circle were calculated.⁷ Given triangle height and circle radius, the areas of the triangle and segments could then also be calculated.

Volume of a truncated cone — Problems 42–45 calculate the capacity of copper sheaths used to cover enormous, tapering, round masts, objects that in geometric terminology would be described as elongated truncated cones. The not-so-accurate method employed averages the circular areas of the ends, or bases, of the sheaths and then multiplies this average circular area by the length of the sheath. The Old Babylonian text Haddad 104 (ii) employs the same basic method in calculating the capacity of a container having the shape of a truncated cone.⁸

Pi value of 3 — Finally, and most notably, problems 32–33, 36, and 38 explicitly make use of the Old Babylonian pi value of 3, and problems 37 and 42–45 implicitly reflect the same value. This is most unusual because the older classical Egyptian method for finding circle area — squaring $8/9$ of the diameter — actually implies a much more accurate pi value of approximately 3.16. Because classical Egyptian mathematics did not deal with circumferential measurement, however, the Egyptians were never able to link their circle area/diameter relationship with circumference in order to come up with an explicit circumference to diameter ratio, i.e., pi. The Babylonian system, on the other hand, was able to link diameter, circumference, and circle area with an explicit pi value. Although the Babylonian pi value of 3 wasn’t that accurate, it was nonetheless part of a fully integrated system of circle measurement. Because classical Egyptian mathematics had no such integrated system, the Egyptians ended up appropriating the Babylonian system, never managing to improve upon the accuracy of its circumference to diameter ratio.⁹

Just how did Old Babylonian mathematics come to supplant classical Egyptian mathematics in the first place?

Conspicuously absent from these Egyptian texts, however, are the axiomatic proofs and theorems associated with Greek mathematics.

Parker himself believed that Babylonian mathematics was transmitted to Egypt via the Persian invasions that began in the latter part of the sixth century BCE.¹⁰

This scenario is not without its problems, however. For example, it is highly unlikely that Babylonian mathematics could have existed in complete isolation from Egyptian mathematics for a millennium and a half, only to be suddenly injected into Egypt during the Persian invasions. Furthermore, there was a much earlier foreign invasion and occupation of Egypt that set a much better stage for the transmission of Babylonian mathematics into Egypt: the Hyksos Period (Fifteenth Dynasty, mid-seventeenth to mid-sixteenth centuries BCE).

The Hyksos were a predominantly Semitic people who

had been migrating into northern Egypt from Canaan and settling there in numbers great enough that they were eventually able to take control of the country. Many innovations appeared in Egypt in the wake of the Hyksos Period: horse, chariot, spoked wheel, composite bow and other small arms, helmet and armor, the shaduf (an irrigation device), vertical loom, advanced metallurgy, new fortification techniques, and certain musical instruments, just to name a few. It is only reasonable that this list of innovations that forever changed Egyptian culture probably included Babylonian mathematics as well. The recent discovery of a cuneiform multiplication table at Hazor in northern Israel confirms the existence of a Babylonian mathematical tradition in Canaan as early as the Middle Bronze Age, which coincides with the Old Babylonian Period.¹¹ Babylonian mathematics therefore could have already been well established in Canaan by the time the Hyksos moved from Canaan into Egypt.

When Afrocentrists gloat that Greek tradition venerates Egyptian mathematics and has early philosophers such as Thales and Pythagoras (who both flourished in the sixth century BCE) studying mathematics in Egypt, they don't realize that those visiting sages probably would have been studying Babylonian mathematics that had made its way into Egypt perhaps a millennium earlier. To those early Greek visitors, the long-established, transplanted Babylonian mathematical tradition would have seemed as impressively Egyptian as the pyramids themselves. When Afrocentrists angrily denounce later Greeks for supposedly plundering mathematical texts from Egyptian temples, they don't realize that those supposedly plundered texts would have been replete with the same kind of Babylonian mathematics — shortcomings and all — as found in the Demotic Mathematical Papyri. Afrocentrist accusations thus amount to the claim that the Greeks stole the Egyptians' Babylonian mathematics!

This presents Afrocentrists with a conundrum: If the invading Greeks had stolen texts similar to the Demotic Mathematical Papyri from Egyptian temples, how could they have then produced their axiomatic proofs and theorems, a distinctive brand of mathematics not found in the Demotic Mathematical Papyri? And if the Greeks had stolen their proofs and theorems from the Egyptians, what were the Egyptians doing producing the likes of the Demotic Mathematical Papyri that are totally devoid of axiomatic mathematics, even the later papyri from the Roman period? Why couldn't the Egyptians simply have copied back what had been plagiarized from them, producing Demotic

Mathematical Papyri featuring proofs and theorems similar to what appear in the Greek texts? At approximately the same time the second of the Demotic Mathematical Papyri was being produced — with its implied pi value of 3 in problems 42–45 — Archimedes (287–212 BCE) was busy proving that pi had a value of approximately 3.14. This value is not only more accurate than 3, but also more accurate than the 3.16 value inferred from the classical Egyptian texts. If

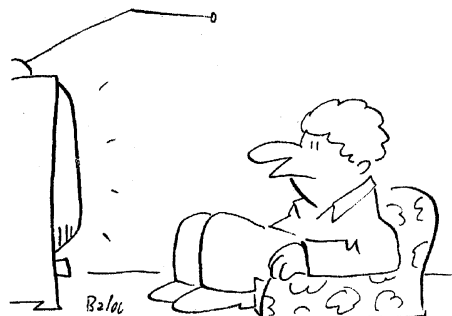
The whole "Egyptian mystery system" embraced by James, benJochannan, Diop, and others was largely based upon eighteenth-century European fiction and Masonic myth.

Archimedes had stolen his pi value and the proofs behind it from the Egyptians, why weren't the Egyptians using it in their own texts? Why were they using the Old Babylonian value of 3 instead?

The inescapable conclusion is that it was the Egyptians, not the Greeks, who "stole" someone else's mathematical tradition and tenaciously clung to it as their very own. The Demotic Mathematical Papyri indisputably substantiate that conclusion. □

Notes

1. Richard A. Parker, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri* (Providence, RI: Brown University, 1972; reprint, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997).
2. Mary Lefkowitz, "Not Out of Africa," *The New Republic*, February 1992, 29–36; revised and reprinted as "Ancient History, Modern Myths," in Mary R. Lefkowitz and Guy MacLean Rogers, eds. *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 3–23.
3. See Lucas N. H. Bunt, Phillip S. Jones, and Jack D. Bedient, *The Historical Roots of Elementary Mathematics*, rev. ed. (New York: Dover, 1988) for a concise treatment of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Greek mathematical traditions.
4. The abbreviated references to the Old Babylonian texts are standard in the literature; see, e.g., the "Index of Texts Discussed" in Eleanor Robson, *Mesopotamian Mathematics 2100–1600 BC: Technical Constants in Bureaucracy and Education*, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, vol. 14 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 307–324.
5. Joran Friberg, "Methods and Traditions of Babylonian Mathematics: Plimpton 322, Pythagorean Triples, and the Babylonian Triangle Parameter Equations," *Historia Mathematica* 8 (1981): 307–308.
6. T. Baqir, "Tell Dhibati: New mathematical texts," *Sumer* 18 (1962): 11–14; pl. 1–3.
7. E. M. Bruins and M. Rutten, *Textes mathématiques de Suse, Memoires de la mission archeologique en Iran*, vol. 34 (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1961), 22–23; pl. 1.
8. Farouk N. H. Al-Rawi and Michael Roaf, "Ten Old Babylonian Mathematical Problems from Tell Haddad, Himrin," *Sumer* 43 (1984): 186–188.
9. See George M. Hollenback, "The Myth of Egyptian Pi," *Skeptic* 5/4 (1997): 58–62 for a more detailed treatment of this subject. It should also be noted that certain Old Babylonian texts implicitly reflect a pi value of 3.125, even more accurate than the implied classical Egyptian value of 3.16.
10. Parker, 6.
11. W. Horowitz, "A Combined Multiplication Table on a Prism Fragment from Hazor," *Israel Exploration Journal* 47 (1997): 190–197.



"Had this been an actual emergency, you'd have been instructed to call your mother . . ."

Suffer the Little Children

by Dolores Puterbaugh

Sit down. Shut up. Be still. Welcome to the New World Order for children.

Imagine yourself in a wingback chair. The sides are so deep you can only see what is directly in front of you. You are tilted slightly backwards. Your movements are restricted by heavy shoulder straps, which converge and buckle between your thighs. You will be in this position as long as eight hours each day. If you protest you will be gagged or forcefed.

Torture in some backward nation? The means to control violent psychotic patients? No, sadly, this is daily life for many Americans, namely, babies.

Humans evolved with rotating shoulders to reach and carry. Adult females have wide-set hips for carrying children, both in the womb and the arms. Technology renders these attributes obsolete, as infants now come in convenient carrying cases.

These padded plastic carriers have an array of features; they can be put in a shopping cart or a minivan without the parent having to remove — and actually hold — the baby. A child can be put in the family car for a Saturday outing, go to a restaurant for breakfast, off to the mall, stop for a light lunch and a drive home, and never leave the confines of the carrier. This frees parents from having the burden of the everyday banalities of childcare. But the level of entrapment carriers impose would be considered cruel and unusual punishment for any but the most violent adults. Yet children may spend up to eight hours a day tied into a tilted chair, with limited mobility, view and access to tactile stimulation — including the essential touch, breath and heartbeat of another human being.

From experiments with lower primates we know what a lack of physical affection does to the psychological and physical well-being of infant monkeys. Harlow's experiments in isolating infant monkeys produced monkeys which were extremely withdrawn, self-isolating, unable to attach or relate normally to others. In psychiatric terms, they were autistic. Some of them physically suffered with what is termed "failure to thrive" in humans: retarded growth and development,

often with permanent effects. It is documented that isolation has a similar devastating effect on human children.

In primitive societies, children are carried on their mothers' bodies (recall the drawings of "squaws" with "papooses" in mid-20th century history books) or allowed to roam free under the watchful eye of adults or older children. When exploring, these infants are free to use their senses to learn about their world; when held securely against the body of a loving adult they gain security, trust and the sheer pleasure of physical contact.

Parents deny their children these benefits when they rely on baby carriers to transport and imprison their young. After a busy day, it is easier to have your little one safely strapped in one place than prepare a meal and attend to a baby at the same time. At least, it is easier for the adult.

It is hell for the baby.

For older children, electronic media can provide similar restraint. Why read or speak with your child when you can do chores undisturbed while they play computer games or watch television? The problems of unsupervised viewing of violence are well documented; here the concern is the use of such media to avoid parental responsibilities for listening, loving and laughing with your child. Portable computer games bring the same benefits to the family car; there's no need to discuss the day at school or sing together when the grownups can focus on the radio or one another while the kids are hypnotized by the glories of "Game Boy." Some new minivans and SUVs feature separate stereo and headsets for front and back listening. Parents and children need no longer share a musical culture.

Twenty years ago, I received a baby seat as a shower gift;

flimsy by modern standards, it was meant only as a temporary convenience. It had no handles to carry; it could only be propped into an approximate sitting position. I recall my daughter Kristen sitting in it on the kitchen table where I could have her at eye level, while preparing food or paying bills, talking or singing to her throughout my chores. It never occurred to me to strap her into the chair and set it aside, out of my way, so I could get through my tasks without interference.

A generation later, I rarely see a parent holding a child in a restaurant or waiting room; usually they tote the baby in the carrier like groceries in a handy basket. There are toys, a pacifier and a bottle ready to thrust at the baby if it dares express a desire to be freed from inhumane restraints.

If an adult criminal were treated this way while imprisoned, the ACLU would be on the scene with high-priced attorneys, providing brilliant essays on the op-ed page and a national news conference.

Baby Carriers, Ritalin and Absentee Parents

It is intriguing that as the use of baby carriers has grown, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of children diagnosed with various mental or behavioral disorders. Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder, Oppositional Defiant Disorder, Conduct Disorder, various adjustment disorders and attachment disorders, are diagnosed more frequently with each passing year. Parents and professionals bemoan the lack of conscience and empathy in today's children — and not only schoolyard shooters.

Many of these children have spent time strapped into baby carriers and then alone glued to the "tube" or hypnotized by computer games for the convenience of adult caretakers. These caretakers are now seeking drugs to induce compliance and sedate behaviors, since a ten-year-old boy cannot legally be strapped into a chair for the convenience of parents. Ritalin has become an emotional convenient carrying case.

Despite the ease with which experts at the White House Conference on Mental Health quote statistics on children's mental illnesses in order to lobby for treatment money, the National Institute of Mental Health has been unable to provide me with such simple data as the approximate number of diagnoses of various categories of mental illness in the United States per year. My hypothesis that the increased rate of diagnoses correlates to a similar increase, several years earlier, in the use of infant carriers, has gone untested because no data are available.

Currently more children are diagnosed and drugged for behavior problems than at any time in our past. Many of these diagnoses are dubious. They are diagnosed by checklists: if enough problem behaviors occur (fidgeting, not waiting one's turn, interrupting others), a child is diagnosed as suffering from behavior problems. Children today do not significantly differ from children of the past: they have fidgeted, interrupted and had difficulty waiting their turn since Eden. Our culture of convenience is hostile toward children, who are, by their nature, inconvenient.

For example, many schools no longer have recess. Re-read the "Little House" books by Laura Ingalls Wilder; the one-room schoolhouse had recess twice a day. In the uninformal, pre-psychology days, schoolmarm knew that children needed a long walk to school and a chance to run

around and shout and play every couple of hours. Today children have tedious bus rides, long sedentary school days, restrictive after-school programs, and parents too busy to play — or even to pay attention.

"What do you do for fun?" I will ask a child during the initial family interview for counseling. Typical responses are, "I play computer games," or "Television." "What do you do with your mom or dad?" I wonder, and the response is often, "We watch wrestling," or, "Umm, nothing really. I guess we talk sometimes." The parent looks uncomfortable during this

When children have no freedom to move or speak, they have no freedom to learn and grow. They are hostages of a strange and hostile adult world.

exchange. If a very young child is present, they are being corrected in an ongoing monologue ("Be quiet," "sit down," "be still," "stop fidgeting") or else they are strapped into a carrier. Plastic keys are shaken in their face, or pacifiers pushed in their mouth like a cork if they dare to cry or make their own noises to join to our conversation.

Many adults have ignorant and unrealistic expectations for children. "She has no attention span — I mean, maybe ten minutes," a parent will complain. The child in question is only four. Ten minutes beats most adults holding a television remote control. Parents expect children to be able to switch gears to match their own crazy schedules, and want counseling or drugs for the child when it is the parent whose worldview and expectations are dysfunctional.

When children have no freedom to move or speak, they have no freedom to learn and grow. They are hostages of a strange and hostile adult world. As with any hostage, their combined rage and helplessness leads to incredible frustration and low thresholds for "acting out," the detached adult description of the child's reaction to abuse and neglect.

Here is a challenge to parents: accept that children are children. Expect them to cry a lot. They will "get into" things; they will shout and yell and cry and challenge you no matter what kind of day you've had. They will want to sleep with you when they are scared or sick or just insecure; young have slept with their parents across species for millennia. If you tie them up and strap them down, turn them over to the care of strangers via electronic media or extensive babysitting, ignore them and fail to involve them in your daily tasks, they will suffer terribly. They will not switch gears, moods and energy levels on your schedule. They need to move and use all their senses to explore this amazing world. They need to be loved. □



"She hasn't responded to any stimulæ, Dr. Pavlov — maybe we should switch to a dog."

Back Where You Came From

by Scott Gossard

Justice comes to a bureaucrat.

"You haven't filled these forms out properly. You'll have to fill them out properly before I can see you." Roger Cutner handed the old woman the three pink sheets of paper she had given him a moment before. His chair creaked loudly as his formidable mass changed its distribution on its surface.

"But, sir. I've already stood in line for two hours. I'll lose my place —"

"Sorry. You'll have to fill out these forms properly before I can see you," Roger repeated. "We need to be precise about our services. We must monitor our costs, and we best do this by filling out these forms properly. It would take me — Health Services, that is — an inordinate amount of time if I — we — had to help every person through all the little steps of information processing."

A quiver started on the woman's lower lip. "But, sir. I really need to speak with you today about my health plan. My arthritis has been so terrible lately. I don't want to take up your time, but . . ." She still had not reached for the sheets which Roger held out to her.

"Sorry, no." Roger put the sheets down on the desk in front of her. "Go fill these forms out properly." Roger slowly stood up, helping to lift his mass with one hand on the arm of his chair, the other hand flat on his desk. The chair creaked a sigh as his weight came off it. Roger paused a moment, catching his breath. He wiped a small sheen of sweat off his forehead with the back of his hand. Finally, he slid the chair away from the desk and slowly, laboriously, made his way toward the woman.

"Mrs. Winters. I'm sure we can take care of your prob-

lem. But right now I'm going to see. . ." Roger glanced back at his desktop, "Mr. Vincente. He has problems, too. You don't want to take up Mr. Vincente's time, do you?"

The old woman — now suddenly older — glanced down at the three pink sheets. She slowly lifted a hand to them.

"That's good, Mrs. Winters. Mr. Vincente will be very happy."

"Well, Mr. Vincente, I see you've finally filled the forms out properly. If you'd have asked me for the B forms earlier we could have been done with this many months ago. But . . ." Roger shrugged.

Mr. Vincente sat stiffly in his chair, his eyes wide and apprehensive. His hands gripped a chipped and scratched cane in his lap.

Roger looked at the sheets again, his expression blank. Suddenly his head cocked slightly as his eyes lit up. "Oh, no. This won't do." Roger shook his head.

Mr. Vincente had the look of a man seeing an ambulance pull up in front of his house.

"Mr. Vincente. I hate to tell you this. I really do," Roger sighed. "Our department doesn't handle these types of cases. No, no. You should have seen —"

Suddenly Roger Cutner grabbed his chest. His eyes widened, he sucked in his breath. And then his upper torso fell forward onto the desk with a loud thump.

Mr. Vincente looked on aghast. "Mr. Cutner? Mr. Cutner! What's wrong?"

Mr. Vincente stood up from his seat, backing away from the unmoving bulk collapsed on the desktop, his cane rattling to the floor. His right hand reached behind him, groping for the doorknob, as his left hand fluttered near his

throat. His voice was hoarse at first, but soon it was clear enough to carry loudly through the halls of Health Services.



Roger Cutner walked lightly through the huge hall. It was soothingly lit by dim lights set in low-hanging lamps. The white marble walls gently reflected the illumination, while the ceiling and far corners of the room were in light shadows. He noticed his footsteps made no sound, and looking down saw that he wasn't wearing shoes. He was draped in a loose robe which flowed lightly over his bulk.

"It would take me — Health Services, that is — an inordinate amount of time if I — we — had to help every person through all the little steps of information processing."

He wasn't cold, however; the temperature was comfortable.

There was no shock or mystery. Roger knew where he was. He knew he had died of a heart attack. The only surprise was how unsurprised he was by the whole situation. He noted with pleasure how smooth the transition was from life on earth to life — if that was the word — here. A phrase came to him that summed up the situation: But of course. But of course it would be like this. But of course it would look like this. But of course it would feel like this. They — or should he say He — would make it a smooth transition. Why would you be shocked when you first came to . . . this place. Roger nodded, smiling.

He was alone in the great white room but for the lone figure who stood behind a light blue stone partition. The man, visible from the waist up, wore — a white coat. He looked up as Roger approached.

"And how are you doing today, sir?" Roger said, laying his hands on the top of the partition. Roger stood a moment smiling, but his smile faltered as the other man stood there immobile and silent, his expression blank. Roger cleared his throat and attempted to smile again. The smile lapsed in the continued silence.

"Well, sir?" the clerk asked.

"Well? Well, what?"

"Have you filled out your papers?" The clerk noted Roger's expression and sighed. "You need to go to the desk at the back of the room to your left and fill out the yellow forms twice."

Roger started to speak, but the clerk pointed an imperious finger to the back of the room. "Next!"

Roger turned, only half aware that there was no Next behind him. Roger stumbled to the first desk he saw and sat down heavily in the stiff-backed plastic chair. Papers? Forms? Roger shook his head. Oh, well. A small price to pay for entrance into the fabled domain. Roger grabbed

two yellow sheets of paper and the pen lying on the desk. He noted amusingly that the pen wasn't chained to the desk.

Roger cleared his throat. The clerk looked up.

"Yes?"

"I — I filled out my forms. I was here . . . just a minute ago."

"Really, sir. I can't remember everyone I see. Well, let me see your papers." The clerk took them from Roger, scanning both sheets briefly. He handed them back to Roger.

"You've filled out the wrong forms. You need to go to the desk on your left, not your right. Two copies of the yellow forms, please."

Roger tried to interrupt but was met by the imperious finger.

"Next!"

"Okay. Here's the forms you asked for. Left desk. Yellow forms. Two copies."

The clerk quickly glanced at the papers.

"You've filled the forms out improperly." The clerk crumpled the yellow sheets in his hand. "You'll have to fill out the forms properly."

"But — "

"Next!"

Roger was sure he had followed instructions properly. But still, a nervous lump had formed in his stomach . . . next to the angry lump. The clerk's expression was inscrutable as he leafed through the sheets. Roger's heart skipped

"Our department doesn't handle these types of cases. No, no. You should have seen — "
Suddenly Roger Cutner grabbed his chest. His eyes widened, he sucked in his breath. And then his upper torso fell forward onto the desk with a loud thump.

when the clerk abruptly flipped the first page on top of the second. He looked up at Roger.

"You're at the wrong department. You need to see Mr. Hawkins. Down the hall to your right. Room 312."

Mr. Hawkins smiled wanly at Roger. "No, no. You need to see Mr. Townsend. Up the stairs on your left. Second door on your right. Room 410."

"You need to see Mr. Hawkins. Down the — "

"I know, I know. Down the stairs on my right. Room 312. Look. He sent me to you." Roger put his hands on the two sheets of yellow paper on the desk. The edges were curled, one corner dark and damp with sweat.

"I'm sure it was a simple misunderstanding." Mr. Townsend removed his glasses and set them on the desk. "We used to handle these forms until three weeks ago. Mr. Hawkins is new to the job. I'm sure he'll see his error when you go down there. He's probably already aware of it."

Mr. Hawkins looked at him. "Well, I didn't make a mis-

take. The office forgot to notify me of the change. I'm sure I never would have —"

Roger waved his hand in the air between them. His other hand reached back from his forehead through his damp hair. "I don't care. I just want to take care of all this right now."

"Of course, of course. Well, just let me stamp this . . ." Mr. Hawkins reached for his stamp and pad, pulling the yellow papers toward him.

Roger sighed. "And now I can . . . go in?"

"And how are you doing today, sir?" Roger said, laying his hands on the top of the partition. Roger stood a moment smiling, but his smile faltered as the other man stood there immobile and silent, his expression blank.

"You are already where you should be, Mr. Cutner." He waved a hand over the papers on the desk. "This is only a formality. We get this done and you can enjoy yourself. Just take these to the clerk out front." He smiled at Roger.

This was getting ridiculous, Roger thought as he made his way back down the hall. They should know all this stuff here of all places. Why would anyone need to fill out papers? He was beginning to notice the tiny features and nuances of the hallway that the less well-traveled would easily miss: the small break in the light blue door trim across from the room he had just exited; the small chip in the marble wall above the door to Room 309; the scratch on the lamp hanging in the middle of the hall, 21 steps away from. . .

Roger took several deep breaths as he made his way toward the familiar clerk in the large hall. The clerk with the left eyebrow lower than the right; with the crooked and yellowed lower teeth; with the mole on his right earlobe. . .

"Here. I've filled them out correctly. They've been stamped in triplicate. They are from the right department . . ."

The clerk handed them back. "But they are not to the right department. You need to go to —"

Roger had had enough. "Why are you making it so difficult for me? You know how I've conducted my life. You know everything about me that you need to know. You know things about me that you don't need to know. So why all this paperwork?" Roger repeatedly hammered his fist on the counter, under the stony gaze of the clerk. "I should be in there already. Having fun. I should already be in Heaven!"

Roger's hand paused in midair, hovering over the counter. The last word he had spoken seemed to jar something in his memory. Stories from when he was a child.

Roger stepped back from the clerk, his eyes widening. "Oh, my Lord. Now I understand. I'm not in the outskirts of Heaven, waiting to get in. I'm . . ." Roger gasped, one fat hand going to his chest. "I'm in . . . Oh, God!"

Roger almost stumbled as he took another step back, warily watching the stone-faced clerk. "I'm trapped in the very situation I put others in. I see it now. God, yes, I see it. I was wrong! But this is so much worse. Oh, my Lord! It's not fair."

Roger fell to his knees, clasping his hands, tears welling in his eyes. "Oh, God. I see the error of my ways. Please, please, forgive me." Roger looked up toward the dim ceiling. "Please, Lord. Have mercy on me."

The clerk looked down at him, annoyed. "Please, Mr. Cutner. Get up, please. The Lord has had mercy on you. What makes you think you're in Hell?" □

Letters, from page 22

power of the person who is my immediate problem. More recently, I have had many more occasions to feel and resent the power of whoever was my immediate supervisor than the combined power of my local, state, and federal governments. The second of these personal realities is probably true for most Americans. It explains why libertarianism is and shall remain a minority perspective. Libertarianism assumes that most Americans have the same economic interests as Bill Gates. Most Americans know that this is not true.

John Engelman
Walnut Creek, Calif.

Joseph Goebbels, Meet Linda Wertheimer

Alan Bock's article, "The State of the

Arts" (May) is too cerebral. My mother got there more quickly. She lived with her parents on a small farm in Bavaria and left in 1935 when Hitler had been in power for two years.

They had a crystal radio. The only thing heard on that state-supported medium was praise of the government and of the "party." She thought it dangerous, and exited before things went to hell. And I learned early that Joseph Goebbels, minister of education and culture, was the father of National Public Radio.

Erwin J. Haas
Grand Rapids, Mich.

It Takes a Bully

Once again, U.S. policy toward Cuba seems based on a cardinal Hitlerian principle: might is right. If Elián had

come from Russia or China, or any other nation of similar size or strength, he would have been returned immediately to his homeland.

Jay Higginbotham
Mobile, Ala.

Bias? What Bias?

In *Media Bias: A User's Guide*, Bruce Bartlett, a high-level official in the Reagan and Bush era, seeks to perpetuate a Republican myth about how left-liberal the American media is. The truth is more complicated, and more troubling: The media too often defends the state, even at the expense of the public's right, and need, to know the truth.

In *The Captive Press*, Ted Galen Carpenter of the Cato Institute recounts how, though *The New York Times* knew

the administration's disavowal of responsibility for the U-2 spy incident in 1960 was a lie, to please CIA chief Allen Dulles, *Times'* publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger killed a story telling the truth. The "Newspaper of Record" then published an editorial supporting the government's lie, and so joined the U.S. government's disinformation campaign that fooled no one but Americans. And up until the moment the lie was exposed, most U.S. media outlets presented Washington's story without a hint of skepticism. Is this "left-liberal bias"?

When the *New York Times'* Harrison Salisbury began reporting accurately on the civilian casualties in North Vietnam from U.S. bombing, his patriotism was challenged by "establishment journalists who immediately came to the government's rescue," as Carpenter put it. Is this "left-liberal bias"?

On January 27, 1982, correspondent Ray Bonner reported in the *New York Times* the massacre in El Salvador of 800 unarmed civilians, including many women and children, by the U.S. armed and U.S. trained Atlacatl battalion. He was vehemently rebuked by the U.S. State Department, and ridiculed as a communist dupe in the *Wall Street Journal*. The *Times* yanked Bonner from El Salvador and demoted him to a desk job. It took 10 years, and a U.N.-brokered peace agreement, for the truth to come out that Bonner was right in virtually every detail. Left-liberal bias?

When Senator John Kerry's committee determined that some U.S. agencies knew about, and did not stop, right-wing Contra supporters who were importing cocaine during the U.S.-supported anti-Sandinista war in Nicaragua, the major dailies buried the explosive findings in short, back-page stories. And they then never followed up. Later, the Reagan administration, citing Drug Enforcement Administration evidence, publicly accused the leftist Sandinista government of complicity in the drug trade. That story got wide coverage. But then when high-level DEA officials subsequently denied there was any such evidence against the Sandinistas, the mainstream media virtually ignored the refutation. Left-liberal bias?

The government rewards "cooperative" media members with privileged access to much of the information the media "sells" the public as news. This arrangement provides a greater threat to the public than any left media bias.

Gary L. Aguilar
San Francisco, Calif.

Credit for Campbell

Rep. Tom Campbell deserves credit, not the blame cast upon him by Gene Healy, for his courageous, anti-prohibitionist stance on drug policy (Reflections, April).

In Congress, Campbell has distinguished himself as a leading opponent of the drug war, voting against costly and draconian sentences, opposing meddlesome anti-drug mandates, sponsoring legislation to legalize medical marijuana, supporting reform of the forfeiture laws, and opposing military anti-drug aid to Latin America.

By contrast, his opponent, Sen. Feinstein, has been one of the Senate's foremost drug warriors, voting for tougher penalties against both users and traffickers, opposing California's medical marijuana law, calling for anti-drug trade sanctions against Mexico, supporting confiscatory civil forfeiture laws, and sponsoring censorship of drug information on the Internet.

Disregarding this dramatic contrast, Healy complains that Campbell has proposed government distribution of drugs to addicts. To be sure, this is not a libertarian policy, but it is far less costly than prohibition. In particular, what Campbell has in mind is Switzerland's experimental program of heroin distribution to addicts, the impressive results of which make it an apt model for public debate. As for the alternative of free market legalization, this, alas, is still beyond the political pale, being in conflict with current international treaties that forbid commercial trade in narcotics.

Given this limitation, what Campbell is proposing is that local governments be permitted to establish narcotics distribution programs on their own. That is, Campbell is advocating reduced federal restrictions and increased local control. Perhaps this is not a 100% libertarian solution, but it is certainly in line with constitutionalist principles of limited government, and

light-years ahead of present U.S. government policy.

Dale Gieringer
Berkeley, Calif.

Include Me Out

Hard work. Planning. Fair play. Team effort. Once upon a time, it was understood that these paved the road to a better life in this country.

Not any more. Now if you want to get your piece of the American pie, make sure that you get in line with your hand stretched out. As R. W. Bradford pointed out (Reflections, May), that is the underlying message of the propaganda currently running on television and radio to promote the 2000 Census.

Your government has pillaged your fellow citizens and now it is time for you to partake in the plunder. Everybody else will be grabbing all they can, so don't miss out on your share of the booty. Come suckle upon the great, benevolent, bottomless teat that is the federal government. The message of the ad campaign is clear: without maternalistic government providing for you, your lives can and will descend into unchecked squalor.

These shameless ads perpetuate the fiction that through the glory of government, I have the right to live at somebody else's expense. The ads pander to our most base instincts: fear, envy and sibling rivalry on a national scale.

Fifty-six years ago Friederich Hayek wrote a book entitled *The Road to Serfdom*. I can't think of a more appropriate image for the state of affairs in America today. While we are still the freest society on earth, our individual freedoms are decreasing on a daily basis. Little by little, we have been abdicating our rights and responsibilities to those who would govern us. If the ideology at the heart of these ads prevails, we will all become dependent — not upon our own desires and abilities — but upon the whims of the mighty lords and their chosen vassals. We are on the road to serfdom.

It is time to put a stop to ever-encroaching, arrogant government. It is time to reclaim our lives as our own. The 2000 Census is upon us. While others may stand to be counted, I am going to sit down and get back to work.

Jack VanNoord
West Dundee, IL

Reviews

Hard Green: Saving the Environment from the Environmentalists: A Conservative Manifesto, by Peter Huber. Basic Books, 2000, 224 pages.

A Darker Shade of Green

Jane S. Shaw

For nearly two decades, talented writers have tried to loosen the hold of environmental sensationalism on the American people. There have been polemical books, reportorial books, eloquent books, and fact-filled books. Authors such as Julian Simon, Ron Bailey, and Elizabeth Whelan have tried to puncture the hyperbolic exaggerations, challenge the assumption that only the government can protect nature from human intrusion, and inject common sense into debates that have become unhinged from real life.* The latest in the down-to-earth march to realism is *Hard Green* by Peter Huber, a senior fellow with the conservative Manhattan Institute.

Trained at MIT and Harvard Law School, Huber has his own take on how to counter arguments about environmental poisons and apocalyptic hazards. His hero is Theodore Roosevelt, who championed what Huber calls "traditional conservation" or environmentalism that "happens in places we can see and draw on a map." Roosevelt, in Huber's scheme a "Hard

Green," loved wild animals, nature, and awe-inspiring places like Yellowstone and Yosemite. Against his concrete environmentalism Huber poses the "Soft Greens," champions of micro-environmentalism, which he defines as "the realm of huge populations (molecules, particles) paired with very weak (low-probability) or slow (long time frame) effects." Their environmentalism is the "Green of the invisible, the Green of the highly dispersed or the far future." It is environmentalism in which "the model is everything."

While this division between "hard" and "soft" greens seems at first simplistic and artificial, it works reasonably well and gives Huber a framework for the book. He compares the ludicrous fears (Micro particles will kill us all!) and hopes (In the future, solar energy will provide us all the energy we really need) of the "soft" environmentalists with common-sense realities understood by the "hard" Greens.

Hard Greens, he explains, approve of digging under the earth for coal, oil and other energy sources because it preserves the surface of the earth for other uses, including recreation. In contrast, Soft Greens such as Amory Lovins want to cover vast expanses of

the earth's surface with solar panels and gigantic windmills. "We should dig up our energy, bury our wastes, fly high, tunnel deep, and leave more of the surface alone," says Huber.

Huber understands what was wrong with the 1972 book *Limits to Growth*, which claimed that the world would run out of resources. It was based on a computer model designed by Jay Forrester. The model was brilliant in its way; it reflected "the methods of people who successfully design jets and coordinate our national defense," says Huber. Where Forrester went wrong was to assume that the "basic constraints defined by existing technology, markets, and patterns of supply and demand" were going to determine the future. Huber goes on to say (citing the work of Julian Simon) that "the closest we come to getting a grip on human ingenuity is in the marketplace, which is not a model at all; it is a process."

Supremely self-confident, Huber has an easy, unfettered way of writing about these issues. He doesn't bother much with footnotes or citations. He discusses Soft Green concepts — misconceptions, actually — and then undermines them with better ideas. Given this approach, he is somewhat disdainful of facts. When discussing Jay Forrester's errors, he comments that "in the standard Hard Green tract" it is typical to bring up "illustrative figures" such as "all our trash would fit in a pyramid just 2 miles high in southern Connecticut" and "all our drinking water could be supplied by the rainfall of Oregon." Then he says, "Where did I get all these numbers? I made them up." He is, in fact, making fun of the many writers (I am one) who feel an almost obsessive need to footnote every factual reference, especially when it counters conventional wisdom. We keep hoping that such supporting data will make our views convincing to the other side. Huber seems to think this is a waste of

*I, too, have participated in this trend as co-author with Michael Sanera of *Facts, Not Fear: Teaching Children about the Environment*.

time, and for all I know, he is right.

While *Hard Green* has much merit, there are problems with it. First, as with most books in this category, it is not clear whom Huber is trying to reach. Is he trying to change the minds of traditional environmentalists? Probably not. Does he hope to validate the suspicions of traditional conservatives and free market environmentalists? That might sell a few books, but is unlikely to bring about much change. Or does he hope to persuade the undecided?

While this undecided bunch seem to be the group Huber wants to reach, few people fit this category. Environmentalism is immensely popular, and people generally seem to

Environmentalism is immensely popular, and people generally seem to accept the views of environmental activists who contend that dangers lurk everywhere and that governmental action is the only way to address them.

accept the views of environmental activists who contend that dangers lurk everywhere and that governmental action is the only way to address them. Rational analysis and detailed factual data are not likely to change their attitudes, both because their minds are made up and because factual analysis tends to be boring.

This is a problem not for *Hard Green* alone but for most books that challenge dominant environmental thinking. The

late Julian Simon is about the only person who successfully broke the mold — reaching the uncommitted. He combined a Hayekian vision of how the world works with a powerhouse of detail and was able to capture some people's imaginations.

Wilderness Apostasy

Hard Green is not a libertarian book. Indeed, one of the best sales tools Huber has going for him is the debate the book has provoked among free market environmentalists (unfortunately for sales, this is not a very large group). While Huber generally supports markets to address problems, he also allows, even welcomes, a major role for the government to protect what he calls "wilderness."

Theodore Roosevelt is his hero in part because T. R. recognized a major role for the federal government in protecting land. Huber builds on the example of Roosevelt to argue that "conservation may be a mission that government can learn to perform reasonably well. The one thing that big government is capable of doing well is doing nothing, which happens to be the paramount objective of conservation."

While this claim may elicit a chuckle, Huber's analysis quickly breaks down here. He justifies government ownership of national parks and other unspecified areas on grounds that some things are too big or too special to be private. "Some values depend on doing things on a scope and scale that is inescapably public," he writes, even though he agrees that "[i]n every way an accountant, economist, or even an ecologist might measure, Disney would operate Yellowstone much better than the National Park Service."

Huber says that the government should designate "particular places for conservation alone." These are places where "the forests are hiked, camped, and, up to a point, hunted, but not lumbered or grazed." He suggests that as long as the "human footprint is kept light," it's about the same as the gov-

ernment "doing nothing."

The facts do not support this claim, however. It is true that setting aside land as wilderness (which has a spe-

Hard Greens approve of digging under the earth for coal, oil and other energy sources because it preserves the surface of the earth for other uses, including recreation. In contrast, Soft Greens such as Amory Lovins want to cover vast expanses of the earth's surface with solar panels and gigantic windmills.

cific legal meaning, signifying land with very tight restrictions on use) does not require the level of management that growing and selling trees does. However, simply keeping people out of wilderness requires a government that does more than "nothing." And so does rescuing people lost in the wilderness.

Recreation, which Huber loosely associates with wilderness, requires management, too. According to federal figures, the Forest Service spends approximately \$364 million per year for recreation in our national forests, building trails, maintaining campgrounds and boat ramps, and so forth. Although this figure is probably not very accurate — federal funds are notoriously poorly monitored — it seems plain that this does not constitute "doing nothing."

Huber simply ignores the details of actually managing land, especially the vast tracts of land that he considers especially suitable for federal ownership. Whether this is because he is a sentimental admirer of Theodore Roosevelt or whether he intentionally avoids the full implications of his arguments, I do not know.

I am not confident that *Hard Green* will bring about change on the issues that he grasps more effectively. But I wish him well; if he changes people's minds he will have achieved success where plenty of others have failed. □



SHCHAMBERS

"The chicken or the beef?"

The Pity of War, by Niall Ferguson. Penguin Press, 1998, 624 pages.

The Great War Rerevised

Martin Tyrrell

Around nine and a half million people died in the First World War. Millions more received debilitating injuries. And further millions had their lives indirectly damaged by the conflict. In economic terms, too, the costs were enormous whilst, politically, the end of the war initiated a period of instability and, in time, further violence and loss. It is no surprise, then, that in retrospect, it has sometimes seemed inexplicable, if fascinatingly so. Niall Ferguson's *The Pity of War* is a recent attempt at explanation. A history of the war — though not a conventional chronological narrative — it sets out to answer some of its more puzzling questions. Why did it happen, for example? Why, if conditions were so bad, did so many fight and keep on fighting? And if the Allies won the war, who won the peace?

All this makes for a book that is frequently stimulating and thought-provoking but also somewhat disjointed and, in places, contradictory. Inevitably, not all of the questions it poses are equally interesting. Nor do I find all Ferguson's answers equally convincing. In explaining why so many men fought, for example, Ferguson relies too much on Freud's theory of the death instinct, ignoring more recent ideas about collective psychology. There is, too, an over-reliance on elaborate statistical analysis, not all of it of obvious relevance to the point being made. The socialist share of the

vote in selected states is a fairly weak indicator of the extent of anti-militarism in pre-war Europe, for instance (The membership figures for more avowedly pacifist organizations would have been more informative). Nor is it especially meaningful to be told that only thirty-one of Wilfred Owen's 103 collected poems had a genuinely anti-war theme, since it is the anti-war poems which have lasted, transmitted through the English Literature syllabus.

One particularly good example of this number-crunching approach and its limitations is the way in which Ferguson supports his claim that Germany and its allies were the more economically efficient fighting force. In a macabre piece of accounting, he apportions each side's total military expenditure across the opposing side's total war dead. On this basis, he demonstrates that the Central Powers used far fewer economic resources per kill than did their opponents. Put bluntly, it cost the Allies an average of \$36,500 every time they killed a German, Austrian or Turkish serviceman; more than three times what it cost the Central Powers to kill an Allied serviceman. Seductive though it is, analysis like this should, I think, be approached with caution. Even if the cost data are accurate and comparable (and that would be something), the number of fatalities inflicted by one side on another is a somewhat crude indicator of military success. For one thing, not all fatalities indicate the same level of achievement. Losses sus-

tained in the more important theaters of war matter more than losses sustained in less important theaters. Similarly, some fatalities are incurred in the course of a rout, some in the course of pyrrhic victories. And some important military gains can be made with little loss to either side. In short, all of the many fatalities inflicted cannot be assumed to be equally indicative of military success and aggregated in the way Ferguson has done.

The German Threat to England

Among the book's more controversial suggestions is the argument that at no time during the approach to 1914 was Britain under any real threat from the German Empire. British intervention in the war was, Ferguson concludes, based on an exaggerated perception of Germany and its aspirations. That Germany was hostile to British interests was, by around 1905, a firmly established position within diplomatic and military circles, one soon shared by more hawkish ministers in the incoming Liberal government such as Herbert Henry Asquith, Edward Grey and Richard Haldane. It was also, Ferguson argues, an illusion. In military terms, Britain was decades ahead of Germany and, economically, well able to ensure that things remained that way. To overcome Britain's massive superiority at sea, Ferguson proposes that the Germans would have had to build battleships at a faster rate than the British whilst at the same time, maintaining a substantial army. He is satisfied that the German economy of the early 1900s could not have done both of these things at once. Germany could have had an army capable of invading the United Kingdom or it could have had the naval superiority required to ensure that that invasion could go ahead. But it could not have had both. On this basis, he concludes that Britain's intervention in the European war of 1914 was ill-conceived. Without it, he argues, the conflict would have been more localized. And if it had been more localized, it would have been over sooner and claimed far fewer lives.

If British policy makers generally over-estimated Germany's military capacity, Ferguson surely underestimates it. Germany might have been

poorly placed to compete with the United Kingdom but, compared with France and Russia it was in much better shape than his analysis would suggest. True, the Russian and French armies had a two to one edge over Germany and Austria in terms of manpower. But this is just arithmetic. As Ferguson himself acknowledges, it takes no account of factors such as training, discipline or equipment. Russia's army, though numerically strong, was weak in almost every other respect and, just as important, Russia itself was politically fragile. These defects had become clear during the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 when defeat by the Japanese had led to near revolution. And by 1917 they were, of course, all too clear. As for the French, Britain's military planners were far from confident that they could have held a German invasion and, in practice, the Germans did come close to taking Paris right at the beginning of the war. This and other wartime evidence (Russia's collapse, the Ludendorff offensive) suggests that the official British pre-war assessment of German military capacity was more accurate than alarmist. Militarily, a German-dominated Europe was more feasible than Niall Ferguson allows.

Ferguson further alleges that dominating Europe was never a serious policy objective in Berlin. Germany, he claims, had no plans to establish a post-war European superstate, as Grey and his officials must have known from intelligence reports. Ferguson therefore speculates that they deliberately talked up the German threat merely so as to justify the tacit military commitments they were making to the French. These commitments, in their turn, pressured an increasingly isolated Germany into ill-considered acts and, ultimately, its support for Austria in the summer of 1914. Grey, Ferguson concludes, "wished to commit Britain to a possible war with Germany — because otherwise there might be war with Germany" (73). His policy, in other words, was absurd.

All of which seems a little too neat. I have never had much liking for Edward Grey's foreign policy or the anti-German feeling that was built up behind it, but I cannot see that it was as mindless as Ferguson suggests. If

Germany, in the early 1900s, was indeed capable of dominating Europe in the way that France had done under Napoleon, then it was conceivable that the military and economic resources available to this greater German-centered Europe could have been deployed against Britain. Given such a possibility, the strategy of supporting Germany's closest rival — in this case France — at least makes sense. In this respect, Grey's policy was nothing new. Quite the opposite. British attempts at preserving a Continental balance of power against potential centralizing forces can be traced back to at least the time of Louis XIV.

Four decades after the First World War ended, Fritz Fischer, a German historian, offered evidence suggesting

If actual German conduct in Belgium was deplorable, so was the conduct of the British during their war to annex the two Boer Republics or of the Americans during the war to suppress the Confederacy.

that Grey and his supporters had been right in their assessment of German foreign policy. Germany's outline war aims of September 1914 included a comprehensive program of annexation. Parts of France, Belgium and the Netherlands would be incorporated into a greater Germany; much of European Russia, broken up into German client states; and Germany would help itself to a bigger and more promising share of Africa.

But Fischer, Ferguson argues, never succeeded in demonstrating that these were the foreign policy aims of the German state before 1914. All that this "September Program" conveys is the kind of territorial expansion the German government began contemplating once it was actually at war. And even then, the September Program Ferguson reproduces is tentative, with several propositions obviously speculative. Some, indeed, are contradictory. All things considered, Ferguson appears to have a good case

against Fischer. Alas, he then proceeds to spoil it by arguing that parts of the Program — primarily those relating to the establishment of a German-dominated customs union — were, after all, genuine German pre-war aspirations. In effect, he uses the post-1914 Program in precisely the way he criticizes Fischer for having used it — to impute pre-war policy. Ferguson and Fischer differ less in approach than in degree.*

Re-bunking the War-Guilt Myth

One reason Germany's actual war aims are important is that the alleged aims subsequently and strongly influenced the content of the Versailles settlement. Implicit in the Versailles treaty is the image of Germany as a belligerent, expansionist state with a tendency towards brutality. This was nothing new. Prior to the war, there had been a vogue in Britain for novels speculating on what a German invasion might be like. Though Ferguson is somewhat dismissive of these, I think that they were important in at least two ways. First, they indicate how (and how rapidly) popular culture picked up on the government's perception of a German threat. Second, they suggest the way in which Germany was popularly imagined not so much foreign as alien — clinically authoritarian and, in some versions, given to wanton atrocity. Wartime reportage revisited these pre-war stereotypes. Whilst Ferguson, like most commentators, accepts that much of this material lies somewhere between mere exaggeration and outright mendacity, he is not entirely dismissive. He concludes that there was a moral superiority on the Allied side, that the more effective bits of Allied propaganda tended to be factually based and that this was espe-

*Fischer wanted to draw parallels between Imperial Germany and Hitler's Germany and to imply a certain inherent rottenness to Germany as a whole; he was a very post-1945 German historian. Ferguson, on the other hand, is bang up to date which is why he sees Imperial Germany aspiring to become a kind of forerunner of the European Union; mischievously, he writes of "the Kaiser's European Union." But both historians are really only speculating. Ferguson, no more than Fischer, can satisfactorily demonstrate what Germany's pre-war aims actually were.

cially true of two of its recurring images — the German atrocities in Belgium and the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

The fate of the merchant ship *Lusitania* and more than a thousand of its passengers is well known. The Belgian atrocities (civilian reprisals, infanticide, mass rape) are less familiar today, though they were an integral part of the image of the violated Belgium for which the war was alleg-

Ferguson rejects as “fantastic” the claim that 750,000 Germans died on account of this “hunger blockade.”

edly waged. Ferguson is careful to sift out the more obviously fabricated of the stories (mutilated children and so on) but seems confident that around 6,000 civilians were killed by the invading German army, mainly in Belgium but also in Northern France. Thereafter, however, he is uncharacteristically short on numbers. Some of the 6,000 dead were women and children. And some were priests. Also, some towns and villages were razed and sometimes civilians were used as human shields.

With regard to the German invasion of Belgium, much of the moral superiority Ferguson alleges on behalf of the Allies depends on whether the Allies would have behaved differently. Of course, that cannot be answered for certain. However, Ferguson himself cites the evidence of Cabinet papers to show that Britain would have at least blockaded Belgium if the Belgians had tolerated a German incursion and that they might have bombarded Antwerp. At any rate, if actual German conduct in Belgium was deplorable, so was the conduct of the British during their war to annex the two Boer Republics or of the Americans during the war to suppress the Confederacy. In the end, the categorization of the German army's behavior in Belgium as morally inferior has less to do with what the Germans actually did and a great deal more to do with what they didn't do. They didn't win the war. Atrocities

tend to be in the eye of the victor.

Both Belgium and the *Lusitania* allowed the Germans to be portrayed as having broken the accepted rules of warfare. And, in each case, the Germans protested that they themselves were simply responding to those rules having been broken. What they did in Belgium, they claimed, was not gratuitous violence but reprisals against guerrillas and their supporters who had carried on an informal war following the withdrawal of Belgium's official armed forces. Ferguson is largely dismissive of these claims and doubts that there was any significant guerrilla activity in occupied Belgium. But his brief acknowledgement that “the reserves of Belgium's Civil Guard” (247) fought in a uniform so rudimentary it can scarcely be described as a military uniform suggests that there might be more to this controversy.

Whatever doubt there is about the Belgian guerrillas, there is none regarding the *Lusitania*'s cargo. No one today seriously disputes that the ship was ferrying munitions. Its manifest clearly shows that it was carrying shells, cartridges and aluminum powder for use in making explosives. Such a cargo was in violation of the rules governing merchant ships in time of war. There was nothing unusual in that. The First World War saw a general disregard for pre-war agreements concerning merchant shipping. Germany, for example, was, from 1914 onwards, subjected to a naval blockade intended to starve the country of resources. Commentators generally acknowledge that this contributed to wartime hardship among the German civilian population and that this hardship in turn led to many premature deaths. Here, estimates vary. Ferguson rejects as “fantastic” the claim that 750,000 people died on account of this so-called “hunger blockade” but does not report, let alone discuss, more conservative estimates. Generally, in fact, his assessment of this controversy is brief. He focuses on the blockade's impact on Germany's ability to wage war, and does not consider whether it, too, might be considered an atrocity, though he does, in passing, note that the female mortality rate in Germany in 1913 was 14.3 per 1,000 and that,

during the war, this increased by 7.3 per thousand. In contrast, the corresponding English rate increased by 2.4. During the war, therefore, the female death rate per thousand showed a markedly greater increase in Germany than in England. If these increases are accurately reported and genuinely comparable and they were the product of wartime social conditions, it's plain that over the four years of the war, around 670,000 women died on account of specifically German wartime conditions. Given the importance of the blockade to these conditions (Ferguson states that the blockade restricted Germany's supply of imported food and also hampered the country's ability to produce food since it made imported fertilizer scarce) and the fact that non-combatant males (children, men too old or too unfit for military service) were likely to have been affected, the figure of 750,000 might not be that fantastic after all.

Validating Versailles

This image of a relatively barbarous Germany fighting relatively moral Allies was one which strongly influenced the content of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. The credibility of the image is therefore important to the

During the war, 670,000 women died on account of specifically German wartime conditions. Given the importance of the blockade to these conditions and the fact that non-combatant males were also affected, the figure of 750,000 doesn't seem fantastic after all.

credibility of the Treaty. Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles — the famous “war guilt clause” — does not blame a specific German government or the individuals comprising it for having started the war. It explicitly blames the war on Germany.

The German state which concluded the 1918 armistice and signed up to Versailles was a quite different state from the one which had entered the war in 1914. The new Germany was a

republic, not an empire. There were different people in the government and there had been a significant change in its ideological character (the least militarist of the German electoral parties were now in power) and a change of policy. The German Government of 1914 and the German system of government from 1871 to 1918 were defunct. All of these changes were interrelated. But this cut no ice with the Allies at Versailles. The Allies had objected to both the Government and the system, and had implied that a change of both would be looked on favorably. But in practice, Germany was Germany.

In *The Pity of War* Ferguson never formally concludes whether or not Versailles was justifiable. Ferguson offers instead that the treaty and its provisions were not particularly harsh and that even the large indemnity was in theory repayable. That it was the largest demand for postwar reparations ever imposed upon a defeated state (a fifth larger than the indemnity the Germans had planned to impose upon all of the Allies put together and, allegedly, larger in value than all the gold reserves in the world combined) is inadequately addressed. Instead, Ferguson argues that if Weimar Germany had been more monetarist than Keynesian, it could have cleared its debts in style. Perhaps. But whatever might have happened in theory, in practice the indemnity proved impossible to repay. At the very least, I do not think that the issue of war guilt and the German indemnity can be dissociated in the way Ferguson attempts.

The huge indemnity was, by implication, proportionate to the size of the alleged guilt; an ongoing reminder of it. Germany was, as it were, fined on the basis of accusations perceived as inflated by many Germans. This is why they objected to being made to pay. Ferguson compares the war debts incurred by the victors to the German indemnity and suggests that, America aside, every state, victor or vanquished, entered the post-war world with significant financial commitments. I cannot see that the comparison is fair. Those loans, while substantial, were not the same thing as the indemnity. They were not as big. And they were not accompanied by a sense of injustice, which was the

important thing.

Likewise, Ferguson's comparison between post World War I reparations and the enormous subventions modern Germany makes to the European Union. These have only the most superficial resemblance to the repayments Weimar Germany was obliged to make. There is a world of difference between a state making large annual contributions to the budget of an international organization in which it is an important and influential participant, and a state repaying an indemnity widely seen and depicted as a piece of vindictive humbug.

Had there been no First World War, Ferguson conjectures that Europe would be remarkably similar to what it actually is. A Continental economic union would still have evolved and this would have been centered on Germany. The big difference would be that Britain, not having exhausted its resources on Continental wars, would be able to stand aside from this bloc. Coexistence, not gradual and grudging absorption, would have been a feasible

policy option. It is on this basis that Ferguson reaches the somewhat surprising conclusion that the war was not simply a tragedy, since tragedy, properly speaking, is inevitable. Far worse than that, it was a pity, "the greatest error of modern times" (462). Ferguson's fondness for counterfactuals has been criticized and, in the case of the concluding arguments of *The Pity of War*, at least, I think those criticisms are valid. At times the book makes it seem as if history is a kind of airplane journey. Without the en route turbulence, we would arrive at the same destination, but far less shaken up. Is it reasonable, though, to assume that if there had been no world war in 1914, there would never have been one? Or to suggest that Europe today would be no different does not reflect the harsh lessons of the First, then Second World Wars. No, without the First World War, I rather suspect that Europe at the beginning of the twenty first century would be very different, not much the same. □

The Encyclopedia of Gun Control and Gun Rights, by Glenn Utter. The Oryx Press, 1999, xxiii + 376 pages.

Straight-Shooting Encyclopedia

Brien Bartels

In writing *The Encyclopedia of Gun Control and Gun Rights*, political scientist Glenn Utter set out to do the impossible and proved it to be merely Very Hard. His object was to compile an unbiased and reasonably comprehensive album of the facts, personalities and events that shape the debate on the right to keep and bear arms. He is not entirely successful, but *The Encyclopedia* does a lot of good for his trying.

There seems to be pretty good cov-

erage of federal court cases modifying the right to bear arms. The book is also sprinkled with capsules on the swarm of advocacy groups which push gun control or gun rights, with contact information in an index. It biographs the major players, including the Senate's Gang of Four: Schumer, Lautenberg, Feinstein, and Boxer. Their capsules contain toothy publicity photographs so you can put a face to the name that makes you grind your teeth. You can even see a photo of that dapper *Liberty* contributing editor David Kopel, noted in *The Encyclopedia* for his work on gun rights at the

Independence Institute. Almost all the capsules have notes with further reading, including web sites and scholarly articles where applicable.

When this book was brought to my attention, I asked myself, Who the hell

It clarifies more than it obscures, which in these dark times is about the most you can ask for in a book about the right to bear arms.

would read such a thing? But one reader would be a friend of mine who wants to do some free-lancing for gun magazines. This would be a good reference for such a writer's desk. And its unbiased commentary on the laws, court decisions and political turning points in the debate makes it a valuable resource. The factual information, for example, on *U.S. v Lopez*, the case in which the Supreme Court overturned the Gun Free Schools Act, is a signal service. I can think of a few members of the media, especially those honest scribblers on the legal beat who toil in ignorance, to whom I would recommend this encyclopedia. Too often journalists in all areas reduce their dependence on factual research by simply reporting spin. Having a handy reference such as *Gun Control and Gun Rights* would at least neutralize one excuse for their errors.

The problem is, Utter creates credibility problems for himself. Consider the bio of firearms pioneer John Moses Browning: "Browning, still active, died in 1926 from a heart attack in his son's office in Liege, France." Browning may have been in Liege, but I'm pretty sure Liege was in Belgium in 1926. Indeed, Browning's name is forever and gloriously bound up with Belgium's Fabrique Nationale, manufacturer of the FN Browning Hi-Power.

Secondly, there's the sometimes condescending tone which Utter adopts when writing of the opinions of gun nuts . . . I mean, gun rights advocates. For example, in his bio of John Lott, the author of *More Guns, Less Crime*, he quotes a gun control think tank's attack on Lott's research as "indelibly stained with the taint of the

gun industry." But he follows this with his own observation: "Lott critics regret such personal attacks in part because they give [Lott's] research greater credibility than is deserved." Nothing remotely like such editorializing appears in the adjacent bio of Jens Otto Ludwig, an academic whose research runs counter to Lott's.

Thirdly, his "further reading" is sometimes limited to the anti-gun works. Utter includes capsules on Ruby Ridge, Waco, and the Oklahoma City bombing (which has the encyclopedia's O section all to itself). The only "further reading" references listed for these articles are *Gathering Storm*, an anti-militia screed pumped out between mailings by direct marketing genius Morris Dees in 1996; and Jonathan Karl's *The Right to Bear Arms*:

Makers and Takers, by Edmund Contoski. American Liberty Publishers, 1997, viii + 464 pages.

Making Sense of Wealth & Progress

Bettina Bien Greaves

In *Makers and Takers*, Edmund Contoski describes the histories of man and civilization in a way that is dramatic yet easy to understand. He portrays world history as a conflict between men who use their minds to achieve their objectives and those who use force. Those who use their minds conceive ideas that help themselves and also inevitably help others; they are responsible for all production and progress. Contoski calls them "Makers." On the other hand, those who use force to take what they want have an invader mentality and are anti-mind; Contoski calls them "Takers."

Contoski starts with a truism: Every new idea originates in the mind

The Rise of America's Militia Movement. Where's Alan Bock's *Ambush at Ruby Ridge*? Or Waco: *The Rules of Engagement*? Or David Thibodeau's *A Place Called Waco*? I wouldn't have expected Utter to hunt down Adam Parfrey's monograph *Oklahoma City: Cui Bono*? but I would have been impressed by any effort to balance the propaganda of careerist left-wing blatherers.

As you can surmise, Utter's encyclopedia is not without its problems, and a closer reading by bona fide experts in constitutional law could probably uncover many more. But it clarifies more than it obscures, which in these dark times is about the most you can ask for in a book about the right to bear arms. □

of one individual. The originator of a new idea notices something his fellowmen missed and arrives at a different conclusion. All production, all progress, starts with such an idea in the mind of a definite individual. Contoski reasons, therefore, that men should be free to differ from their fellowmen and to conceive of new ideas. On this reasoning he builds the case for individual freedom and individual rights.

The first application of mind led men to abandon the life of hunting-gathering-foraging and to begin farming. With the development of agriculture they settled down and started producing; they became "Makers." They began accumulating property, which aroused the envy of outsiders, who banded together to use force, to invade their territory and to take what

the Makers had produced. By using force, the invaders revealed they were anti-mind; they produced nothing themselves; they were "Takers." Throughout world history Makers who used their minds have found themselves aligned against the anti-mind Takers with an invader mentality.

Contoski refers to Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler to show how progress comes from ideas developed in the minds of definite individuals. Each of these three men saw the same physical world as his predecessors. But they thought things out for themselves and reached different conclusions. By developing a new understanding as to *how* bodies moved in the heavens and on earth, these three men laid the groundwork for a revolution in knowledge and science. Those who came later made advances and produced "beneficial consequences" beyond the significance of the original idea. "Seemingly unrelated ideas, such as those of Galileo and Kepler, were combined to provide the base upon which further progress was pyramided" (368). Their ideas as to *how* the earth, sun and other planets moved enabled Sir Isaac Newton to understand the law of gravity and to explain *why* they moved as they did.

But the development of new ideas concerning the physical world did not stop there.

With their new mastery of the physical world, it was not surprising that men began to apply the same successful mental process to ethical, social and political subjects. Newton had taught men that there were universal principles of physical order which could be discovered by studying the *nature of things*. Men now began studying the *nature of man*, in quest of universal principles of social and political order (369).

John Locke was one who showed the way. This was the age of the men who drafted the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution; it was the age of men who produced the ideas of natural law and natural rights; it was the Age of Enlightenment. "The same reasoning which led men to both a theoretical understanding of the world and to practical inventions for enhancing their lives also led them, "in Contoski's words, "to the greatest political inven-

tion ever made. It was at once profoundly theoretical and immensely practical. It was founded on *universal principles of human nature*. It was the Constitution of the United States" (370).

One of the most important "universal principles of human nature" on which the Constitution was based is that individuals have natural rights:

If, as the Declaration of Independence states, 'all men are created equal,' it is in the sense that each man has an equal right to life, that class or bloodline is not the basis of rights, that *life itself* is. The right to life is the basic right from which all others are derived. The basis of rights is thus a *natural* phenomenon. Rights are not an arbitrary convention but a logical derivation from a physical reality: a man's existence (371-372).

Contoski describes the reasoning behind the U.S. Constitution's division of powers and system of checks and balances. He shows how these "universal principles of human nature" have been ignored, rejected, amended, vio-

Those who use their minds conceive ideas that help themselves and also inevitably help others; they are responsible for all production and progress.

lated and overruled. He explains more clearly than I have seen elsewhere the thinking of the Founding Fathers in establishing a separate Electoral College to choose the nation's president. As it was set up, it complemented and reenforced the Founding Fathers' desire to disperse authority, and prevent the rise of political corruption and centralization of power, while retaining to the people the opportunity to express their views by indirect election. Those responsible for amending the Electoral College in the Twelfth Amendment (ratified June 15, 1804) failed to appreciate the thinking of the Founding Fathers in setting up the Electoral College the way they did and, as a result, they weakened one of the Constitution's significant checks and balances.

It may be said that the right to

property is as natural as the individual's right to life itself. "Property is the effect of which labor is the cause. If a man has the liberty to labor for himself, can he logically be denied the effects of his labor? If he is so denied, then he does not really have a right to his life since his life is the source of his labor. Property is the recognition of the causal relationship between a man's actions and their material consequences. It is the legal means by which men can provide themselves with the physical means for sustaining and satisfying their lives without the use of force against each other. It is the hallmark of a civilized society, where men deal by reason rather than force." He continues "Property rights are inextricably tied to the rights to life and liberty. All three are simply different aspects of the nature of man — and those governments which have been most vigorous in attacking property rights have inevitably been the greatest violators of life and liberty. The posed opposition of 'human rights versus property rights' is an absurdity because property rights *are* a human right. Property, as such, has no rights. The term 'property rights' simply means the rights of humans to possess property" (372).

Contoski explains that all production and progress stem from individual rights.

[I]t's the importance of the individual that leads to the upgrading of values and to a chain of beneficial economic consequences in a free market. It's because each man considers himself important that he acts for his own interests in the marketplace, that he seeks to obtain greater values for himself in exchange for lesser ones. It's a consequence of each side in a voluntary transaction acting for its own interests that both sides benefit. . . . It's a consequence of individuals acting for themselves that waste is limited, that efficiency is promoted, and that such affluence is created for satisfying the needs and wants of others. But deny the individual the freedom to serve his own self-interest, and you deny the consequent benefit to others. Negate the value of the individual, and you stop the complex economic machinery of progress. It's the machinery of progress. That machinery is fueled by individual motivation and operated by individual economic

decisions. It's run by human thought, not human force. It's the machinery for creating values, not implementing invasions (81).

When Contoski explains that all progress originates with ideas in the minds of individuals, he reasons that the role of government should be strictly limited to defense, the defense of individuals, their freedom to think and to differ from their fellowmen, their property and their equal rights, so long as they do not infringe on the equal rights of others. "Since rights are an attribute of individual life, not of human numbers, men acting together in the name of government have no more rights than any individual. . . . Since self-defense — a corollary of the right to life — is the only justification for the use of force by individuals, it is the only justification for government. . . . Government is logically limited to a defensive role, too, by the principle of equal rights. Government cannot serve all its citizens equally if it violates the rights of any of them. To prevent government from violating anybody's rights, Americans devised the concept of limited government. The idea was to give government only enough power and authority for its proper function, no more" (374).

The Takers Take Over

However, during the last hundred years, the democratic idea, "a collectivist concept," has been displacing constitutional government, based on the principles of individualism, equal rights, and limited government. Contoski reminds us that democracy "is 'a form of government in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively.' It is a system of collective coercion, whereby every individual is forced to conform to the rule of the majority. The Founders sought a system of individual choice, where every man would be free to go his own way. They wanted a system where no man would have a master, not one where the majority would be the master, as in a democracy" (378). Under a democratic government, however, force is used to impose majority rule; the rights of all are not protected equally.

Contoski then cites case after case to show that progress and production are the result of the ideas of individu-

als and that when government uses force, even in response to majority demand, the effects are not only anti-mind and antagonistic to the equal rights of individuals, but usually unproductive, costly and even destructive. "[I]n the same way that progressive action causes beneficial, if unintended, consequences for others,

If a man has the liberty to labor for himself, can he logically be denied the effects of his labor? If he is so denied, then he does not really have a right to his life since his life is the source of his labor.

coercive action, however well intended, produces detrimental secondary effects in addition to the original injury. The 'heavy hand of government' performs exactly the opposite of Smith's 'invisible hand' and inflicts damage in unexpected ways" (260).

The "people-are-the-enemies" per-

sons, the anti-mind, anti-industry people, fail to understand that one man's gain on the market does not mean a loss for someone else. They do not understand that producers, — "Makers" — help others as they help themselves, that the more they produce, the more is available, not only for themselves but for others. The Takers' intentions are admirable; they want to help the poor, conserve natural resources, protect the environment, eliminate pollution, prevent overpopulation, wipe out disease, starvation, and food shortages, and improve medical care. But the method these invader types suggest is government force.

Government interventions are always counter-productive:

Government intervention can only force people to take actions they consider uneconomic or to refrain from taking actions they consider economic. . . . What the proponents of economic intervention have never understood is that economic progress is a result of man's mental faculty and any attempt to forcibly displace the role of the mind in the marketplace is economically counterproductive because it is anti-mind (70).

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Contoski delineates three main weapons of the Takers. If government increases taxes to bring about its laudable goals, it is hurting some persons by forcing them to subsidize others. If it inflates, it is increasing the quantity of money and raising prices while adding nothing to the wealth of society; it is destroying the means of economic calculation and future planning, depreciating the value of money and so enabling the government to spend it at a loss. If it tries to bring about the results it wants by regulation, it is forcing some people to trade with others at

prices or on terms they would not otherwise agree to. Thus it discourages voluntary market transactions which would improve the situation of both parties to every trade.

After discussing these weapons, he turns his attention to claims that capitalism is injurious. We are bombarded by propaganda claiming that industry is responsible for society's ills, that it is industry that causes pollution, is wasteful and produces carcinogens. Yet the world's producers, the Makers, did more to eliminate pollution than EPA government regulations. Ideas of

the Makers made it feasible and economic for people to transform the sticky, black gooey substance oozing out of the ground in some places into fuel oil, natural gas, and gasoline — cleaner fuels than the wood and coal people had used for centuries. Thanks to the ideas of individuals, Makers discovered oil on the northern slope of Alaska, drilled for it and built a massive pipeline to bring it to the lower forty-eight states. Then while the OPEC embargo created a shortage of gasoline and drivers waited in long lines at gas stations, anti-mind forces used lawsuits and new regulations to delay oil deliveries from Alaska.

We have been almost scared to death by threats of industry-related environmental hazards. It has been charged that global warming is caused by increased carbon dioxide, but scientists have discovered much higher concentrations of carbon dioxide than today's in the ice sheets of Greenland formed 130,000 years ago. We have been warned that CFCs (chlorofluorocarbons) were destroying the ozone layer, leading to increased solar ultraviolet radiation which would cause many thousands more cases of skin cancer every year. But the ozone hole was first discovered in the 1950s, before there were any appreciable CFC discharges; volcanic eruptions seem to have much more effect on the ozone layer than industrial CFCs.

Industry and population growth have been blamed for wasting nature's resources. However

More of the nation's forest products come from the industry's 65 million acres than from the government-managed 135 million acres. But don't jump to the conclusion that industry is merely depleting its resource faster. Just as with privately-owned game and farm animals, maximum profit from privately-owned forests is obtained by operating the asset for sustained yield. Concerned with continuing profits, the industry is actually growing 13 percent more timber than it is cutting — and this figure has been rising steadily since the 1920s (302).

And the industry is actually wasting less. According to a Georgia-Pacific ad in *The Wall Street Journal* (October 11, 1977): "For a typical 320 square foot log cabin, our forebears used 70 trees. And burned what was left over. Today,

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Literature

The Sociology of the Ayn Rand Cult by Murray N. Rothbard. Published in 1987, this essay is one of the most important scholarly works on Ayn Rand's inner circle. Rothbard was there, and what he offers is an unflinching, critical look at a cult that "promoted slavish dependence on the guru in the name of independence." Send \$4 to Liberty Publishing, P.O. Box 1181, Port Townsend, WA 98368.

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that same number of trees would provide a 3500 square foot home — plus enough tissue and paper products for an average family — for over 30 years” (304).

Contoski gives example after example illustrating that the cost of government’s programs intended to promote “the public good,” help the poor, protect employees on the job, assure that food and drugs are safe and effective, clean up the environment, and protect endangered species, have not only failed to achieve their objectives but have led to a vast waste of valuable resources and exorbitant, out-of-control government spending.

John A. Hill, former deputy administrator of the Federal Energy Administration said: “The government has spent more than \$100 billion over the past 35 years for clean coal technologies, solar energy, conservation and synthetic fuels; none of these programs added one viable technology to the commercial marketplace” (266).

The Force of Ideas

Contoski shows that one economic gain leads to others. On the other hand, [E]very . . . attempt to ‘direct’ the use of private property through government stimulation or controls results in too much of something, too little of it, or puts it in the wrong place. . . . In a free economy men tend to employ their property in ways complementary to others because the greatest profits can be obtained from doing so . . . And because men’s interests aren’t naturally in opposition, many harmonious consequences are produced incidentally which couldn’t have been foreseen or provided for by central authority (323).

There can be no doubt that the world is richer, people are better off, enjoy more conveniences and comforts, live longer and are healthier than ever before in history. We owe these improvements to Makers who conceived ideas and implemented them in the attempt to improve their own situation and, in the process, improved the situations of countless other persons also. Their economic profits and their technological advances became “the basis for further progress. They also create[d] a variety of unintended secondary benefits for other people. The economic losses inflicted by government intervention have the opposite effect. They lead to even greater losses

through greater government activity — more laws, more controls, more bureaucrats to ‘correct’ the problems — while creating a variety of unintended secondary losses throughout society” (327).

Contoski has done an admirable job of outlining the theory that underlies natural rights libertarianism, and provided excellent illustrations and explanations of how the theory works in practice. □

Finding Rare Books on the Web

Richard Kostelanetz

I was slow to sign onto the Internet because I already had too much information in the house and too many friends who merited attention, both of which remain legitimate problems now that I’m on-line, as we say. My principal discovery was the ease and efficiency in purchasing scarce out-of-print books. I used to keep in a pocket notebook a list that I would test in used bookstores that I visited around the country. Only rarely did any of them have titles I wanted, so esoteric were my needs. Now on-line, I simply ring up abebooks.com, type in the titles I need, and invariably get a rich list with various prices. For one title I thought truly scarce, the English translation of Michel Seuphor’s *Dictionary of Abstract Painting*, a few dozen copies were listed! There were several copies of Stanley Berne’s and Arlene Zekowski’s *First Book of Neo-Narrative* (1954) at prices ranging from \$15.00 to \$100.00. For those titles meriting purchase, I click on the bookseller’s name and simply type in my name, address, and credit card number. Within a few days the book is at my door with a credit card slip as a kind of receipt. I threw away my want list, having already obtained *all* the titles.

Physically located in western Canada, Advanced Book Exchange is a consortium of several thousand antiquarian booksellers, some of them abroad, who pay twenty dollars a month if they list less than 100 titles (more money for more titles), who

collectively have over ten million books for sale. In the great Internet tradition of indiscriminate commerce, ABE doesn’t impose false obstacles to membership (such as recommendation or approval by other members).

Having published several dozen books over the past thirty-five years, I then began to check out my own titles on various sites, some of them representing more than one retailer. Bibliofind.com isn’t bad. Nor is Alibris.com. I should warn that the used book channel of Barnes & Noble offers titles from its affiliated booksellers that are available elsewhere (often from the same booksellers) for roughly 33 percent less. For ease and efficiency, nothing in my experience rivals ABE.

At ABE I found more than three hundred thirty of my titles available (while John Hospers has 64 titles, Murray Rothbard only 16, Milton Friedman over 400, Thomas Szasz over 450, Samuel R. Delany over 500, and Ayn Rand a whopping 1,525 the last time I looked). Some of my 300+ were books that had been recently remaindered, such as *John Cage (Ex)plain(ed)*, here available at prices close to those recently requested by the remainder houses. Some of these booksellers are in provincial locales, making me wonder how titles of mine ever got there or, conversely, making me appreciate the truth that books really do take my work and name to places I’ve never been.

Other books of mine that haven’t been in print for years are now available for prices sometimes as low as a few bucks. Though most of the titles

came from commercial houses, those from small presses were amply represented. Some items acknowledged an inscription by me, thankfully only to recipients who have passed away. The highest price, \$250.00, is for a book made valuable by someone else — the copy of my anthology *On Contemporary Literature* that the novelist Raymond Federman inscribed to his mother-in-law. The retailer adds: "A poignant document, even haunting at first glance, as Federman's own parents were annihilated in the Nazi roundups of Jews in occupied Paris." Ask no more questions. Others were books that I keep available as Archae (RK) Editions, often at drastically lower or higher prices. One dealer wants \$12.00 for the newsprint edition of *One Night Stood* (1977) that I sell for \$2.00. On the other hand, I found one copy of *The*

End of Intelligent Writing (1974) offered for ten bucks and another for thirty-five. Since I sell the hardback for one hundred, and have only two copies, I purchased the first for myself. For *Master Minds* (1969), which I sell for \$75.00, I found a price of \$40.00 from one place, \$10.00 from another. Inexplicably, nobody seemed to be selling *The New Poetries and Some Olds* (1991) or *Autobiographies* (1981), among other favorite titles of mine. Two booksellers took works of mine, offered at a discount, in exchange for titles by others that I wanted. While on one hand I should, I suppose, be disappointed that people are (re)selling books of mine without offering me royalties, I should on the other hand be gratified that so many are out there, still moving around, representing for my work a kind of survival. □

William P. Moulton—RIP

from page 18

As a young man, he worried constantly about his inability to get along with women, which was understandable, given a problem with and his utter self-absorption. I recall how he solved the problem. One day he told me that he'd decided it was time for him to find out what sex was like. "I drove down Division Street," he explained, referring to a street then famous for its street-walkers in a rough neighborhood in Grand Rapids, "until I saw a young woman who was dressed flashily. I stopped my car, opened my window and asked, 'Excuse me, miss, are you a prostitute?' She replied that she was . . ." It was a parody of the rationalist approach to life.

Bill drifted from job to job, never getting along very well with his employers. He was always a hard worker, but he had a tendency to rub people the wrong way. Once when an employer threatened him with a broomstick, Bill took a punch at him and ended up spending a weekend in jail for assault. After he got out, his employer hired him back. His work was worth it.

While he drifted, he found time to write a some pretty good book-length manuscripts, one on the history of the third parties in America, another a history of the John Birch Society. He was, indeed, a master of arcane knowledge about fringe politics. But he never even sought to have either of those manuscripts published. At the time, I suspected that he feared rejection more than he feared failure.

When I launched *Liberty* in 1987, I invited Bill to write for it. He turned in a number of exceptional pieces. I especially treasure "My Dinner With Gus," (September, 1988) his memoir of how he had talked his way into a conference held by the Communist Party USA and so impressed party boss Gus Hall that he was invited to dine with him. But his knowledge was diverse, and he treated readers to a great many other articles, covering topics ranging from Ivan the Terrible to the Libertarian Party's place in history.

I offered him a full-time position even before launching the magazine,

Notes on Contributors

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

Brien Bartels is a free-lancer and political consultant living in Ellensburg, Washington.

David Boaz is the author of *Libertarianism: A Primer* and the editor of *The Libertarian Reader*.

Alan Bock is a senior columnist for the *Orange County Register*.

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

Scott Chambers is a cartoonist living in Arizona.

Stephen Cox is the author of *The Titanic Story*.

Nicholas Dykes is a writer living in Ledbury, Herefords, England.

Scott Gossard is a writer living in Anaheim, California.

Bettina Bien Greaves is co-compiler of *Mises: An Annotated Bibliography*.

J. Bishop Grewell is a research associate at the Political Economy Research Center in Bozeman, Montana.

Gene Healy is a lawyer practicing in Virginia.

George Hollenback is a writer living in Houston, Texas.

Bart Kosko is a professor of electrical engineering at the University of

Southern California and author of *The Fuzzy Future*.

Richard Kostelanetz is an independent critic of culture and politics living in Manhattan. He recently published a book of his *Political Essays*.

Barry Loberfeld is the president of the Long Island chapter of the Freeman Discussion Society.

Dyanne Petersen is a longtime libertarian activist and writer, currently a resident of Federal Prison Camp in Dublin, California.

Dolores T. Puterbaugh is a mental health counselor in Largo, Florida.

Paul Rako is a consultant living in Sunnyvale, California.

Jane Shaw is co-author with Michael Sanera of *Facts, Not Fear: Teaching Children About the Environment*.

Sandy Shaw is co-author of *Life-Extension: A Practical, Scientific Approach*.

Tim Slagle is a stand-up comedian living in Chicago.

Martin M. Solomon is an assistant editor at *Liberty*.

Martin Tyrrell is a writer and researcher based in Europe.

hoping that *Liberty* would provide him to put his immense intelligence to constructive use. In 1990, he accepted my offer, mostly because he was desperate for money. He came to Liberty headquarters in Port Townsend, but things didn't work out: he had his usual problems getting along with people, and he steadfastly refused to learn how to use a computer. He left after a few months.

Once home to Michigan, he asked to be paid for writing in *Liberty*. I was reluctant to agree. *Liberty* had always been a labor of love. Even staff members did their writing for our pages on their own time. Karl Hess was the only contributor who had been paid for his writing. I'd come up with money to pay Karl because I thought him a very special case: he was a hero of libertarianism whose contributions to the movement were immeasurable, and he was on hard times.

I decided to make a similar arrangement with Bill, but such was his perverse nature that he wrote hardly anything afterwards. In early 1992, he even stopped corresponding with me. The only contact I had with him was indirect: a couple of times he called a mutual friend, and in the course of conversation explained that he was calling from a pay phone so that his number could not be traced. I had lent him a fairly substantial sum of money a few years earlier, and he apparently feared that I might try to collect it. He needn't have worried.

Bill spent his last years selling high-rate mortgages to people with bad credit, a job where his immense size — he was terribly overweight, often tipping the scales at nearly 400 pounds — was not a handicap. I searched the Net occasionally to see whether he was back writing, but I never heard from him until April 12, when an old mutual friend from Michigan called to tell me that he was gone. Financial pressure had forced him to sell the small house he had inherited in his home town, and he had moved to a room the same motel in Grand Rapids where'd he'd lived as a student a quarter century earlier. It was there he died.

It's always a shock when an old friend dies, but his death was not entirely surprising. Bill was the sort of person who was intellectually fastidious — he considered a trivial misquotation of a 400-year-old poem to be a

moral crime — but was never inclined to pay much attention to the details of life. I recall once noticing the engine of his car smoking and insisting on checking the oil. It was five quarts low. Unfortunately he was about as punctilious about taking his blood pressure medicine as he was about checking the oil in his car.

Bill Moulton was one of the most intelligent people I've ever known, but he was never able to channel that intelligence into productive activity. He

resented people who succeeded and wallowed in self-pity. He was never happy and seldom even pleasant, though his trenchant wit earned him a few friends. It's hard to imagine a person wasting such an obvious and magnificent intellect — although that is the terrible fate of many individualists whom I have known. Nevertheless, the impact of his intelligence, which would never surrender its own cranky sense of self, will always remain with those who knew him. —R. W. Bradford

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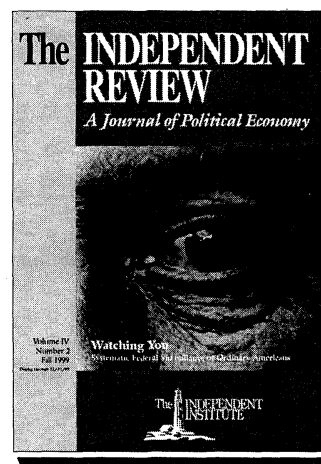
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T e r r a I n c o g n i t a

New York, New York

Even a trendy art exhibition sometimes persecutes minorities, from *The New York Times* :

The work, which is called "Sanitation," will go on view March 23 as part of the Whitney's 2000 Biennial. It includes a wall that juxtaposes the First Amendment with statements made by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and antiart quotations by three conservative politicians, written in the Gothic Frankfurter typeface once favored by the Nazis and sometimes used by neo-Nazis. Beneath the passages is a row of trash cans that blare the sound of marching troops.

Last week, the Anti-Defamation League protested the exhibition, saying it denigrated the memory of those killed by the Nazis.

Canada

America's Neighbor to the North's progressive methods of crowd control, from the *Associated Press*:

Students at the University of Toronto are being "tortured" by campus police with the music of the Backstreet Boys in an attempt to end a six-day-old sit-in at the president's office.

USA

Not all television crimes are excessively violent, but still are inventively terroristic, from a television listing in the *Seattle Times*:

"Profiler." Now a member of the VCTF team, newly relocated Agent Rachel Burke sorts through a series of murders where the killer singles out successful career women and subjugates them to humiliating housework.

New York, N.Y.

Chef in the Big Apple gets the thrill of his life, from *The New York Times*:

"You cook a great dish 7,000 times over and over," Mr. Wang said, "it's nice to have it be more exciting because you know the food we're touching is actually going to the president."

Carrboro, North Carolina

The advance of culture in the Tar Heel State, reported by the estimable *Chapel Hill News*:

"I was talking about how Shakespeare's plays, which are of course full of beautiful language, are so long and talky, so verbal, up until the last five or ten minutes," Mark Dorosin, a Carrboro Alderman said. "And then, at the very end, all hell breaks loose. People stab each other. They stab themselves. They drink poison. They fall on their swords. People start dropping right and left. And at the end you have all these dead folks sprawled all over the stage.

"And I just thought, 'Wouldn't it be fun to pick up at that point, where one of those plays ends?' You know, when the police come in and go, 'Oh, my God, what happened?' I went, 'I should write a play like that.'"

The next weekend, he sat down at the typewriter.

And tonight, "Hamlet II: The Investigation" — produced, directed, co-written by and starring Mark Dorosin — opens at the ArtsCenter's West End Theater.

Turkey

Reuters reports on a popular sporting event the Middle East :

Turkey's oil wrestlers — burly men who cover themselves in olive oil and grapple with each other wearing leather trousers — are trying to stop a group of homosexuals coming to watch. A group calling themselves Bears of Turkey is advertising on the Internet for a tour to watch the 639th Kirkpinar oil wrestling championships to be held on July 1 and 2 near Turkey's northwestern city of Edirne.

The wrestlers, their muscles rippling in olive oil under the hot sun, try to pin each other to the ground. Putting a hand down the opponent's trousers to get a better grip is a common tactic.

Rocky Mount, Virginia

Law enforcement setback in the Dominion State, reported by *The New York Times* :

"It's an awkward situation," Allen G. Hudson, deputy director of the Virginia alcohol agency's Bureau of Law Enforcement Said. "Moonshiners hire people locally and buy materials locally. We don't get a lot of cooperation, because they see them doing more good than we can do them."

Charlotte, North Carolina

The *Charlotte Observer* follows the Vice President on a visit to a local middle school :

At 9:00 a.m., Vice President Gore went to science class where seventh-graders were creating molecule models out of toothpicks and marshmallows. He helped students create models of water and hydrochloric acid. After Gore left, student Andrew Spohn said that "Everyone was trying to eat the marshmallows that he had touched."

USA

There is one segment of the population whose health care needs have been overlooked, from the *USA Today* :

When Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley was rushed to the hospital with chest pains, his illness prompted other big-city mayors to think about their own high-stress lives.

"It should be a wake-up call," says Providence, R.I. Mayor Vincent (Buddy) Cianci, 58. "Mayors are always talking about health care and early intervention for kids, but we never do it for ourselves."

Massachusetts

Bay State schools discover an ironclad way to improve test scores according to *The New York Times*:

In the latest example of cheating on high-stakes standardized tests, administrators, teachers and students in at least 19 Massachusetts schools violated the rules when taking statewide exams last spring.

The White Rose: A Lesson in Dissent

by Jacob G. Hornberger



The date was February 22, 1943. Hans Scholl and his sister, Sophie, along with their best friend, Christoph Probst, were to be executed by Nazi officials that afternoon. The prison guards were so impressed with the calm and bravery of the prisoners in the face of impending death that they violated regulations by permitting them to meet together one last time. Hans, a medical student at the University of Munich, was 24. Sophie, a student, was 21. Christoph, a medical student, was 22.

This is the story of the White Rose. It is a lesson in dissent. It is a tale of courage — of principle — of honor. It is detailed in three books: *The White Rose* (1970) by Inge Scholl, *A Noble Treason* (1979) by Richard Hanser, and *An Honourable Defeat* (1994) by Anton Gill.

Hans and Sophie Scholl were German teenagers in the

1930s. Like other young Germans, they enthusiastically joined the Hitler Youth. Unlike so many other Germans, however, they later turned against Hitler and his Nazi regime.

Open dissent was impossible in Nazi Germany, especially after the start of World War II. One day in 1942, however, copies of a leaflet entitled "The White Rose" suddenly appeared at the University of Munich. The leaflet contained an anonymous essay that said that the Nazi system had slowly imprisoned the German people and was now destroying them. Germans needed to rise up, the essay declared, and resist the tyranny of their own government.

The leaflet caused a tremendous stir among the student body. It was the first time that internal dissent against the Nazi regime had surfaced in Germany. The members of the White Rose, however, did not limit themselves to leaflets. Graffiti began appearing in large letters on streets and buildings all over Munich: "Down with Hitler! ... Hitler the Mass Murderer!" and "Freiheit! ... Freiheit!" ("Freedom! ... Freedom!")

The Gestapo was driven into a frenzy. It knew that the

authors were having to procure large quantities of paper, envelopes, and postage. It knew that they were using a duplicating machine. But despite the Gestapo's best efforts, it was unable to catch the perpetrators.

On February 18, 1943, however, luck ran out for the members of the White Rose. Hans and Sophie Scholl were caught leaving pamphlets at the University of Munich and were arrested, along with their friend Christoph Probst. All three were immediately indicted for treason.

On February 22 — four days after their arrest — their trial began. Sophie Scholl shocked everyone in the courtroom when she said to the judge: "Somebody, after all, had to make a start. What we wrote and said is also believed by many others. They just don't dare to express themselves as we did."

In the middle of the trial, Hans's and Sophie's parents, Robert and Magdalene Scholl, tried to enter the courtroom. Magdalene said to the guard: "But I'm the mother of two of the accused." The guard responded: "You should have brought them up better."

The judge pronounced his judgment on the three defendants: Guilty of treason.

Their sentence: Death.

That afternoon, the prison guards permitted Hans, Sophie, and Christoph to have one last visit together. Sophie was then led to the guillotine. One observer described her as she walked to her death:

"Without turning a hair, without flinching," Christoph Probst was next. Hans Scholl was last; just before he was beheaded, Hans cried out: "Long live freedom!"

Today, every German knows the story of the White Rose. A square at the University of Munich is named for Hans and Sophie Scholl. There are also streets, squares, and schools all over Germany named for the White Rose. The German movie *The White Rose* is now found in video stores in Germany and the United States.

Richard Hanser summed up the story of the White Rose: "In the vogue words of the time, the Scholls and their friends represented the 'other' Germany, the land of poets and thinkers, in contrast to the Germany that was reverting to barbarism and trying to take the world with it."

Mr. Hornberger is founder and president of *The Future of Freedom Foundation* (www.fff.org) in Fairfax, Va.

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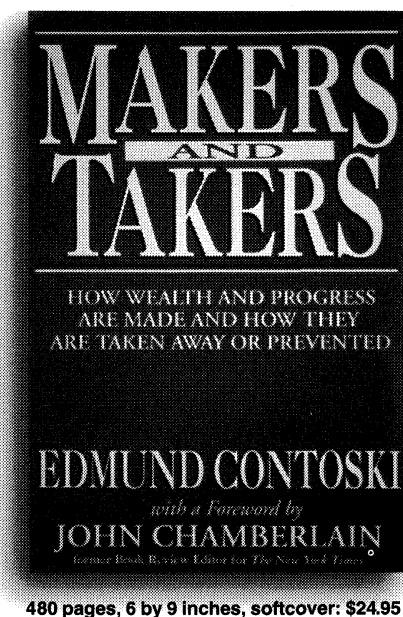
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