

Liberty

June 2004

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The Bush Blunder

The Free State Project: Revolution by Other Means

by Max Orhai

Freedom in Our Lifetime

by Alan W. Bock

Reclaiming the American Frontier

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Present at the Creation

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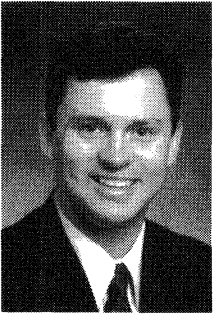
The 1960s: A Special Time

by Richard Kostelanetz

Also: *Stephen Cox* travels with Gen. George Washington, *Mark Skousen* closes some loopholes, *Richard Kostelanetz* looks at PBS's version of the life of America's greatest anarchist . . . plus other articles, reviews & humor.



"The history of Liberty is the history of resistance." —Woodrow Wilson



Religious Right or Liberty?

Battle for the Soul of the MI GOP

by Michigan State Representative Leon Drolet

Michigan's Macomb County is the poster child for suburban America. This sprawling bedroom-county of nearly 825,000 people (and growing fast) is bordered by Detroit to the south and Lake St. Clair to the east, and filled with middle-class subdivision homes with attached wooden decks complete with Coleman barbeques. Macomb County's low crime rate, generally decent quality schools, low tax rate (lowest of Michigan's 83 counties), high rate of home ownership and near-perfect middle-classiness paints a tranquil and comfortable picture. It's a central planner's "sprawl" nightmare and a suburbanite's nirvana. One can almost hear the Beatles singing "Penny Lane" on some Saturday afternoons.

But there is a political war going on in Macomb County with national implications. This war is a political scientists' war, of primary interest to elites from both major parties. But the undercurrent of Macomb's ideological war has significant impact on the future of liberty in the political arena.

Macomb is well known in political campaign consultant circles nationwide as perhaps the bellwether county for the country. Its suburban, middle class, Catholic swing voters have been analyzed, dissected and focus-grouped by both major political parties for two decades, each party trying to unlock the secrets to the hearts of pivotal independent voters nationwide by studying the Reagan-Democrat, independent/maverick ideological microcosm that is Macomb County. These efforts by major-party political researchers are best documented by Stanley Greenberg in his 1996 book; *Middle Class Dreams: The Politics and Power of the New American Majority* (Yale University Press). Greenberg is a former Clinton pollster assigned to study Macomb County in the mid-1980s by the national Democratic Party. Greenberg was charged with finding out why the traditionally blue-collar Democrat county had suddenly shifted to voting for Ronald Reagan. His research was widely employed by the Clinton campaign in 1992.

From the perspective of freedom, who cares about this political petri dish called Macomb? You should if you care about the prospects for liberty in the arena of real politics. For there is a war within the partisan war; an ongoing battle within the county's Republican Party between the "religious right" vision of GOP priorities, and those who emphasize small-L libertarian, limited government. Macomb County's GOP infighting is a magnified micro-

cosm of Republican internal politics nationally. And this election cycle, I am squarely in the epicenter of the battle.

Pat Robertson and the Rise of the House of Carl



Back in 1987, when televangelist Pat Robertson was preparing his presidential run, activists from the Jerry Fallwell-led Moral Majority, the Christian Coalition, and other faith-based political organizations were actively recruiting Republican precinct delegates from within evangelical churches. These delegates were to get elected, attend county and state GOP conventions, and deliver votes for Robertson at the national convention.

In Macomb County, a conservative, highly religious state senator named Doug Carl saw the emerging evangelical delegate block as an opportunity to build a political organization capable of defeating Democrat Congressman David Bonior in the 1992 general election. Carl had narrowly lost to Bonior in 1988. Senator Carl decided to take over the executive board of the Macomb GOP using the newly recruited army of Pat Robertson precinct delegates called "Robbies". Carl's efforts paid off at the 1990 Republican county convention when his delegates swept away the entire existing GOP executive board, and replaced it with Robbies. Senator Carl was elected by that new board to serve as Chairman of the Macomb County Republican Party. Although Doug Carl didn't know me back then, I was one of the executive board members dumped by Carl and replaced by a Robbie.

Some of us who were deposed were not the typical 'establishment' Republicans that were being defeated by Robbies in similar feuds playing out across the country. We were fiercely

anti-tax, pro-gun, and suspicious of government power. Many of us called ourselves libertarians and we weren't willing to turn the show over to the Robbies. We formed the Macomb Coalition of Republicans (MCOR), a rival group that operated as if we were the official party.

What ensued was a pitched, angry battle between the official county party and MCOR that lasted many years, with a gleeful media reporting each blow (such as the time MCOR took out classified ads in the *Detroit Free Press* seeking a true friend of the taxpayers to run against recently elected GOP governor John Engler).

What distinguished Robbies from MCOR? For all the acrimony involved, not much of substance. Both groups were pro-gun, anti-tax, and (mostly) pro-Life. Both were fueled by the boom of conservative AM talk radio in the 1990s. The difference was in priorities and tone. MCOR took on libertarian causes – holding huge pro-gun rallies to protest Clinton's gun bans while the Robbies were holding Christian rock concerts. MCOR would demonstrate with Citizens Against Government Waste while the Robbies would march in a pro-Life event. MCOR would rail against property taxes while the Robbies would rail against pornography. Unfortunately, one thing both groups had in common was that they detested each other, and spread rumors and ill-will toward opposing faction members.

The ill-will cumulated in Doug Carl's primary race to unseat Bonior in 1992. Carl was given a decent chance of defeating Bonior by pundits (given his good showing in 1988), and the Republican National Committee was prepared to dump money into the race. Enter Doug's wife: Maria Carl.

The “Jew Crew” and the AIDS Jokes

Maria, always an activist supporting her husband, was helping direct Robbie efforts to select a Republican National Committeewoman at the 1992 state convention. Three women were vying for the position, and when the Robbie favorite lost in the first round of voting, Robbie delegates were confused. Should they vote for Betsy DeVos, a west-Michigan wife of the founder of Amway Corporation or should they support Andrea Fischer, a member of a prominent, wealthy family generous to Republican campaign coffers? According to eyewitness accounts reported widely in newspapers, Maria Carl called the play; “We’re going with DeVos,” Maria allegedly instructed her delegates. Several delegates then asked what was wrong with Andrea Fischer, to which Maria reportedly replied, “She’s a Jew, she’s a Jew!”

Several delegates were upset by her comments and filed complaints with the state Republican Party. Media obtained copies of those complaints and had a field day. National money for Doug Carl's congressional bid immediately began to dry up. At first, Maria refused to comment when asked about her statements. Later she denied them at a press conference. Doug Carl went on to be defeated by Bonior. The Libertarian Party candidate in the race received nearly twice the votes of any other LP candidate for local or federal office that year, possibly due to disaffected Republicans who perceived the Carls as anti-Semites.

The Carl anti-Semite tag wouldn't go away. Earlier that year, Jim Alexander (GOP chair from Oakland County) had charged that a Carl associate referred to he and Fischer as “the Jew crew.”

The MCOR – Robbie war officially ended in 1996, when

the state Republican Party could no longer stomach either faction in Macomb. MCOR continually criticized GOP Governor John Engler from the ‘right’ on fiscal issues, and the Robbies wouldn't take orders and supported Pat Buchanan over Bob Dole for the party presidential nomination. Secretary of State Candice Miller, a Macomb native, was assigned by the state party to get the county party under control. Miller, now a congresswoman, recruited ‘sane’ delegates to the '96 convention but came up a few delegates short. A deal was cut with MCOR and the Robbie executive board was swept away (a compromise chair was selected). Relative peace returned to the Macomb County Republican Party as the most intransigent leaders of both factions were purged, and the rank and file Robbies and libertarian MCOR members learned to get along.

Senator Doug Carl continued, however, to engender controversy. In March of 1996, two students doing a report on AIDS were interviewing Carl in his district office. Senator Carl allegedly joked to the students about AIDS, telling them it was an acronym for “Anally Inserted Death Sentence”. The jokes made their way into the students' reports and into the media from there. Few laughed, and Sen. Carl accused the two students of setting him up.

Doug Carl died of a heart attack in August of 1997 at the age of 46. Before his unexpected death, Doug seemed to mellow substantially. He acknowledged the mistake of his hostile party takeover in 1990. Doug and I put aside our differences, and we became friendly acquaintances.

Doug's widow, Maria Carl, was another matter. Maria ran unsuccessfully for her husband's vacant state Senate seat. She ran again for the state House seat in a special election that I won. There just didn't seem to be much energy left in the Robbie political machine that she had helped her husband put together.

Gay Marriage & the Return of the Robbies

After I was elected, Maria Carl faded away in Macomb politics and the evangelical battlefield migrated to neighboring Oakland County, where some Robbie leaders purged by the Candice Miller takeover of the Macomb GOP had relocated.

I spent the first three years of my state representative career as a principled libertarian Republican advocating for reductions in the size, scope and cost of state government. Disagreements with other Republicans were largely confined to my being to the right of my colleagues on tax, fee, licensing, and regulation issues. Those social issues where I differed from Republican colleagues came up infrequently, and I was just considered “quirky” or, later, “principled”.

Until the issue of gay civil unions and gay marriage blew into a national issue. It became apparent after President Bush's state of the union speech that the issue was coming to Michigan's capitol dome and a vote on state recognition of gay relationships was inevitable.

As a libertarian Republican, I believe that governments, much less constitutions, are NOT the place to regulate human relationships and personal or religious commitments. For thousands of years, across many societies, marriage did not need government sanction. Having governments mandate tax, insurance or any other benefits for marriage only invites government regulation of marriage. To those who would advocate that governments should regulate marriage, I would advise them to be careful what they ask for. Activist judges giving sanction to gay relationships under the ‘equal

protection' clause do so precisely because states have mandated government benefit and sanction to straight marriages.

I voted "No" on the proposed amendment to the state constitution to prohibit recognition of the contracts, marriage or civil union, between gay couples. I believe that many of my Republican colleagues were uncomfortable with their "yes" votes, and some even privately ashamed, yet only two other Republicans (out of 63) voted with me, one of whom is term-limited.

For many political evangelical activists, gay marriage or civil unions is a must-win issue. Having lost a US Supreme Court decision on sodomy laws, and watching acceptance of gay Americans becoming increasingly mainstream, gay marriage or civil unions is their "Battle of the Bulge". A loss here, and many evangelicals sincerely believe that the collapse of all western civilization is surely imminent.

Maria Carl, with the support high-ups within the state and national American Family Association, filed against me for the August 3rd GOP primary nomination for state representative.

A Battle for Liberty? Or the Soul of the GOP?

I realize that there are a great number of *Liberty* readers who frankly don't care about the direction of the Republican Party. At the risk of being self-aggrandizing, I would suggest that my reelection campaign against Maria Carl is about more than whether the GOP in Michigan will be more influenced by those who advo-

cate the state as a means of advancing religious beliefs, or whether the GOP can turn toward a platform for limiting government. Instead, I would suggest that my reelection tests whether true libertarian beliefs can be successful in the market of an election cycle.

I have been twice elected to the Macomb County Board of Commissioners and twice elected to the state House. But now I face a primary challenge unlike one I have ever faced. If you believe, as I do, that liberty can be successfully sold to voters in a campaign environment, then I need your help!

Maria Carl will have her donors, and they are more energized than they have been in years. My status as one of the two Republicans up for reelection who voted against the so-called marriage resolution has made me a target of some members of the religious right *statewide*, not just in Macomb County.

Will you help? I can do the door-to-door, I can layout campaign literature and put up signs. I know how to win political campaigns. But never have I been the focus of a statewide effort to defeat me. **The money I need to win this campaign and advance our political philosophy must come from you!** Any donation to my reelection campaign against Maria Carl would be gratefully received. Here are the government-mandated legal requirements for contributors: contributions cannot exceed \$500 per person, and contributions over \$100 must include the name and address of the contributor's employer. Checks can be made out to: CTE Leon Drolet and mailed to 16820 Edloytom Way, Clinton Twp., MI 48038. My e-mail address is: leondrolet@comcast.net.

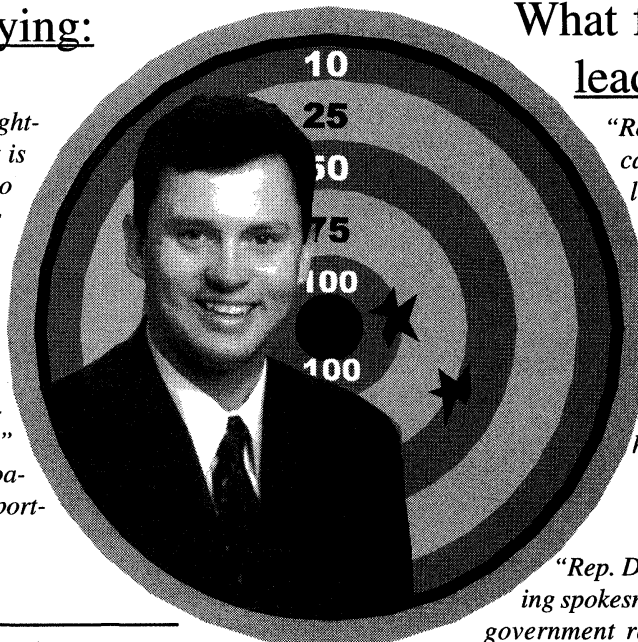
Thank you for your assistance, and for your commitment to Liberty!

Rep. Leon Drolet: Statists' Top Target in MI!

What statists are saying:

"Drolet is also a member of the right-wing, anti-tax Libertarian Party. It is no coincidence that Drolet also successfully sponsored amendments to the DARTA bill making it easier for suburbs to opt out of the transit system and he is the chief sponsor of a bill to overturn living wage laws...The success of Drolet's legislation does not bode well for future efforts at regional cooperation."

M.O.S.E.S., a coalition of left-wing organizations supporting new taxes for mass transit.



What free-society leaders are saying:

"Rep. Drolet proves that libertarians can get elected and be effective. More libertarians should follow the lead of Congressman Ron Paul and Rep. Leon Drolet."

R.W. Bradford, Liberty

"Rep. Drolet has shown bold leadership in fighting against tax hikes in Michigan, and taxpayers ...owe him a debt of gratitude."

**Grover Norquist,
Americans for Tax Reform**

"Rep. Drolet is a huge asset and a convincing spokesman for the petition drive to prohibit government race preferences in Michigan and throughout the nation. He is a true leader for the principle of equality in America"

Ward Connerly, American Civil Rights Inst.

Your dollars spent advancing liberty go farthest when you help reelect Rep. Drolet! Keep liberty's voice at the table!

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Inside Liberty

June 2004

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Letters

The Original Intent of the Bill of Rights

Randy Barnett claims ("Lysander Spooner, the Ninth Amendment, and Me," March) that the 9th Amendment protects rights not explicitly mentioned in the Constitution. He does this by quoting the Amendment out of its Bill of Rights context: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." Then, in April, Leland Yeager, in his review of Barnett's *Restoring the Lost Constitution*, rejects "original intent" because "[f]or one thing, no single and coherent intention underlies the whole document or its individual provisions." Both gentlemen are mistaken. As stated by James Madison in the first session of the First Congress, the Bill of Rights' coherent intention was:

To quiet the apprehensions of many, that without some such declaration of rights the government would assume, and might be held to possess the power to trespass upon those rights of persons and property which by the Declaration of Independence were affirmed to be unalienable.

Alexander Hamilton argued the restrictive Bill of Rights was unnecessary because no power over rights was delegated to the new federal government. And he warned that enumerating some rights implied that others not listed would fall under federal jurisdiction — hence the purpose and wording of the 9th Amendment. Back in context, it states that the blanket Bill of Rights' hands-off restrictions applies to all rights, whether enumerated therein or not. And the 10th Amendment reminds Congress that powers not delegated are reserved. It's just that simple. The Bill of Rights is one document. It contains 462 words telling the federal government what it must not do. The Preamble to the Bill

of Rights describes it as "further declaratory and restrictive clauses" designed "to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers. They begin with "Congress shall make no law" and end with "The powers not delegated . . . are reserved." The Bill of Rights was never intended to guarantee or define rights. Its purpose was to ensure that delegated powers in Article I Section 8 were not to be misconstrued to include rights. But through the simple expediency of teaching that the Bill of Rights "guarantees" rights, Americans have become conditioned to accept it as the source of rights, then acquiesce to federal court jurisdiction, definitions and control — the very thing the Bill of Rights was intended to prevent.

James Harrold, Sr.
Springdale, Ark.

Interesting Tidbit

To Timothy Sandefur's celebration of Victorian Placerville (April) add this note: The U.S. economy grew faster from 1840 to 1860 than it has grown in any 20-year period since.

Andrew Lohr
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Setting 'em Straight

I wonder what planet John Engelman lives on (Letters, April). His assertion that the destruction of communism in the Soviet Union and the introduction of capitalism is the cause of the falling standard of living in Russia is utter nonsense. Russia's economy has little if any resemblance to capitalism. If you want to see the effects of true free-market reforms, take a look at the Czech Republic.

When I first went to the Czech Republic in 1993 buildings were in disrepair and vacant. There were few cars on the roads and restaurants were void of customers. In 2002, when I went

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back after an aggressive decade of true market reforms (which the *New York Times* belittled as doomed for failure), there were cars filling the streets, the buildings had been repaired and vacancy had declined, restaurants were full of customers, and shops were busy with friendly service.

In Latin America, the only country that actually has a free market economy is Chile. They have private social security and a savings rate of over 10%. There are few impediments to entrepreneurial activity. Government policy favors free trade, and there are even some private roads. They also have the highest standard of living in Latin America.

If Russia is what Engelman believes to be capitalism, he is either sorely misinformed or deliberately deceiving himself.

His citing the minimum wage increases during the Clinton years as being good for growth is based on bad logic. There has been enough empirical evidence garnered to show that there was no causation to this coincidence of minimum wage increase and job growth, but that would require educating oneself. Something I am sure John has failed to do.

Edward Knapp
Colorado Springs, Colo.

Baseball's Constitutional Crisis

As an avid baseball fan, I enjoyed R. W. Bradford's analysis of the Pete Rose situation with the Baseball Hall of Fame ("Pete Rose: Baseball's Bill Clinton," March), but there was one significant aspect of the article which I believe needs clarification. In fact, the clarification could influence opinions with respect to whether or not Rose should be given consideration for admission to Cooperstown by the voters.

Bradford writes, "But [Rose] is not in the Hall of Fame. He was ruled ineligible in 1989. . . ." It is true that Rose was declared "ineligible" in 1989 as part of the deal he made with Major League Baseball. However, in 1989, when Rose accepted the banishment, Baseball Hall of Fame ineligibility was not an automatic, explicit, part of that deal. It was not until 1991 — just before Rose was about to be on the ballot for the first time — that the Hall of Fame's rules were changed to prevent "permanently ineligible" players from appearing on the ballot. In other words,

nothing about "ineligibility" in 1989 implied that Rose could not be considered for admission to the Hall by the relevant voting bodies. Until 1991, you could be "permanently ineligible" in the eyes of MLB, but still eligible for consideration in the Hall of Fame.

This is a critical piece of information which Bradford omits; what it means is that Rose never accepted banishment from Cooperstown as part of his 1989 deal, and it's entirely possible that he may have rejected the deal if that banishment were "on the table." The Hall

From the Editor . . .

"Democracy," H. L. Mencken once observed, "is that system of government under which the people, having 60,000,000 native-born adult whites to choose from, including thousands who are handsome and many who are wise, pick out a Coolidge to be the head of state. It is as if a hungry man, set before a banquet prepared by master cooks and covering a table an acre in area, should turn his back upon the feast and stay his stomach by catching and eating flies."

America has changed a lot during the eight decades since Mencken wrote those words. For one thing, America now has around 130,000,000 native-born white males. Most Americans agree that being male and Caucasian is no longer a prerequisite of election to the presidency, for another.

But the democratic process is as perverse today as it was in Mencken's. Consider the pathetic candidates the major parties offer the American people. Both are handsome, I suppose, thanks to the cultural impact of television. Both are the scions of wealthy families, who went to the same university and were members of the same rich boys' university club. More importantly, both are focusing their strategies on issues that are, well, stupid. Kerry claims that Bush is exporting American jobs, thereby causing unemployment, while Bush claims Kerry would allow gay marriage. Both these claims are patently false, but both resonate with many American voters.

Meanwhile, the biggest issue that America faces is the ongoing war in Iraq, a subject about which neither has much to say, aside from both favoring America and being patriotic in a general way. Kerry says that if he is elected, he'll try to work to build a bigger coalition to occupy Iraq — something Bush is already doing. Bush says retreat or withdrawal are unthinkable, exposing the limits of his imagination.

Both men came of age during the Vietnam conflict. Bush evaded participating in it, as any rational person might choose to do, but like most any politician, he pretends that his decision to join the National Guard had nothing to do with the realistic fear that he might otherwise be sent to Vietnam and killed for no sensible reason. Kerry, on the other hand, bravely served his country. When he returned, he told a national television audience that he had committed "atrocities" there. He tried to joke and finesse his way out of that admission, leaving us to conclude that he is either a war criminal, or a fool who didn't realize he was confessing to war crimes when he said he committed atrocities.

Catching and eating flies is looking better and better. Even the Libertarian Party, which has sometimes offered attractive and sensible presidential candidates, is about to give its nomination to someone who believes that the Federal Reserve System is privately owned, a belief all three major contenders for the LP nod apparently harvested from the fever swamps of the extreme Right.

Happily, there is more to life than the partisan political comedy. This issue of *Liberty* focuses on two subjects a bit remote from it. The 1960s were a "Special Time" in which many people's political consciousnesses were changed radically. Richard Kostelanetz serves up a unique free-flowing documentary that captures the era perfectly, and Don Meinshausen recalls his role in the "founding" of the modern libertarian movement — and his life since. (Don is currently awaiting sentence for violation of a victimless crime law. Those who wish to lighten his unjust punishment can write the judge in his case: for information on how to do so, email Don at freedonnow@yahoo.com.)

Meanwhile, the Free State Project offers hope of a freer tomorrow, and we offer three very different looks into its prospects. Our reviewers look at George Washington, Emma Goldman, and the fallacy of closing tax "loopholes."

As Robert Burns observed, "Liberty is a great feast." So we begin this *Liberty* by whetting your appetite with "Reflections." Salud!

R. W. Bradford

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of Fame ban was an additional punishment imposed on Rose after the deal. One can make a strong argument for upholding the rest of Rose's ban — with terms he explicitly agreed to — but the institution-enforced banishment regarding the Hall of Fame may remind civil libertarians of government "ex post facto" laws which impose new punishments after the relevant offense has already been adjudicated and available punishments have been handed down.

Tim Irvin
Houston, Texas

Freedom Isn't Free

President Bush has reminded us that "we will prevail" in the war in Iraq. But over the next few months, the important names to remember aren't Fallujah, Baghdad and Najaf, but Gettysburg, Antietam, and Normandy.

During the battle at Gettysburg, the victors lost 20% of their men. In Antietam, over 23,000 men were killed or wounded on a single, endless September day. At Normandy, America lost 500 men a minute. We stand today only because they refused to stand idly while evil ran rampant. We need to be reminded of that. Not only reminded of the loss, but also of the justice, sacrifice, and liberty that each drop of blood spilled during those perilous times represents.

Pictures of dead Iraqi children and executed American soldiers and crying parents from both countries cannot stand alone. They must be tempered with the defense of justice that justifies each indelible crimson-stained spot of earth left at Valley Forge, Gettysburg, Antietam, Normandy, or any other battle where life traded places with liberty.

Facing potentially horrific results (even in battles won), we need to know that America (at least the idea of America) is right. We need to be reminded that we will prevail not because we're bigger. We will prevail because the blood that flows through us Americans is a strange brew. It is part courage — the courage of recent immigrants, who left their own lands for liberty, and the courage of former immigrants who formed this country — and part humble — the humility that we are in a grand experiment that can only succeed with the help of God's Divine Providence and man's eternal vigilance. We will prevail because

injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We will prevail because liberty tried is liberty triumphant.

Raafat S. Toss
Jersey City, N.J.

Rides to Clinics Are the Least of Our Concerns

Timothy Sandefur ("Let 'Em Walk to the Clinic," February) should have gone into the clinic as well. Government regulation (and I'm not talking about licensure, or about scientific standards of effectiveness and safety of products and procedures) has completely destroyed the pricing mechanism in medicine. The federal government sets prices for everything and has as much as said that it plans to decrease utilization by making medical care unprofitable. And in many states new hospitals or new hospital beds cannot be constructed without a "certificate of need." Medicine is being socialized, whether anyone wants to call it that or not. Most consumers think that's just great since most of them are healthy and have been taught that medical care is their right, and therefore not something they should have to pay to maintain or recover when they are struck ill. Businesses think socialized medicine is just great too because, thanks to the employer-purchased health insurance way of financing medical care that grew out of WWII wage and price controls, businesses would like to be rid of this increasingly expensive item of overhead that their overseas competitors get "for free."

So why are we straining at gnats — how much of the GNP can taxi-rides be, anyway? — when such elephants are rampaging?

Tim Gorski, M.D.
Arlington, Texas

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

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Reflections

Too many wars — One great scandal implicit in the recent Congressional hearings — a scandal scarcely acknowledged — is that FBI agents and other law enforcement officials were too distracted by the utterly hopeless War on Drugs to pay attention to real enemies among us, whose mischief could have been interdicted before tragedy struck. The current distraction of the Justice Department is the war on pornography. Must federal law enforcement always be distracted?

— Richard Kostelanetz

In this country, we obey the laws of thermodynamics! — It's been interesting watching the 9/11 Commission try to find out who is responsible for the attack. The whole inquiry is based on a false premise — that such events can actually be prevented. It's like watching a group of mad scientists ponder why their perpetual motion machine stopped moving.

— Tim Slagle

Fantasy Debate

2004 — Assuming, as I do, that an appreciation of humor distinguishes libertarians from both conservatives and parlor pinks, can I be alone in thinking that the principal tragedy of this presidential campaign is that we never witnessed debates between Al Sharpton and George W. Bush, two clowns of different stripes? Their verbal repartee would have been the greatest since Lincoln vs. Douglas more than a century ago. They would have garnered higher ratings than the current twosome and regained for national television networks an audience now lost to cable and video games.

What can we fun-loving libertarians do to initiate a recount in every Democratic primary in the country?

— Richard Kostelanetz

Media silence on American war criminal

— In case you wonder whether the media have a bias, check the "In the News" headlines at yahoo.com. Rare is the day on which the top two, three, or even four headlines are not de facto attacks on President Bush.

For reasons I'm not completely sure about, yahoo.com is my homepage. Lately, though, one of the reasons has been my fascination with "In the News." To give you a sample: on the morning after the president's news conference, the top headline of "In the News" was "Bush stumped by questions about mistakes."

Now, that was the news conference at which the president made a number of important announcements of Iraq policy. Then, during the Q&A period, he refused, in response to persistent questions from the "impartial" press, to admit that he had made mistakes in Iraq. This is precisely what anyone with the least intelligence would do, even if he knew that he had made mistakes, which Bush assuredly does. You just

don't stand there and confess to errors, knowing that your political opponents will run the videotape of your admission a million times against you. But that's not being "stumped." It's not even news. The news was the policy announcements.

Meanwhile, on April 18's *Meet the Press*, Tim Russert entertained Sen. Kerry by playing a videotape of his appearance on *Meet the Press* during his days as a radical protester against the Vietnam War. In the recording, a slightly more hirsute John Kerry says: "There are all kinds of atrocities and I would have to say that, yes, yes, I committed the

same kind of atrocities as thousands of other soldiers have committed in that I took part in shootings in free-fire zones. I conducted harassment and interdiction fire. I used 50-caliber machine guns which we were granted and ordered to use, which were our only weapon against people. I took part in search-and-destroy missions, in the burning of villages. All of this is contrary to the laws of warfare. All of this is contrary to the Geneva Conventions and all of this ordered as a matter of written established policy by the government of the United States from the top down. And I believe that the men who designed these, the men who designed the free-fire zone, the men who ordered us, the men who signed off the air raid strike areas, I think these men, by the letter of the law, the same letter of the law that tried Lieutenant Calley, are war



THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION STRETCH

SHCHAMBERS

criminals."

An incredible statement, a statement tremendously damaging to anyone running for president, even 30 years later, especially when that anyone is the person who has done his best to spread scandal about his opponent's supposed non-performance in the Vietnam-era National Guard.

Russert asked, "You committed atrocities?"

And Kerry replied, "Where did all that dark hair go, Tim?"

Astonishing.

Admittedly, Kerry managed to choke out an admission that he had "thought" about "atrocities" "for a long time," and he was now prepared to say that "the word is a bad word."

But where was the Yahoo headline: "Kerry stumped by own confession"? "Kerry jokes about 'atrocities'?" "Kerry reconsiders atrocity admission"? And where were the gangs of reporters, dogging Kerry's steps to follow up on his confession about his confession?

None of that showed up on my computer. — Stephen Cox

The company you keep — Leave aside the morality or immorality of the action for the moment. The state of Israel, in killing Hamas leader Abdel Aziz Rantissi, has embarked on a high-risk campaign of calculated violence, the outcome of which is difficult to know.

What is sure is that whether or not the United States gave Israel a "green light" or a wink-and-nod, most of the Arab

world thinks that happened. By endorsing Israeli Prime Minister Sharon's plan to maintain Israeli settlements on the West Bank, President Bush has made relations with the rest of the region needlessly complex and hostile. He has probably also made the mission of U.S. military forces in Iraq more difficult and dangerous.

One can understand, whether one approves it or not, Israel's thinking and what it hopes to achieve. Hamas has endorsed, sponsored, and planned suicide bombings in Israel for years, with dozens of attacks in the last three and a half years. Israeli leaders hope that killing Hamas leaders will deter violence, or at least make organizing attacks more difficult. Rantissi had been leader of Hamas only three weeks, since an Israeli missile killed former leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.

Combined with building a wall along a (disputed) Israeli-Palestinian border on the West Bank, they believe this policy will enhance the safety of ordinary Israelis.

Perhaps it will. But at Rantissi's funeral, Hamas leaders vowed "100 unique reprisals" against Israelis and a "volcano of revenge." Some of those reprisals will no doubt happen, no matter how weakened the top leadership of Hamas has been by Israel's policy of targeted killings.

The latest killing will make peace or a negotiated settlement even less likely. Peace and negotiation may not even be part of Israel's calculations for the time being.

All these are Israel's risks to calculate and take. By endorsing Sharon so strongly, however, President Bush has impli-

News You May Have Missed

Ego Inflation Soars in Big Apple

NEW YORK — Donald Trump, fresh from his starring role in the hit TV reality series *The Apprentice*, has announced that he is starting a new religion, and having failed to find anyone as well qualified, he has been forced to name himself God. Worshipers will be invited to compete for paradise by attempting to ascend, with ropes and small pick-axes, a vast, towering nude statue of the divinity, standing 90 stories high, currently being erected on Manhattan's West Side. The winner, known as the Chosen One, will be the first to reach the statue's 280-foot-wide posterior and reverently kiss it. The damned and depraved who fail to attain the Holy Ass will be "fired," meaning that they will go to hell for eternity or by bus to Trump's Atlantic City casinos on the New Jersey Turnpike, whichever seems longer and more unpleasant. The new relig-

ion so far lacks a priesthood, but one is being recruited among qualified young eastern European blondes who, clad in sacred vestments of gold lamé and cellophane, will commune with the puffy deity and participate in the secret rites he has ordained, muttering prayers and complicated ritual imprecations in their native Czech and Slovenian. Though the name of the religion has not yet been determined, Trumpism, Glitzianity, and Abject Groveling are all under consideration, and it already has a number of attested miracles that defy the laws of nature, such as the color of Trump's hair. A film of the real-estate mogul's saintly life, from his miraculous birth in the humble setting of Queens to his recognition as a living god, has already been commissioned for the edification of the faithful. Directed by Mel Gibson, it is titled *The Passion of the Donald* and will graphically

depict the prolonged torment and suffering inflicted on him by banks and other creditors during the soft real estate market of the early 1990s.

Meanwhile, another powerful New York executive, S.I. "Si" Newhouse, the billionaire publishing tycoon believed to be the richest man in New York City and quite possibly the shortest as well, has also commissioned a statue of himself. It is located just outside the entrance to Condé Nast headquarters at 4 Times Square, where the magazines he controls, including *The New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair*, and *House and Garden*, are produced. Unfortunately, it is life-size, so very few tourists and passers-by are aware that it is there. A recent survey indicated that most people, and all dogs, believe it to be a fire hydrant.

— Eric Kenning

citly given U.S. sanction to whatever comes of Israel's actions. It would have been better for the U.S. to disengage from this conflict and let the two parties settle — or not settle — the matter on their own timetable, as the president apparently believed should be done when he first took office.

Now that the Cold War has ended, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can reasonably be viewed as a local conflict with few larger geopolitical implications. That's less true, of course, now that Bush has involved us in nation-building in Iraq with the grandiose Wilsonian fantasy of democratizing the entire Middle East. The dispute, and America's failure to solve it, will be invoked every time any other country in the Middle East is reluctant to bow to a decree from the new emperor of the world.

— Alan W. Bock

Baseball just isn't hip — When I read the paper, I try to save the sports for last, in an attempt to “get away from it all” after having ranted and raved to myself about the rest of the news. Many days there is no rest, however, thanks to the endless (and seemingly uniform) social commentary of sportswriters. The latest cause célèbre is the dearth of black players in Major League Baseball. *Sports Illustrated* hit on the subject last year, and from what I've been reading the past few weeks, it's heating up again: “The numbers are depressing,” it's a “discouraging trend” that “is only spiraling downward” and “will take a generation's worth of diligence to reverse.”

For all the hand wringing on the subject, I've yet to see anyone point out the obvious: the 2000 census showed the nation to be about 70% white, 13% Hispanic, and 12% black. Today, Major League Baseball is 63% white, 27% Hispanic, and 10% black. No doubt the large influx of players from Latin America has cut into the other groups' percentages somewhat. Nevertheless, based on the left-wing activists' favorite measuring stick of whether something “looks like America,” baseball is easily the most “diverse” professional sport.

Nobody I know, including myself, complains about the NBA being 78% black, or the NFL 65% black, with even higher figures for the starting positions — all wildly out of proportion to the general population. There are frequent complaints about the lack of black quarterbacks in the NFL, but even here the charge is bogus: currently, 8 out of 32 starting quarterbacks are black — that's 25%, twice their representation in the population.

This blind obsession with achieving disproportionate levels of representation for certain groups, while not worrying too much about others, of course, mirrors the diversity movement in the wider employment realm. We often hear about the need to make a particular organization's racial and gender numbers comparable to those of the national workforce, but when the *San Francisco Chronicle* reports that the local U.S. Attorney's office hired women for 16 out of 17 total positions, as it did a while back, there's no talk of a civil rights investigation — only a tone of celebration. It becomes clear to anyone watching that most so-called diversity advocates are really just lobbyists for particular groups.

Admittedly, the number of blacks in baseball continues to decline. But this is easily explicable for perfectly natural reasons. There's no doubt it's easier to find a basketball court than a baseball field in most urban areas; more to the point,

even the wailing liberal sportswriters admit that baseball just isn't as popular with black youth as other sports, for whatever reason.

Why this has to be viewed as some kind of crisis is the more puzzling question. Blacks already (and quite deservedly) dominate other major sports, and with no allegations of racism or discrimination. So they don't like baseball. Can't we respect their choice?

— Michael Drew

The checks aren't so balanced — The cases argued before the Supreme Court regarding prisoners held at Guantanamo Bay and in military brigades were generally viewed as a test of the limits of executive power during a time of crisis. In a larger sense, however, they were about whether the United States is still in any sense a constitutional republic with three branches of government and a division of powers, or a functional monarchy in which executive power is unlimited and uncheckable.

The cases heard dealt with more than 600 men from 44 countries captured during the war in Afghanistan and held without charges for more than two years. They are not being treated as prisoners of war (which would mean they had certain rights and privileges under the Geneva Convention), but have been declared “enemy combatants” by unilateral presidential order.

The court also heard arguments regarding Jose Padilla and Yaser Esam Hamdi, two U.S. citizens who have been held in a military brig in South Carolina for two years, with no charges brought against them and no access to attorneys or family. (The government did finally allow them to talk to attorneys, but made clear its belief that this wasn't because they had anything resembling a right to such treatment.)

The government's briefs defending these detentions are breathtaking in their assertion of unaccountable presidential power. They argue in the Guantanamo cases that U.S. courts have no jurisdiction in Guantanamo, even though the U.S. government controls it completely, because it is physically in

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Cuba. The brief in Mr. Padilla's case argues that "the authority of the commander in chief to engage and defeat the enemy encompasses the capture of enemy combatants wherever found, including within the nation's borders," and the courts have no right to "micromanage" these decisions.

If the high court affirms these powers, it will do great damage to the American constitutional structure.

Sure, the Constitution names the president commander in chief. But it also gives Congress the power "to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water."

Congress has not declared war, so to argue that extraordinary presidential powers are justified because "the United

States is at war," as Solicitor General Theodore Olsen did, is a metaphorical rather than a legal statement. A metaphorical condition does not — or at least should not — make a president's decisions immune from judicial review.

If the court affirms these extraordinary claims of executive power, it will have done much to make the U.S. Constitution a fading memory rather than a framework of governance.

— Alan W. Bock

Still the last Democrat — The most recent opinion polls show President Bush leading John Kerry again. There is undoubtedly a good chance that the lead will change hands a number of times before November, but I still agree with Bill Bradford's call eleven years ago that we are in for a

Word Watch

by Stephen Cox

Clichés are always of interest to a column like this, for two reasons. First, clichés are bad, and everyone should stop using them. Second, the study of clichés is a window on the popular mentality. A cliché is a default position of the individual mind, a rest stop where it exits when it can't go farther on its own.

A book that compared the clichés of the 21st century with the clichés of earlier times would present an interesting picture of the difference in mental customs. Someone with a taste for clichés would open the 18th-century equivalent of a letter to the editor by saying something like this: "Sir, While the private character of the king's first minister may be above reproach, his public conduct, once he had embarked on his current course, can only be described as worthy of the most intense disapprobation." In other words, I don't like the prime minister. The 18th century enjoyed clichés of false completeness: although nothing is being said, all the territory seems to be covered: not just the "public" but the "private" part of the landscape; not just "disapprobation," but a measured approbation ("may be above reproach"); and so forth.

The clichés that our own century enjoys are clichés of incompleteness. The modern letter to the editor begins in this way: "Editor: So, Bush has decided to cut taxes for the rich. Great. Just great." In the same way that "whatever" is the universally useful ending, "so" is the universal kick-off. Just begin in the middle, and end that way too. Great. Just great.

Of course, there's a still more obvious difference between the clichés of the past and the clichés of the present. Formerly, there was a vast gulf between clichés that were used in mass media and clichés that passed in informal conversation. Print, the mass medium of the past, was the preserve of over-educated triteness. Even near-illiterates dressed in Latin tags and periodic sentences when they disseminated their thoughts in newspapers and magazines. Now, newspapers, radio, and television dress down, just like their audiences.

This is the year of the Olympics, so we are going to hear the same people who would once have been described as "ambitious of athletic glory" depicted, in unconsciously slighting terms, as

"going for the gold." And this is the year of a presidential election, so we can be certain to hear much about states that are "up for grabs," as if the sovereign republics of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Florida were basketballs aloft in a vacant lot.

True, there will be some survivors from the past, clichés preserved in the amber of memory. "Eke" will make its quadrennial return to politics from the netherworld in which it spends the rest of its time, and as befitting a word that people no longer really understand, it will normally appear as a redundancy: "Well, the governor looks like he's barely eking out a narrow victory, Ted."

But most of the clichés will come from sports talk ("the president looks like a slam-dunk, Jerry"), home-making ("Senator Kerry's proposal was accused of being mere window-dressing"), or the grab-bag of electronic junk: "the president is seeking the input of his campaign staff," "the senator clearly needs to interface more with fellow Democratic leaders," "what's on the screen for the president during the next 30 days, Phil?" When people want to dress things up a little, they'll say things like "the president spoke out today on sugar quotas," but that "out" is just a cheap bit of 1960s self-dramatization. When William Jennings Bryan wanted to speak out, he spoke *out*.

Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer [the] demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

You can count the clichés in that peroration, but at least they are educated clichés.

As for the *uneducated* language, the language of conversation, it used to have even more clichés than it does now, and more colorful ones. Read any old novel that tries to reproduce the spontaneous speech of uneducated people, and you'll find a wealth of clichés that are no longer in use. "Each to his own taste, as the man said when he kissed the cow": that cliché was the target of so much satire that even the satires

long Republican era. The Democratic-liberal paradigm has been routed and is in utter retreat. From an economic perspective, we are experiencing the most stimulative monetary and fiscal policies in decades. Both Keynesians and Friedmanites must recognize this boom. With respect to social issues, the anticipated Massachusetts decision to grant same sex couples marriage licenses should help President Bush.

Though many libertarians think U.S. involvement in Iraq will end in disaster, this may not be the case. No one knows for sure what the future has in store. Iraq is an open question. My view remains that history will judge Anglo-American involvement in Iraq as a positive step in the war against worldwide terrorism.

became clichés. But what happened was that the mass media, while cheapening the clichés of the educated (or those who suppose they are), infected the clichés of the uneducated with a false sensitivity, a shrinking desire not to offend, even if, by not offending, one omits any intelligible meaning. (It is the ultimate mission of the *mass* media, of course, not to offend anyone.) So the difference between the educated and the colloquial cliché was lost.

On April 2, police in Madison, Wis., announced that one Audrey Seiler, late the object of one of the nation's increasingly frequent "hunts" for "missing or abducted persons," had turned out to be the kind of person that Gilbert and Sullivan's Lord High Executioner was thinking about when he sang,

I've got a little list, I've got a little list,
And they'd none of them be missed;
They'd none of them be missed.

Audrey Seiler, for reasons best known to herself, had faked her own "abduction."

Fine. At any time before, say, 1990, both the educated and the uneducated would have immediately located the appropriate cliché for this occasion, and it would not have come from the educated language. They would have shrugged and said, "I guess she's nuts." But that's not what MSNBC's expert on "profiling" said about Audrey Seiler. He said, "We have someone who has some challenges going on in her life."

That's right — the challenge not to be nuts.

And there's another way of ruining the common speech, besides filling it with half-educated babble. It's taking a perfectly normal, non-weight-bearing phrase, and making it carry a load of elephants. The ultimate example in this category is the current slogan of every social cause and political campaign: "For the Children."

Now, "for," "the," and "children" are words of known and limited meaning. Strung together, they are exactly parallel to such phrases as "For the Adults," "For the Grandmothers," and "For the Salmon Fishermen." Exactly how the first phrase became a cliché packed with metaphysical, moral, and political implications, while the others remained, well, just phrases, is anybody's guess.

And I don't want to guess. I say this: You shall not press down upon the brow of the all-news watcher this crown of "challenges." You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of "children." If we must have clichés, let us at least have straightforward ones — as the man said when he kissed the cow.

We should anticipate four more years of Republican domination of the national political scene. As a libertarian conservative, I believe President Bush's re-election would be a great step forward. Libertarianism is not libertinism. And believing that libertarian government is the form most conducive to conservative society is a consistent position — and a consistently good one.

— Lanny Ebenstein

Dumbass (R-Tex.) vs. Wonk (D-Mass.)

— Americans, when they are attracted to liberalism at all, are drawn to liberals who are charming rogues, like John Kennedy and Bill Clinton. Liberals who are preachy, didactic, or somber, like Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis, and Al Gore, have a tendency to flounder and sink. This may be because contemporary liberalism, with its built-in politically correct humorlessness, its hectoring nanny-state no-noism, and its ponderous bureaucratic prose, needs the buoyancy provided by charm, wit, and a hint of sexual peccadillo to stay afloat. That could be bad news for John Kerry. He has a cautious, pensive manner and a craggy, austere, doleful mien, looking more like a gaunt Byzantine icon than any politician in living memory. And in his speeches and interviews he tends to suffer seizures of wonkititis, the potentially fatal Democratic disease of sounding like an 896-page policy-review-commission report. He's serious and at best sonorous, but agile wit, mischievous charm, sharp phrasing, and seductive fluency seem to be out of his range.

On the other hand, English grammar and syntax are out of the range of George W. Bush, who starts sentences the way he starts wars, without any idea of how they will end. He's too slow and tongue-tied to come up with an unscripted witicism or turn of phrase at a press conference when it would allow him to slip away from a tough question, and he can't even deliver a scripted one with any finesse. The most clearly unlettered and incurious American president since Warren G. Harding, Bush has also managed to become the most hated president abroad in American history and one of the most polarizing within the country, mostly because of the conspiratorially engineered invasion of Iraq and the resulting morass. The opposition to him is passionate, and even his supporters in the administration and the media have begun to take on a furtive, defensive manner, as if paying tribute to the old journalistic admonition, C.Y.A. (Cover Your Ass).

The question is whether voters, by November, will be more bored and depressed by Kerry than embarrassed and angered by Bush. I predict a photo finish.

— Eric Kenning

Stagflation redux — The tenth annual "Index of Economic Freedom," published by the Heritage Foundation and *The Wall Street Journal*, reports that the U.S. has dropped from 6th place to 10th place. Under the heading "Monetary Policy" for the U.S., the Index states, "From 1993 to 2002, the United States' weighted average annual rate of inflation was 2.05%" — a figure generally regarded as low. Greg Burns, writing in the *Chicago Tribune*, observes, "At the same time the federal government is reporting inflation at rock-bottom levels, the cost of medical care, tuition, and housing have shot up. From gasoline to coffee to gold, commodity prices are soaring to heights not seen in years." He questions the method by which bureaucrats calculate inflation since the Bush administration has a vested interest in keeping those

figures low, especially during an election year. An example of how the government distorts inflation is how it calculates housing prices: "Instead of capturing the sizzling prices being paid in the latest home sales, the CPI [Consumer Price Index] uses an estimate of how much those homeowners could collect in rent. With home ownership soaring, rental rates are depressed, and the index is a full percentage point lower than it should be." Meanwhile, "unemployment remains elevated." In other words, the economy is in a state of stagflation, that is, a combination of high unemployment and inflation.

Increasing employment is a key to turning the economy around, but this requires less regulation — i.e., removing the laws and policies that make the American worker uncompetitive. The Index of Economic Freedom indicates that freedom brings prosperity . . . and with amazing speed sometimes. (Ireland, ranked fifth in economic freedom, is enjoying an incredible upward economic swing.) But movement in America seems to be in the other direction with constant criticism of outsourcing, free trade, inexpensive imported goods, etc. Michigan has taken the frightening step of mandating job protectionism. The *Detroit Free Press* reports, "To help keep jobs in Michigan, Gov. Jennifer Granholm will sign a pair of executive directives . . . to prohibit the state from contracting with businesses that would do the work in foreign countries."

This is the way affirmative action began in the U.S. — by imposing it as a policy on private businesses that contracted with government. In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson established the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, which ensured that private businesses that did work for the federal government followed non-discrimination requirements. With this, a large block of the American economy adopted affirmative action. The rest is history; affirmative action expanded from government contractors and eventually became the de facto law of the land, largely enforced by court decisions. I hope job protectionism is not on the same course.

— Wendy McElroy

Bureaucrats investigating bureaucrats

— It would have been interesting to have just one "wild card" on the federal commission looking into the 9/11 attacks. Maybe not anyone so provocative as Bill Bradford or Justin Raimondo, but perhaps a writer from *The Nation* or *Reason*, a staffer from the Cato Institute, or a retired gadfly like former University of California political science professor

and author Chalmers Johnson. Populated only by respectable establishment figures with long careers in government, it looked more like an exercise in pretending to get to the bottom of things without blowing anybody's cover.

The Democrats on the panel asked mildly critical but nonetheless obsequious questions of the Republicans who testified, while the Republicans did the same to the Democrats or those who had been critical of the Bush administration. By and large, both witnesses and commission members had obvious agendas having more to do with protecting the interests of their branch of the permanent government than getting to the truth.

As Richard Clarke, the former head of the White House Counterterrorism Security Group who made himself anathema to the Bush administration after serving it for several years, was questioned, it was not hard to read between the lines a message about bureaucratic incompetence and waste. But don't expect the commission to deliver this message. And don't expect it even to consider the possibility that intelligence is so poor in part because there are too many duplicative agencies and task forces. Instead, it will demand that even more of our money be plowed into the system after some cosmetic changes.

The government at the national level is rife with duplication and waste. Although many of those in frontline positions are capable and conscientious, it is almost impossible for them to make decisions or do anything effective. Most people — and this is true at the highest levels — are more interested in protecting their little piece of bureaucratic turf or covering their behinds than in doing something so mundane as actually protecting the American people.

Whether Clarke is a sincere foe of terrorism, frustrated by bureaucratic ineptitude, or a canny, self-promoting opportunist — it would be unwise to rule out a bit of both — to listen to him describe the decision-making process involved in making slight policy changes regarding the al Qaeda threat is to understand why government so seldom works well. Whichever party controls the White House, timeservers and climbers predominate.

The commission's hearings were worth monitoring because once in a while a bit of truth managed to slip through the obfuscatory verbal fog, and as a study in the sociology of the ruling class. But to expect substantive improvement in the ability of the government to deal with the very real threat posed by modern terrorism is probably expecting too much.

— Alan W. Bock



SHCHAMBERS

American Badass — *The Register* reported on March 30 that muggers in the U.K. were targeting users of Apple's iPod MP3 player. "West Midlands police have issued a stark warning to iPod users: ditch the white headphones or pay the price," the article began.

We hear that warning from authorities all the time: avoid places where criminals are known to prey on people. Don't engage in behavior that will attract attention to yourself. Lock your

"That's it, then! In May of 2007 the gates to Disneyworld Baghdad shall open!"

doors and windows. Travel in groups. In other words, take your orders from criminals; live as they make you live.

The choice presented is to live in fear or be a victim. Both choices are unacceptable to a person with self-respect. And, although this was a story of parochial interest and little consequence, it occurred to me that it has significance far beyond how we deal with common criminals.

Some terrorists would be disinclined to attack America if it had a foreign policy more to their liking. Others will attack America no matter what. But it can't possibly work in Americans' favor that, when violence is done to us, we're increasingly indoctrinated to be complete pushovers. A principled, reasonable, and effective strategy for combating terrorism must begin with individuals, and that part of the strategy has little to do with terrorists. It requires only that we change ourselves.

When people think of America, I don't want them to think of a friendly nation of contented, dull, amoral consumers eating their McDonald's and driving their SUVs and watching their CNN and Fox News and shopping at Wal-Mart and willing to give up essential liberty for laughable, fake security.

I want them to think of a nation of badasses.

An America in which school shootings don't happen, because, instead of cowering under their desks, when students are confronted with a gun in school, they pile on top of the shooters by the dozen and beat them senseless, then calmly walk to the principal's office to call the police.

An America in which, instead of advising people to fear muggers and alter their behavior, the police advise people to take a self-defense course.

An America in which rapists rarely stand trial, because women are confident and prepared, and anyone who assaults them is likely to get only a kick in the crotch or a bullet in the head for his efforts.

And an America where hijackings don't work because every passenger on the plane is utterly

News You May Have Missed

End is Near, Authors Contend

WASHINGTON, D.C. — David Frum and Richard Perle, in their recently published book *An End to Evil*, call for the United States to invade and occupy an additional 6, 14, 16, or 37 foreign countries, depending on which page you're on, but the two neoconservative hawks now admit that they went soft, fuzzy, and touchy-feely in that book. "No more Mr. Nice Guys," said Frum and Perle at the small, tightly secured space they share at Reptile House, the influential think tank where they both have fellowships, located in the Washington National Zoo. Frum, a former Bush administration speechwriter who has claimed credit for the phrase "Axis of Evil," and Perle, the glowering Pentagon consultant known around Washington as "the Prince of Darkness," have disclosed that they are collaborating on a new, uncompromising book that finally drops diplomatic niceties. In it they demand that America occupy an infinite progression of countries, if necessary renaming previously occupied countries in order to have an excuse to occupy them again, and engage in frantic nation-building projects around the world so as to create brand new sovereign states to preemptively strike once the existing supply is exhausted. "Antarctica, with its weapons of mass refrigeration, must not be allowed to fall into the clutches of penguin fundamentalists who see the world in strict black-and-white terms," the authors write. "And before we forget we also have to immediately invade and subdue Nova Zembla, Lutetia, Transylvania, Fredonia, Ataxia, East Arugula, Outer Ampersand, Flakistan, Stanistan, Umbrellastan, Upper Lumbago, and Vermont."

The ongoing worldwide military campaign that all this entails, they say, is going to mean considerable risk, challenge, and, tragically, sacrifice for an entire younger generation of Americans, as well as a financial burden that will gradually lower living standards for 99 percent of the country to Paleolithic levels of subsistence, but

that is a small price to pay for security, they argue, and despite their own lack of combat experience they have volunteered to direct the entire immense and dangerous undertaking themselves from their table at their favorite Washington bistro, The Raving Loon.

Their new book, *An End to All Problems, Including Dandruff and Itchy Scalp*, offers a utopian vision of blissful perfection after a quick, surgical 947-year military operation. But they firmly deny that they want to "Americanize" the world, pointing out that they call for theme parks in all American-occupied countries which will preserve the traditional local culture in nostalgic, simulated, "fun-filled" form. "The last thing we want to do is to turn foreigners into Americans," the authors write, "since they might turn out to be the kind of civil-liberties-craving lily-livered un-American Americans who get in our way when we want to start another war with foreigners, in which case we would have no choice but to declare war on them." The prolific authors in fact plan to address their next three books to foreign critics of the policies they advocate. The tentative titles are *Who You Lookin' At, Punk?*, due out later this year, *You Got a Problem with That?*, scheduled for early next year, and, in late 2005, *Badges? We Don't Need No Stinkin' Badges*.

Meanwhile, in a related end-mongering publishing development, another prominent neoconservative writer, Francis Fukuyama, author of the famous 1990s essay and book proclaiming "the end of history," is finishing up work on a new book. In his earlier book he argued that, once the Berlin Wall had fallen, there could be no more challenges to liberal democracy and therefore no more meaningful historical developments. The new book, titled *The End of History — This Time I Really Mean It*, predicts that there will be no more meaningful historical developments now that Martha Stewart has fallen.

— Eric Kenning

committed to incapacitating the hijackers or dying in the attempt.

If Americans thought and lived like this, the fight against terrorism would be truly met. The next group of 20 guys might think twice about boarding planes and trying to turn them into missiles. If they actually believed those on board would laugh at their box cutters and attack the hijackers, leaving them bloodied and near death in the aisles of the 747, depriving them of the glory and 77 virgins they sought, maybe they'd think twice about this messy terrorism business. The game's not fair when those tenacious infidels actually fight back.

— Patrick Quealy

Better raped than armed — Patrick Quealy's reflection above reminds me of an adventure I heard Dolly Parton recount about her first days in New York. She was still in her teens, but she dressed in a provocative way ("like a hooker," I believe she said). Once while out alone at night, she said, a man mistook her for a prostitute, and propositioned her. She said "No!" but the man continued to the point of, well, attempting to rape her. "I was just a little girl fresh from the hills," she said. "So I had a little handgun with me. I broke free and pointed it at him, and told him that if he didn't back off, I would change him from a rooster to a capon faster than he could say 'Jack Robinson,'" or something similarly colorful, if memory serves.

She told this story on David Letterman's late-night show, and the audience audibly gasped when she got to the part about the gun. As a professional performer, Dolly quickly sensed that the audience was aghast and shocked at the thought of a "little girl from the hills" packing a gun and threatening someone with it, even if that someone was a rapist. She went into an apology for possessing the handgun to allay the audience's hostility. I've seen Dolly Parton on talk shows a dozen times or more in the ensuing twenty years, but I've never heard her tell that story again.

America may not yet be the sort of place where a person defending her life and physical integrity is asking to be charged with a felony, as happens in Britain and the Commonwealth. But it is a long way from returning to being the kind of place that Quealy yearns for. Returning to that much more civilized state will be a tough job, given the reflexive horror with which Americans regard self-defense and their predilection for giving professional police a monopoly not only on retaliatory force, but upon defensive force as well.

— R. W. Bradford

Failure = success — Did I hear CIA director George Tenet correctly? Did he really say to the 9/11 commission that it will take "another five years of work to have the kind of clandestine service our country needs" to combat al Qaeda and other terrorist groups? And did he really go on to assert that "the same can be said for the National Security Agency, our imagery agency and our analytic community"?

Yes, he did. The first impulse is to wonder what these agencies have been doing since Sept. 11, 2001. Have they no sense of urgency about what is, after all, the one function of government almost everybody agrees is legitimate, protecting the people from attacks by enemies foreign and domestic?

Never mind such plebeian concerns. We should be grateful to Tenet. He has committed what the political community considers a gaffe — that is, he has blurted out an inconven-

ient truth. In so doing, he has let slip one of the most fascinating open secrets of government.

In government, failure and success are rewarded equally, and failure just might be better than success. If an agency can argue that it is succeeding splendidly at its assigned mission, it can argue that it should be rewarded with a larger budget next year. But since the problem it is set up to address is being solved, other agencies can argue that it needs less money, leaving more for them.

If an agency is demonstrably failing, however, its prospects can be even better. It never attributes its failure to lack of focus, lack of management skills, lack of competence, or lack of a clear definition of success — let alone trying to do something a government should not even be attempting in a free society. It always attributes it to lack of resources, which means the budget for next year needs to be dramatically larger.

Pretty neat deal, eh?

Beyond this bit of truth, what Mr. Tenet's testimony demonstrates is that the government's intelligence agencies have become too large and sclerotic to do the jobs assigned them, and that they might well be too cumbersome to reform.

If they were serious about reforming the agencies to address terrorism, the politicians and bureaucrats would dismantle the CIA and other agencies. Future intelligence needs could then be handled by new agencies designed to meet the changed needs of a different era, without the history and baggage of old agencies designed for different missions in a different era.

Don't hold your breath.

— Alan W. Bock

Water under the bridge — I was struck by "shock and awe" to hear Ted Kennedy declare, "Iraq is George Bush's Vietnam." He also said that "this President has now created the largest credibility gap since Richard Nixon." Nixon!? Where is the reference to John F. Kennedy — Teddy's brother — the Democrat who plunged the nation into Vietnam's quagmire in the first place? Nixon — as loathe as I am to "defend" him — ended the draft and, in effect, ended the war.

JFK's involvement in the debacle of Vietnam began in the early 1950s when he met a young Vietnamese man named Ngo Dinh Diem who was in America lobbying for political support. JFK was deeply impressed by this pro-American, English-speaking fellow Catholic. At the time, the American government wanted to implement Western democracy in Vietnam, much as it currently wants to in Iraq.

In November 1960, JFK was elected president. After Eisenhower's relatively passive policy, the Kennedy administration developed a policy toward Vietnam which broke the American plan for containment of communism into three stages: first, military aid programs; second, counterinsurgency by which American troops and money would suppress revolutionary movements; and, third, limited war involving American troops. At first, JFK resisted sending American troops into Vietnam, comparing the introduction of troops to taking a drink. He told the historian and author Arthur Schlesinger, "The effect wears off, and you take another." Schlesinger used the "quagmire" model to describe Vietnam: that is, sending troops would be like stumbling into quick-

continued on page 46

The Bush Blunder

by R. W. Bradford

Bush believed that American anger about 9/11 would provide enough political capital for him to conquer and reform Iraq. It is becoming apparent that he was wrong.

It is increasingly evident that Bush administration strategists have blundered. They thought that American anger at the Muslim world regarding the 9/11 attacks would provide sufficient political capital to enable the administration to declare war on whatever Islamic state it pleased, and that the U.S. military could quickly conquer and transform the countries it conquered into free, democratic states.

They were right about American anger, up to a point. But their second belief was plainly wrong, though it took more than a year for the blunder to be evident.

For a variety of reasons, known and unknown, the president was amenable to his advisers' arguments, especially when the chosen target was Iraq. On the surface, it was a strange choice. Iraq was a secular Islamic state that had no truck with such radical Islamic outfits as al Qaeda. It had been stripped of its military might when it was forced to disarm a decade ago, after losing a war with the U.S. — though its dictator had survived and continued to boast of his might, despite his disarmed condition.

To sustain the anti-Muslim anger, the administration falsely claimed that Iraq was uniquely aggressive, a threat to the United States, and an ally of al Qaeda, the organization that coordinated the 9/11 attacks. This worked pretty well so long as it could be plausibly maintained that the U.S. armed forces were succeeding in their conquest and reform of Iraq. The conquest went very easily, but the reform has not gone well.

This is not very surprising. Conquest and occupation have seldom led to real reform. Looking back a century or so, I can find only two cases in which they achieved their goals: Germany and Japan after their devastating losses in

World War II. The failures are almost too many to count. The European countries that Germany conquered in each world war quickly rejected the Germans and set up national governments, democratic or undemocratic, as conditions allowed. Japan's conquest of China brought nothing but grief, as did its conquest and occupation of Korea. The U.S. occupations of the Dominican Republic and Haiti have done no visible good. Even countries conquered in earlier centuries tossed out their occupiers, as witness the revolutions within the French, British, Italian, Dutch, Belgian, Spanish, and Portuguese empires.

So the successful experiences in Germany and Japan are the exception, not the rule. They are likely explained by the unusual national character and dire straits of the countries involved. Germany was utterly devastated by its experiment in authoritarianism and had a democratic tradition to fall back on. Japan was equally devastated, had seen its religious and political system destroyed, and was the non-Western country most receptive of liberal institutions to begin with.

Meanwhile, the news from Iraq these days is almost uniformly bad. By April 15, more Americans had been killed than in any month of the war. American conquest and occupation have managed to do something that past rulers of Iraq have never been able to accomplish: unite the country's

Sunni and Shiite Muslims. The Bush administration finds fewer and fewer policy options and faces harder and harder dilemmas. A broader coalition would likely help to reform Iraq. But crackdowns are needed to maintain order, and crackdowns increase civilian casualties, which erodes such little support as the U.S. gets from other nations. Installing a democratic government means letting Iraqis select their own leaders, but the leaders they support are religious figures whose views alarm American policy-makers.

Public support in the U.S. is eroding. It is plain that right now, most Americans continue to support the president, but increasingly they do so only because they see no alternative and because the perceptible costs of the war have been relatively low. But costs are escalating. Casualties are increasing, and the financial costs are beginning to have an impact: inflation is rising, the dollar is losing ground against other currencies, and Alan Greenspan is talking about raising interest rates, which could hurt the stock market, increase the cost of

the president still enjoys, are refraining from making the war an issue. But that can change. And it will, as soon as the president looks vulnerable on this issue.

For the time being, the Democrats seem insistent on making the central issue of the campaign Bush's evil "export of American jobs," a bogus issue if ever there was one. Bush has responded by focussing on the evil of gay marriage and wrapping himself in the American flag, hoping that the Democrats will be perceived as disloyal. If I were a betting man offered even money right now, I'd bet on Bush. But not with any degree of certainty.

Of course, his reelection will not

help him out of this mess. It will delay America's inevitable pullout from Iraq, which will mean more American casualties, more Iraqi casualties, more destruction of Iraqi infrastructure, and more waste of U.S. money. Leaving Iraq sooner rather than later will be embarrassing and costly. But it will be less embarrassing and less costly than postponing withdrawal until American public support has disappeared, the American treasury is bankrupt, and American military cemeteries have more graves.

Iraq will likely be a mess for a long, long time. But leaving now will not make the mess any worse. More likely, the sooner we leave the less mess we will leave behind. □

Correspondence

Answer the Questions, Please!

by R. W. Bradford

The president has painted himself into a corner: by predicating his policy on moral dudgeon, he has no alternative but to stay the course, no matter what the consequences.

housing, and increase unemployment. Like eastern Montana's Powder River, the president's support is a mile wide but an inch deep.

The president has painted himself into a corner: by predicating his policy on moral dudgeon, he has no alternative but to stay the course, no matter what the consequences. To retreat is to confess to giving in to evil.

Will he be re-elected? American politics are far too chaotic for anyone to make a rational prediction. A major setback in Iraq could send his support reeling, as could any number of domestic political developments. He's helped by the fact that the Democrats, fearing the broad if shallow support

In the past three issues of *Liberty*, Bill Bradford and Lanny Ebenstein have debated the Iraq war by correspondence. Here Bradford challenges Ebenstein to answer the substantive questions that have been raised.

Dear Lanny,

In my last letter to you, I noted your claim that the world is a safer place with Saddam in U.S. custody and Iraq occupied by U.S. troops. I offered a number of reasons to believe that it is not. I concluded by asking for evidence that I am wrong. In your response, you offer no evidence, aside from claiming that the U.S. has not "conquered" Iraq but "liberated" it.

You have, I fear, fallen victim to PRhorseshititis, an affliction whose victims forget the plain meaning of ordinary words and insist on substi-

tuting euphemisms. When the government of one nation invades another nation, deposes its government, and establishes a new government of its own against the manifest wishes of the residents of the invaded country, this is conquest. No matter how much the PR flacks of the invading military call it liberation, or how much the citizens of the invading country are fooled by their government's word games, to claim that's "liberation," not "conquest," is PR horseshit.

This semantic point aside, I must confess that I am disturbed by the

Why do the worst get to the top?

In 1947, Friedrich von Hayek posed this question. While he explained the economics, he omitted the psychology of those driven to wield power. Shortly after, Ayn Rand suggested that producers stop playing host to parasites, but also missed identifying the motive force behind the parasitic need to control.

The psychology can be explained by a megalomania usually rooted in alcohol or other drug addiction. Stalin, Hitler, Mao Zedong, Saddam Hussein and Kim Jong Il have all been such addicts. Coincidence? Hardly.

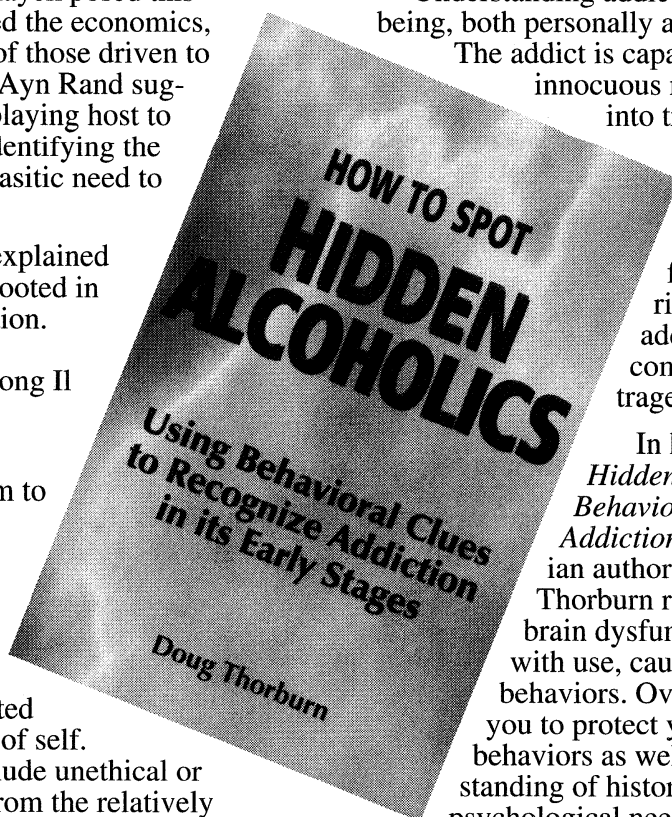
Most consider alcoholism to be a "loss of control over drinking." Yet, this is but one symptom of the disease in its terminal stages. The early stage is characterized by a differential brain chemistry leading the afflicted to develop a god-like sense of self. Resulting misbehaviors include unethical or criminal conduct, ranging from the relatively innocuous (verbal abuse and serial adultery) to the extraordinarily destructive (mass murder).

Understanding addiction is essential for our well-being, both personally and on a geopolitical scale.

The addict is capable of anything. Seemingly innocuous misbehaviors can escalate into tragic ones when addiction is allowed to run unchecked.

Early identification can help minimize the effect it has on our personal and professional lives and, with the right treatment, may get the addict sober far earlier than is common — maybe even before tragedy occurs.

In his latest book, *How to Spot Hidden Alcoholics: Using Behavioral Clues to Recognize Addiction in its Early Stages*, libertarian author and addiction expert Doug Thorburn redefines alcoholism as a brain dysfunction that, when combined with use, causes erratically destructive behaviors. Over 70 behavioral clues allow you to protect yourself from alcoholic misbehaviors as well as provide a better understanding of history, current events and the psychological needs driving those in positions of power. He also details the most effective ways of dealing with the addicts in your life.



***How to Spot Hidden Alcoholics* is available in bookstores, online, and from the publisher for only \$14.95**

"Doug Thorburn makes an incontrovertible case that no dysfunction, including poverty, illiteracy or racism, causes more damage to society than alcohol and other drug addiction . . . *How to Spot Hidden Alcoholics* is a must read for every social commentator and everyone else who cares about the human condition."

— Shawn Steel, former Chairman,
California Republican Party

"*How to Spot Hidden Alcoholics* is an immensely useful guidebook for navigating the difficult areas of everyday life, as well as understanding the motives of, and dealing with, the worst politicians and despots. It gives a revolutionary panoramic view of misbehaviors — private and public — and how we can best deal with them."

— Ken Schoolland, Professor of Economics and
Author of *The Adventures of Jonathan Gullible*

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course our correspondence seems to be taking. You ask me a question and I answer it. Then I ask you a question, and instead of answering it, you pose another question.

In my letter of Feb. 17, for example, I pointed out that the logic of your position regarding WMDs seems to imply that Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Harry Truman should be declared war criminals for launching massive attacks against civilian targets in World War II. I asked you whether you agreed. You have not yet responded.

I challenged you to provide evidence of your claim that "we now and

You have, I fear, fallen victim to PRhorseshititis, an affliction whose victims forget the plain meaning of ordinary words and insist on substituting euphemisms.

will increasingly in the future live in a world in which a few madmen (or madwomen), literally anywhere in the world, will be able to kill millions and even billions of people." You have not yet responded, aside from repeating your unsupported assertion.

Instead, you challenged me to defend my view that the world after the conquest of Iraq is not, as you have repeatedly asserted, a "safer place." I responded by providing you substantial evidence for my conclusion and asked you to tell me why you think the world is safer. You responded by repeating your assertion still without providing any supporting evidence that "we are approaching the point when a few terrorists, literally anywhere in the world, may be able to kill millions or even billions."

Then you posed two new questions. First, you asked whether I agreed with you that 1) "U.S. military losses in Iraq and Afghanistan will be less than 2,000"; 2) "most American forces will be out of Iraq before July 2005"; 3) "an independent semi-

democratic Iraqi government will be established by July 2005"; 4) "Libya, Iran, and other nations will move in the direction of dismantling WMD programs"; and 5) Israel will withdraw from "major portions of Gaza and the West Bank" without a war between "Israel and any Arab nation." Then you asked whether, if all these things occur, I will agree that "the effort in Iraq has been worth it."

I can hypothesize some answers to your first, multipart question, but my guesses, like yours, aren't worth much. (There is one exception: your prediction that total U.S. military losses will be less than 2,000 and likely less than 1,000. As of April 23rd the total stands at 887, and at the current fatality rate will pass the 1,000 mark on May 3 and the 2,000 mark on January 3.) The answer to your second question depends on those relatively worthless guesses. I'd be happy to provide you with my guesses, but first, I'd like you to respond to the questions that you've ignored to date:

1. Does the WMD justification for declaring Saddam a war criminal and justifying invasion of Iraq also justify declaring Churchill, Roosevelt, and Truman war criminals and invading the U.S. and Britain? If not, why not?

2. What evidence do you have for your claim that soon "a few madmen, literally anywhere in the world, will be able to kill millions or even billions of people"?

3. What evidence do you have for claiming that the world is a safer place, now that the U.S. has conquered Iraq?

I apologize for taking so long to get back to you. As you can probably tell from what I've written here, I have been frustrated by your not responding to my queries and arguments. My tardiness

means that your response will have to await the next issue of *Liberty*, I am sorry to say. But I remain optimistic that you will respond to my queries and allay my frustration. In the meantime, I look forward to your responses

Does your argument for declaring Saddam a war criminal and justifying invasion of Iraq also justify declaring Churchill, Roosevelt, and Truman war criminals and invading the U.S. and Britain? If not, why not?

— and to discussing these matters with you at the *Liberty* editors' conference in Las Vegas.

Regards,

B.W.

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Freedom in Our Lifetime

by Alan W. Bock

The Free State Project aims to establish a libertarian enclave within an authoritarian-minded society. Others have tried and failed. But the Free Staters just might make it work.

After meeting Jason Sorens and discussing his project with a number of well-informed and responsible people, I'm coming to believe that it just might work. And even if it doesn't work, the Free State Project seems unlikely to do any great harm.

In the process of coming to these preliminary conclusions, I have also come to believe that the prospects for building and maintaining a libertarian movement that has some hope of influencing society are less dim than I had earlier feared. We have friends, sympathizers, and fellow-travelers in interesting places.

The Free State Project is primarily the brainchild of Jason Sorens, 26, a political science lecturer at Yale. It seeks to get 20,000 people to commit to moving to a small, relatively freedom-friendly state and participate in its politics in order to make it more freedom-friendly. Although a number of mainstream newspaper stories (surprisingly few of which have been outright hostile) equate the Free Staters with the Libertarian Party, not all, or perhaps even most, are LP members. The organization's statement of intent simply asks those who sign it to commit themselves to "work toward a society in which the maximum role of civil government is the protection of life, liberty, and property." The group's logo is a porcupine — "Porcupines are cute and non-aggressive, but you don't want to step on them!" — and its

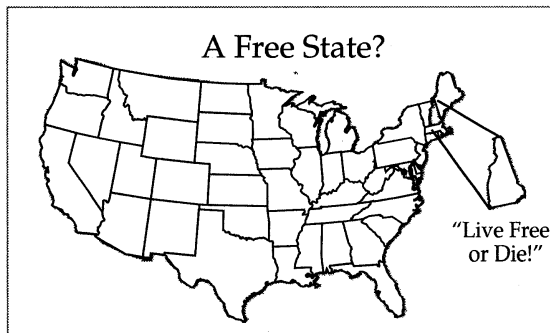
newsletter is called *The Quill*.

When the number of signers of the Statement of Intent reached 5,000 last fall, the group voted to choose a state to move to. The voters chose New Hampshire. The plan is for people to start moving once 20,000 people have committed to the project, and to have the migration completed within five years. If 20,000 people have not signed up by September 2006, the project will be abandoned. A few Free Staters have already begun to move. Perhaps surprisingly, Republican Gov. Craig Benson has endorsed the plan, but not all New Hampshire residents are thrilled.

The Free State Project does have some general goals beyond moving a critical mass to one small state; indeed, its stated goal is "Liberty in Our Lifetime," to be accomplished "by first reforming state laws, then opting out of federal mandates, and finally negotiating directly with the federal government for the appropriate political autonomy." Among

the means for doing this are:

"We could reveal and repeal unconstitutional state laws and municipal ordinances."



"We could repeal state taxes and wasteful state government programs."

"We could end collaboration between state and federal law enforcement in enforcing unconstitutional federal laws like gun and drug statutes."

"We could end asset forfeiture and abuses of eminent domain."

"We could privatize utilities and end inefficient regulations and monopolies."

Are these just dreams? The use of the term "could" suggests that those who decide to make the move will decide what projects to pursue based on what seems politically realistic once they have gotten the lay of the political landscape. As the organization's brochure explains, "Population was a critical factor in the selection process. Our research so far indicates that 20,000 activists could heavily influence only states with populations of 1.5 million or less, or which spend less than \$10 million on political campaigns in any given two-year election cycle. New Hampshire met the population criteria, and the state's existing distaste for big government and a generally welcoming attitude for the Free State Project were pluses in its favor." The fact that the state motto is already "Live free or die," and that it still has the first primary in the presidential election cycle, probably didn't hurt either.

I got the opportunity to discuss the project when I was invited to be a panel member at the American Enterprise Institute's Federalism Project seminar regarding it in February. *The Orange County Register* had previously featured the project in its Sunday Commentary section, and I had written the piece that described previous efforts by libertarians to establish a "new country," or to choose a place to take over or have a disproportionate influence. The other panelists were Sorens; Michael Barone, senior writer for *US News and World Report* and principal co-author of *The Almanac of American Politics*; and Richard Vedder, distinguished professor of economics at Ohio University. Michael Greve, director of the Federalism Project at AEI, moderated.*

I know, many libertarians view AEI as a think tank in the center of the belly of the neocon beast. In some ways it deserves that reputation. Michael Ledeen, who would love

for Iran to be the next U.S. military target, hangs out there, as do Richard Perle, Lynne Cheney, David Frum, Newt Gingrich, Reuel Marc Gerecht, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and the Godfather himself, Irving Kristol.

But AEI is not monolithic. Indeed, Greve explained to me that the idea, once someone is hired, is that he is to have freedom to pursue his own interests and come to his own con-

Jason Sorens sounds like a political science instructor, not a bad thing in a movement where most sympathetic academics are economists.

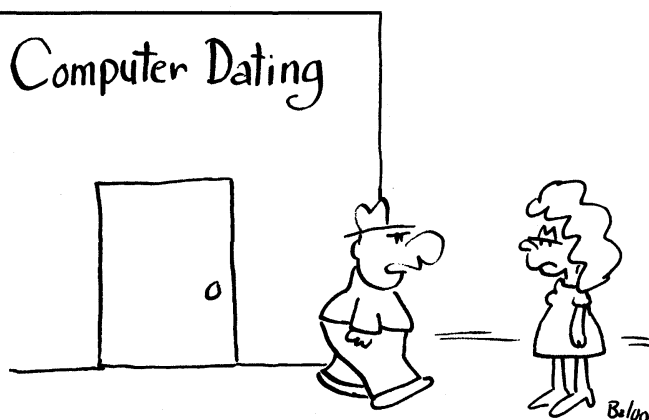
clusions. And AEI is home to Charles Murray, Jim Glassman, and John Lott. Federalism Project director Michael Greve declined to describe his own philosophy other than as a "free spirit," but his assistant, Kate Rick, and her husband, have signed up for the Free State Project.

At the seminar, Jason Sorens spoke first. He sounds like a political science instructor, not a bad thing in a movement where most sympathetic academics are economists. He described two widely accepted models of bringing about social and political change in a system of competitive federalism. First is the "Tiebout model: individuals with varying preferences vote on levels and types of public goods to be provided in their local jurisdictions, and people who observe those mixes of public goods move to the jurisdiction that best fits their preferences." In the real world, relying on strictly individual choices would leave smaller-government advocates scattered and outnumbered. He hopes a coordinated effort to move to a single state could overcome these problems.

The second model is "Barry Weingast's 'market-preserving federalism.' When jurisdictions have primary regulatory responsibility over their economies, and capital and labor can move across borders freely, taxpayers and businesses will punish governments that impose inefficient taxes and regulations by moving to other jurisdictions. To forestall this threat, governments in a market-preserving federalist state will tend to keep taxes and regulations low." So the hope is that bringing more freedom-oriented people to a single state will not only lead to smaller government in that state, but have an influence on other states. Sorens believes New Hampshire was a good choice because it is fairly wealthy, pays more in taxes to the federal government than it gets back, and has no large metropolitan areas. It is "highly integrated into the international economy, and its economy is high-tech and knowledge-based."

Michael Barone, perhaps the country's most knowledgeable person on changing demographics in various states and their impact on politics, compared the different courses New Hampshire and Vermont have taken since 1960, when they were quite similar, with Vermont somewhat more Republican.

* A transcript is available at the AEI website, www.aei.org.



"What a bunch of incompetents! — They matched me with my mother!"

continued on page 54

A Revolution by Other Means

by Max Orhai

Some freedom fighters take up arms at the first opportunity. Others prefer to “work within the system.” A determined few have chosen another course.

What’s a libertarian to do? There’s no place for people like us, it seems. It’s difficult to accept, but most people in America — most people in the world — aren’t just ignorant or stupid: they genuinely prefer government control of their own and their neighbors’ lives. We can hand out flyers for the rest of our lives, publish as many books as we like, make speeches until we’re blue in the face, and most of them aren’t going to change their minds. While they disagree among themselves about the details, authoritarians of one sort or another constitute an overwhelming majority. What are we going to do, stage a coup and coerce them into “freedom”? We can pack up and move, of course . . . but to where? What is the libertarian movement moving toward? Is it moving at all?

Libertarian influence on American politics has so far been disappointing. Government at all levels continues to grow every year. The ideal of strictly limited governance (or none at all) doesn’t have much of a voice in the American political scene; it’s drowned out by the roar and crash of the seething masses of special interests, each with its own well-justified plans for state intervention in one sphere or another.

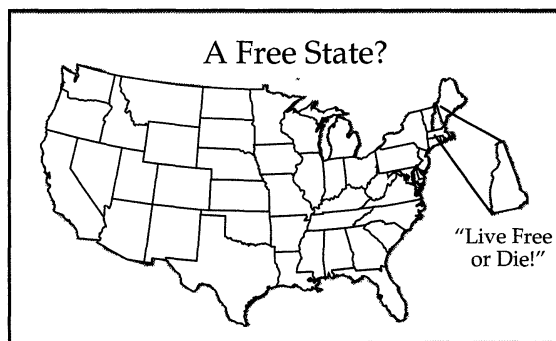
Carl von Clausewitz, a 19th-century military strategist, is best remembered for his observation that “war is the continuation of politics by other means.” While I am hardly the

first to observe that the reverse is more generally true, it’s easy for law-abiding American civilians to forget, even during tax season, the constant threat of violence that underlies our peaceful society. We blithely throw around phrases like “culture war” when describing conflicts played out in the media and the legislature; “revolution” is a word so thor-

oughly abused that to see it employed in advertisements for stereo equipment or mattresses gives us no pause. Consciously or unconsciously, we mostly assume that our domestic political problems have political answers, even in the face of contrary evidence.

Some libertarians see the political game as unwinnable, and have shifted their focus from the public sphere to the personal, taking direct, personal actions to increase their

own individual liberty. This sort of personal secession is sometimes called “dropping out.” It’s a pragmatic approach which offers immediate, though limited, gratification at the cost of participation in certain normative institutions (like banks). Anyone on this path treads close to being an outlaw, a dangerous position to occupy in an increasingly noseey and



regulated world.

Nobody is seriously agitating for an armed and violent revolution. For most, things just don't seem bad enough. And such a war is even more surely doomed to fail than the Libertarian Party's candidates. Still, there remains a small number whom nothing less will satisfy, and their roots run deep. The only American wars fought on American soil have

Armed revolution is more surely doomed to fail than even the Libertarian Party's candidates.

been wars of secession, fought by armed and intractable minorities against the current of popular opinion. The most successful, and of course the most glorified, of these began in 1776. How many of us remember the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, fought by western (which at that time meant Pennsylvanian) farmers in the name of "Liberty or Death" and "Equal Taxation and No Excise" and bloodily put down by an army Washington raised from the militias of the eastern states? How many even remember what the Civil War of the 1860s was actually about?

Some do, and are preparing to fight it all over again. When conditions get oppressive enough, some few Americans will take up arms against their government, and perhaps against their neighbors, to accomplish "by other means" what politics could not. These struggles, while perhaps righteous, are extremely unlikely to succeed. Sufficient foresight and strategy could possibly give such a revolution a fighting chance at success, though this remains doubtful.

But then, sufficient foresight might also make it unnecessary.

Four years ago, Walter Williams suggested that federal encroachment into basic liberties and natural human rights has gone so far that the situation may be only resolved by secession:

If one group of people prefers government control and management of people's lives, and another prefers liberty and a desire to be left alone, should they be required to fight, antagonize one another, and risk bloodshed and loss of life in order to impose their preferences, or should they be able to peaceably part company and go their separate ways? . . . Just as in a marriage, where vows are broken, our human rights protections guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution have been grossly violated by a government instituted to protect them. . . . Americans who wish to live free have two options: We can resist, fight and risk bloodshed to force America's tyrants to respect our liberties and human rights, or we can seek a peaceful resolution of our irreconcilable differences by separating. That can be done by peopling several states, say Texas and Louisiana, controlling their legislatures and then issuing a unilateral declaration of independence just as the Founders did in 1776.

Williams seemed to think such a revolution could be relatively bloodless, like Norway's 1905 secession from Sweden, Panama's 1903 separation from Colombia, or West Virginia's from Virginia in 1863. It was just a bit of speculation, but apparently an idea whose time had come. In July of 2001,

Jason Sorens, a political science doctoral student at Yale, announced the Free State Project. He noted the conspicuous political failures of the libertarian movement and expressed concern for the future of liberty: "[W]orld affairs are currently at the cusp of a new direction. Freedom can still win out, at least in some areas, but if it does not the prospects are dire. . . . if we do not carve out a sphere for freedom now, freedom will be lost for a long time to come." Sorens' studies of secessionist and regional autonomy movements in Britain, Europe, and elsewhere around the world led him to believe that the threat of secession on the part of one American state would be sufficient leverage against the federal government to force concessions for liberty, at least in that state. He dismissed out of hand the possibility of actual armed conflict: "In 'modern, democratic' countries the use of violence against legal secessionist movements is out of the question."

The Free State Project leadership discourages the notion that the project is an attempt at "takeover." Nor is the Project secessionist, goes the party line. The purpose of the FSP is simply to move at least 20,000 freedom activists of any affiliation (except for politically untouchable white separatists) to one state, where they can each exert "the fullest practical effort toward the creation of a society in which the maximum role of civil government is the protection of life, liberty, and property." When the threshold is reached and the move is accomplished, the Project will dissolve, leaving those involved free to organize, or otherwise pursue their activism, however they please. The colonialist and secessionist undercurrents are unmistakable, though. Without the threat of some kind of force, even mere democratic "force of numbers," the effort can pose no threat to the status quo. One way of looking at the FSP is as a desperate effort of ideological refugees, demographically adrift, to find a home. Too bad for the natives, but it can't be helped. Great things are at stake. Manifest Destiny. Those unfortunate social democrats and public moralists currently inhabiting the chosen Free State have, absent a change of heart, 49 other American states and the rest of the civilized world to relocate to.

The notion of a libertarian niche, enclave, or colony is a persistent one. There have been plenty of naive "Let's start a new country!" or "Let's take over a county!" schemes that

Isn't the communitarian impulse basically at odds with the idea of individual freedom? How much of a community can be built around the core value of minding your own business?

didn't go anywhere. On the surface, the idea is a little absurd: isn't the communitarian impulse basically at odds with the idea of individual freedom? How much of a community can be built around the core value of minding your own business? Yet the most ruggedly individualistic of us nonetheless lives in society and must ultimately answer to the belief systems of our neighbors. And the longing for cultural cohesion, for community, is felt no less by libertarians than anyone else. Being part of a close-knit society and being

unmolested by a mass of unnecessary laws are not mutually exclusive.

There is a more benign interpretation. It is more practical than it has ever been for a person of modest means to move great distances. People therefore tend to group together geographically according to their similarities. We seek out neighbors like ourselves, and in doing so become more like

our neighbors. It's a sort of market-driven process: decentralized and largely haphazard, one of many concurrent influences on individuals' choices. The Internet, by lowering the costs of communication, has made possible entirely new forms of collective action. The Free State Project is an attempt to consciously and consensually give form and speed to some small corner of the vast natural churn of

American migration. From this perspective, it is not a political movement, so much as a *cultural* movement, born out of the recognition that the majority of Americans aren't interested in living in the kind of culture that libertarians long for.

That longing is particularly acute in the young, and it is to young people that the Free State concept has the greatest appeal. "Liberty in our lifetime," the motto of the Free State Project, seems more realistic to those who expect several more decades worth of "our lifetime." According to the membership survey taken at the time of the state vote, FSP members are 75% male, and 75% are under the age of 50. Thirty-seven percent are under age 35. Three-quarters don't have children, or at least won't bring more than one person with them when they move. These are people of ambition in search of more favorable conditions: like any immigrants, they are a hopeful bunch. Risk-takers. But these pioneers are immigrants within their own country, searching for an America that is gradually disappearing.

Despite the homogenizing effects of a centralized national media and a federal government of unprecedented bulk and power, there are significant cultural differences between the American states. This is, in itself, unsurprising. The "melting pot" ideal cannot be achieved in a venue as large as the contemporary United States: the diversification process inherent in cultural evolution precludes it. Any American city, while home to an astounding array of overlapping subcultures, develops nevertheless a unique feeling, and rural areas too can't help but gain their own distinct characters over time. The state, to the extent that it works as advertised, simply reflects whatever common ideology the political process can distill from its constituent cultures. The Free State Project is an effort to reverse-engineer that political process: a backwards gerrymander.

Sorensen's pragmatic arguments for a concentration of at least 20,000 libertarian activists in one state have been generally well received by the movement, even after the "rally 'round the flag" hysteria of 9/11. The Free State Project's membership has grown healthily, reaching the 5,000 mark with the signature of Boston T. Party in August 2003. Five thousand was the agreed-upon threshold for selecting a particular state; there were ten low-population states under con-

sideration. The voting method used, Simple Condorcet's, allowed voters to assign any rank to any number of candidate states, and compared each state against all the others to determine the overall winner. On October 1st, the results of the vote were announced:

Rank	State
1	New Hampshire
2	Wyoming
3	Montana
4	Idaho
5	Alaska
6	Maine
7	Vermont
8	Delaware
9	South Dakota
10	North Dakota

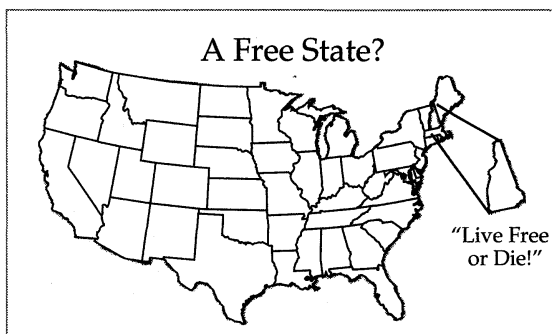
Only 2,388, or 46%, of the 5,170 ballots mailed to members were returned. Clearly, not everyone

involved takes the project very seriously.

The FSP has relied heavily on the Internet culture. This culture, while strongly libertarian, has largely been ambivalent, even disdainful, toward geography. The early rhetoric of "cyberspace" boldly proclaimed the net a place unto itself, apart from and independent of the physical world. Actions taken (that is, words written) in online forums always seem somehow disconnected from reality, which is why we can have, for example, flame wars. Everybody involved is merely sitting in front of their keyboards and monitors, and when they get up from their chairs, their virtual world, with all its zany inhabitants, goes away. Although the FSP's organizers have made every effort to emphasize the solemn contractual nature of the "Join!" button on the membership web form, it remains to be seen just how seriously the members will take their pledges to move, if and when the time comes. Such a contract can hardly be legally binding without any tangible consideration exchanged, and it's ridiculous to imagine the FSP trying to enforce it, even if it were.

On the other hand, Americans have notoriously shallow roots, and many of the FSP members seem anxious to get out of wherever they're currently living. Over a dozen people have already reported moving to New Hampshire, apparently figuring that it's an improvement for them regardless of the success of the project. About half of those who returned the membership survey with their ballots say they intend to move within the next three years, although the Project only asks members to move within five years of the 20,000-member milestone (which is expected to be reached in 2006).

New Hampshire has the geographic advantage of being adjacent to Canada as well as the Atlantic Ocean, although both borders are small. The indigenous political culture is about as libertarian as that of any American state, rooted in proud New England revolutionary history. The state constitution is the only one in the world which explicitly mentions "the right of revolution." It's the only state with neither sales nor income tax, and has very low overall taxation. Although New Hampshire has a high population density, it hasn't any major urban centers — but it's close enough to the Boston metro area for specialized urban workers to commute. In



fact, the southern part of the state is already experiencing an influx of liberal Massachusetts suburbanites, which will doubtless dilute the effect of the Free State Project.

The Free State membership agreement originally allowed members to opt out of any states they wouldn't move to, and 1,021 founding members, about 20% of the total membership at the time of the vote and mostly from western states, opted out of New Hampshire. Naturally, it wasn't long before the birth of the Free West Alliance. The Free West Alliance is a web-based community of rather less formal nature than the FSP, created in November 2003 to promote the three contiguous northern Rocky Mountain states, which were the runners-up in the FSP vote, as a unified "Region of Freedom," and to advocate Jeffersonian ideals of government within these states. Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho have a combined population 2.2 times that of New Hampshire, and 36 times New Hampshire's square miles. (It's also interesting to note that a quite similar organization in Canada was already in place in January 2003, under the freewest.net domain.) The founders of the Alliance cheerfully admit that three states are two too many in which to concentrate electoral influence, but are in no hurry to narrow their scope, figuring that a consensus, if necessary, will emerge naturally over time. Much of the core membership will meet in Three Forks, Mont. on April 23–25 for the "Grand Western Conference II" (the first such conference was held in Missoula, Mont. last year under the FSP banner). Headlining speakers will include J.J. Johnson of the *Sierra Times*, and Boston T. Party. Boston, a leader of the libertarian right (whose punning pseudonym seems to be his preferred public identity, even after publishing *Hologram of Liberty* under the presumably more genuine moniker Kenneth W. Royce) isn't very popular with the Free State Project these days: the publicity gimmick of his 5,000th signature went sour when he publicly criticized the New Hampshire decision and began to promote his own "Free State Wyoming" plan, a dramatized version of which is outlined in his newly published first novel, *Molôn Labé*.

The grounds for Party's preference are largely cultural, and his argument has an urgent tone. He quotes Thucydides: "The state that separates its scholars from its warriors will have its thinking done by cowards and its fighting done by

The Free State Project is an effort to reverse-engineer the political process: a backwards gerrymander.

fools." According to Boston, the East is already hopeless for liberty: it's too crowded and doesn't have enough 500-yard rifle ranges — or a thriving gun culture. "Libertarian philosophy is, in the end, moot if its adherents have no final resort of armed defense. . . . The Nerf and Egghead Libertarians don't like hearing this, obviously, but facts are stubborn things." Boston, and the rural right "Patriot" movement which he considers to be liberty's core constituency, is expecting a fight with the feds, or at least thinks we should,

on principle, prepare for one. His analysis is based on conspiracy theories, but it is also grounded in basic historical truths about the nature of power and political change. Unsurprisingly, his approach to a Free State gerrymander is

The "Egghead and Nerf Libertarians" are indeed the ones most solidly behind the New Hampshire decision.

much more unapologetically regimented: less a migration than an invasion. He claims that just 4,000 new residents of Wyoming, if properly organized, could legally take over a significant part of the state government.

The "Egghead and Nerf Libertarians" — intellectuals and ideologues without the means or will to do battle for their freedom — are indeed the ones most solidly behind the New Hampshire decision. The FSP membership survey didn't collect any data on gun ownership, but it did indicate that those who assigned New Hampshire their first preference are overwhelmingly highly educated, middle-class, and urban or suburban: a demographic relatively unlikely to be part of the American gun culture. They had better be very confident that things really are different now, that Sorens is right about "modern, democratic" governments being above the use of violence against rebellions. And if the Free State Project, or any other such effort, is not in fact a rebellion, what good is it? It wasn't that long ago that Mao Tse-tung uttered the simple, though ugly, truism: "All political power comes through the barrel of a gun."

Meanwhile, there are international libertarian efforts like the Awdal Roads Company, which seeks to attract investment and immigration to the currently more-or-less ungoverned regions of Somalia; and Rigoberto Stewart's Limón REAL Project, which intends to make "a Free and Autonomous Region" of the Limón province on Costa Rica's East coast. There are island tax-haven nations with private banking industries. Sealand, the most extreme example there currently is of a free state, is still going strong after 35 years; you can't actually visit, but they'll be happy to host your website. Somebody's begun a European Free State Project, although it doesn't seem to be exactly thriving yet. And of course there's Switzerland, arguably the most libertarian country in the world.

Whatever the New World Order looks like, there will be, despite Sorens' worries, "a sphere for freedom." It's impossible to give any accurate estimate of the number of dropouts in America alone. There are people without Social Security numbers who do all their business in cash. And what about people who won't send their kids to public school, or register their concealed weapons, or who use any of a bewildering number of legal, quasi-legal, or illegal methods of avoiding taxes? How many people don't obey the drug laws? How many *do* obey the speed-limit laws? The fraction of people who value freedom over obedience to arbitrary authority, or the illusion of safety, or the opinions of their neighbors, may

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Manifesto

Reclaiming the American Frontier

by Tim Condon

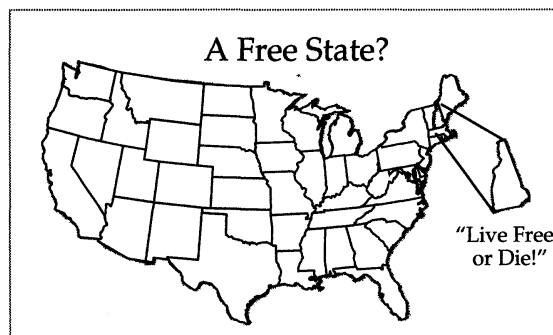
It's time for a new generation of pioneers to claim their heritage as free people.

Americans, remember your history! If you love liberty, if you see our traditional freedoms being whittled away, join us in the Free State! Think of where we came from, both as a people and a country. There is a crisis coming. We Americans are on the verge of losing something historical, something precious, something real.

More than 100 years ago a University of Wisconsin history professor presented a paper at a meeting of the American Historical Society in Chicago. The monograph presented a new and controversial theory of American development which sparked a debate that continues to this day. The paper: "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" by Frederick Jackson Turner. The theory: Americans are fundamentally different from their European forebears; they are a new and special people, molded by the American frontier experience.

The fulcrum of Professor Turner's thesis was the availability of inexpensive or free land for all. Never in modern history, he noted, had a people had access to "land for the taking." The frontier experience of abundant land, he argued, had made Americans independent, restless, individualistic, inventive, exuberant; the first "authentically free" people. If the frontier experience, with land for the taking at its center, had somehow made Americans into a new and dif-

ferent people, reasoned Turner, then the end of the American frontier — announced by the office of the U.S. Census in 1890 — was occasion for pause and consideration, if not outright alarm.



In placing land at the center of his theory, however, Turner made a crucial mistake. His observation that the New World had produced an exceptional and unusual people — with their bravery, their hard-nosed practicality, their vivacity, and their disdain for class distinctions — was accurate, but his assertion that the American frontier itself "created" this new American was inaccurate. Rather, the American frontier had empow-

ered such people, where before they had been powerless, marginalized, and ignored in the still-feudal precincts of the Old World.

Eric Hoffer, the "longshoreman philosopher" who penned *The True Believer*, wrote that:

This vast continent with its towns, farms, factories, dams, aqueducts, docks, railroads, highways, powerhouses, schools, and parks is the product of the common folk from

the Old World, where for centuries men of their kind had been beasts of burden, the property of their masters — kings, nobles, and priests — and with no will and no aspirations of their own. . . . Only here, in America, were the common folk of the Old World given a chance to show what they could do on their own, without a master to push and order them about. History contrived an earth-shaking joke when it lifted by the nape of the neck lowly peasants, shopkeepers, laborers, paupers, jailbirds, and drunks from the midst of Europe, dumped them on a vast, virgin continent and said: "Go to it; it is yours!" And the lowly were not awed by the magnitude of the task. A hunger for action, pent up for centuries, found an outlet. They went into it with ax, pick, shovel, plow, and rifle; on foot, on horse, in wagons, and on flatboats. They went into it praying, howling, singing, brawling, drinking, and fighting.

Thus, it wasn't the frontier that had created a radically new kind of people, as Professor Turner asserted. The new Americans — a rigorously selected subset of the European population — were already extraordinary. Karl Hess, a libertarian luminary who wrote prolifically and passionately about individual freedom, was once asked what he thought had made America so spectacularly successful as a nation. "That's easy," he replied. "We got the best people."

Does this mean that Americans are unique in the annals of human history? Not at all. In fact, wherever governments smother a people and destroy their right to live peaceably as they see fit, any alternative will be seized upon, even if it is dangerous, difficult, and fraught with chance. Who is willing to risk that? Only those who can't "get with the program." The misfits, nonconformists, and rule-breakers who refuse to accommodate themselves to injustice and tyranny. The 20th century alone is rife with examples. Cubans fled Castro's communist dictatorship for Miami, in the process turning all of south Florida into an international multicultural metropolis. The Chinese who fled communist China landed on a few square miles of rocky coastline of few natural resources; by the 1970s they had made Hong Kong's economy one of the largest in the world. And then there was Vietnam. As George

history, have been the handmaidens of oppression, war, slavery, injustice, and inequality. Periods of relative freedom in history, with their associated peace and prosperity, are rare exceptions to rule by governments run amok. George Washington warned similarly, "Government is not reason; it is not eloquent; it is force. Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master."

In light of these warnings, let us examine the condition of America today. We Americans are in the process of losing many of our long-held freedoms and God-given rights. The

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frontier that lives on in our hearts is increasingly being strangled by ever-expanding government.

Paul Craig Roberts of the Hoover Institution — former associate editor of *The Wall Street Journal* and former assistant secretary of the U.S. Treasury — wrote this in early 2004: "The protective principles in law that ensure our civil liberties — no crime without intent, no bills of attainder, no retroactive law, the attorney-client privilege, no self-incrimination — have been eroded beyond recognition. Wars against the Mafia, drug dealers, child abusers, and terrorists — accused whose convictions are thought necessary at all costs — have eviscerated the Bill of Rights. Today not even multi-billionaires can fight off prosecutorial frame-ups."

Thomas G. West, professor of politics at the University of Dallas, observed also in early 2004 that, "America has less freedom of speech today than it has ever had in its history." As just one of several examples, Prof. West noted that the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (the McCain-Feingold bill) placed "substantial limits on the right of political parties and nonprofit organizations to publicize their views on candidates during election campaigns." Furthermore, in December 2003 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the law and "saw no conflict with the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech and of the press. Yet it is impossible to imagine a more obvious violation of the First Amendment."

Our constitutional freedoms are today under very serious and widespread assault, possibly more so than at any other time in our history. The Free State Project is an effort to meet and reverse this degenerating situation. Despite the fact that the frontier spirit of individualism and freedom now resides only in our hearts, there is still value in having a geographic home for those who value the Constitution and freedom above all else. The Free State Project is creating that new home, a place for today's "misfits and non-conformers" who refuse to accept the attenuation of heretofore untouchable American individual rights.

A single low-population state was chosen by a vote of the

In light of Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis, the question then is not "What happens when the frontier closes?" but rather what can endanger and threaten the liberties that the new Americans created for themselves.

Gilder explained, in the wake of the war in Vietnam "The United States won the only valuable remaining resource of Indochina: the boat people. All the land and slaves they left behind are next to worthless."

In light of Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis, the question then is not "What happens when the frontier closes?" but rather what can endanger and threaten the liberties that the new Americans created for themselves and us. The answer comes from Thomas Jefferson, who warned, "The natural order of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground." Governments, more than any other institution in

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A Special Time

The '60s, You Had to Be There

by Richard Kostelanetz

The measure of history arises in the uncovering of relationships. That is why the writing of history has less to do with facts as such than with their relations. Every true historical image is based on relationships appearing in the historian's choice from among the fullness of events, a choice that varies with the century and often with the decade.

— Siegfried Giedion

Mechanization Takes Command (1948)

A Special Time began, curiously, with my friend Donald Porter's challenge to me to write a conventional novel. Since that posed a question not of style but subject, I thought first of the 1960s, not as a chronological period but as a cultural concept, and of writing a panoramic novel, roughly in the manner of Dos Passos, about the experiences of a variety of people at that time. However, once I made notes about the experiences I wanted in my novel, I began to hear voices telling particular stories; and since I have recently been doing so much radio, I decided it would be best for me to work initially with authentic voices. When American Public Radio asked me to propose a pilot project to its Program Fund, I chose this, which was funded from a grant it had received from the Ford Foundation.

My initial themes were two: the 1960s was a special time as other decades were not, and it was special in more ways than we commonly understand. While I did not want to neglect the political protests commonly associated with the period, my principal interest was episodes of "anonymous history," to use Siegfried Giedion's phrase, which is to say dimensions of experience that remain invisible or forgotten, even though, in this case, they occurred only three decades ago. So in selecting subjects to interview, I looked first of all for individuals who had either personal experience or expert knowledge of some specialness in this period. Thus, I got a pharmacology professor to talk about the last age of drug optimism, during which, in his most prominent example, Valium sales peaked at 75 million prescriptions, only to become by now half of what they were; the manager of an investment fund to talk about the stock market boom of the middle sixties and then about how, because of values predominant in the period, he felt more comfortable in not displaying his wealth, again unlike now; a fashion writer to talk about the radical changes in female dress and the current persistence of these changes. And so on.

In selecting interviewees, I also looked for another quality — voices so authoritative that they need not be reintroduced. This was necessary because I wanted to make not a conventional radio feature, with an announcer (probably a celebrity)

identifying speakers and making connections, but an informal symposium in which the remarks of various individuals would be interwoven as though they were participating in a continuous conversation. My assumption was that the speakers would establish their authority not through identification of their current positions (or even their names) but solely through the authenticity of their articulated memories and perceptions, and then that this authority could be extended, in a reader's mind, to their subsequent appearances in the book.

For *A Special Time*, I conducted over three dozen interviews, initially with old friends, and then with new friends. I gave the interviewees my essential questions on a card and then, when I interrupted them, asked that they incorporate my further question into their answers. On the card were five questions, the first four of which overlap on their edges:

1. What was special about the 1960s?
2. What do the 1960s mean to you/your area of expertise now?
3. What was possible then that wasn't possible before and hasn't been possible since?
4. How did the experience of the 1960s change your life/your business?
5. What events/experiences marked the end of the period for you?

Some interviewees answered these questions so well that there was no need for me to interrupt them. My impression was that most had thought about these questions long before I asked them.

The following text, drawn from the opening program, becomes the beginning of the initial chapter of my book. Among the topics I hope to treat in individual chapters are 1) Manners (which includes sex, recreational drugs, language, social discrimination); 2) Learning-Education-Research (which would include the academic boom, educational experiments); 3) Values; 4) Literature & Culture; 5) Art and Its Scenes; 6) Politics; 7) Enterprise; 8) The War; 9) International Analogues, in which individuals who spent the 1960s outside the U.S. will answer these questions with reference to their own experience. The concluding chapter will include a grand survey of over two dozen answers to my fifth question about the participants' perceptions of the end of the period.

To make this symposium into a book, I gave each voice his or her own typeface that would reappear whenever he or she spoke. The innovation is that each typeface would become a character, while the fictitious suggestion is that the participants are in the same room responding to one another. I think I have reworked the material into the novel-length fiction/faction that my friend Donald Porter challenged me to write.



The sixties — what was special about it? I think, I could say shortly, that there was this sudden feeling that enormous change was possible, because so many people were waking up, thinking new thoughts, because the smugness and complacency of the period before was lifted. People were skeptical about things they've never been skeptical about before. They began to see positive things in whole groups of people, like black people, poor people, Vietnamese peasants — whole groups of people who were seen to have qualities to admire; so a whole lot of learning went on in the sixties, and a spirit of learning.

The early sixties actually for me were a continuation of the fifties — that is, the fifties and late forties was a period of very intense repression and a kind of feeling of everything being confined, of the options being confined, not only the broader social options, that is for everyone in the culture, but specifically of certain kinds of options for political action, for change, for advocacy, etc.

I was raised on a farm and cut off in a lot of ways from standard American culture. There was something about the Eisenhower years. Everyone was kind of lock-stepped into some sort of very safe lawyer/doctor path. And it seemed terribly boring to me at the time. The world seemed to have a limited number of possibilities. So many of my classmates happily plunged forward into medical school and internships, surgery. By the time they were thirty they would have a wife and kids, settling down and working at their

*I was growing up in
the fifties, when vir-
ginity was something
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than I was.*

careers. But I seemed to balk at entering this kind of safe harbor.

It's hard to talk about the sixties without going back to the fifties, because the fifties were the formative years for me. I was born in 1940, so my teen years were spent in the fifties, and that means I was formed by the McCarthy era. I was formed by the era of apathy, as it was called, and it probably was apathetic, as apathetic as they say, and spent the fifties being repressed, a virgin. I was growing up in the fifties, when virginity was something that you lost if you were richer or poorer than I was. The image of the wonderful fifties in *Grease* or *Happy Days* really is not anything like my memory of the time, and I don't really remember being happy until 1960, in fact the day I arrived in London.

I left college in 1960, went to work for a year in my dad's business, was tremendously bored by the business and, in a sense, by America. I felt that the U.S. had failed me. I had graduated from a good college with honors, and yet there was nothing I wanted to do. I just wanted out of America. I didn't know why. It was a very inarticulate kind of longing. To me, there was something wrong with the waters I was in. I wanted other waters. I wanted to go overseas, to see if things were as boring everywhere as they were here.

So that in the early sixties, I think particularly with both the things happening in the arts and with certain political events, most particularly I think the growth of the peace movement and the freedom rides, the integration movement, that a sense that it was in fact possible to put your body on the line in some way to effect change through action, through direct action, through speech, through writing, and that it was possible to do this without the fear of a kind of terrorizing reprisal. That is, there might be immediate penalties to pay, you might get beaten up on a picket line, you might get jailed for civil disobedience, but the idea that someone might be haunting your life forever and that you'd be socially disqualified on a permanent basis because someone had named you a Communist or affiliated you with Communist movements or whatever, that began to dissipate, and I think generally, a sense that almost anything was possible if there was the will for it in sufficient people to make it happen seemed for me to be endemic to that time.

What was special about the nineteen sixties, essentially, was that it was an opening up of the political and intellectual and artistic climate, coming after the fifties, which was a rather dull and restrictive climate.

So there was almost a sense of optimism and potential for, as I say, some kind of change, some kind of movement within the culture, and a sense really of a "ferment" and I use that word very advisedly. I don't just mean a sense of something shifting in a glacial sense, but I mean of a lot of elements semiconsciously interacting with each other toward change, so that there seemed to be that kind of conscious synergy between what was going on in the arts, what was going on in politics, what was going on in the social arena, etc.

The sixties for me had a sense of something being at stake. It seemed that things somehow were important, that whatever you did counted for something; or as the expression went at the time, "Not to decide is to decide." And so if you didn't do something, that counted too. So that the sixties for me meant that whatever you decided in your life was important, not just for yourself, but for society as a whole — people you knew and the people you didn't know.

There was some kind of feeling of being part of a community, feeling that the world was open and anything was possible, and that with will there could be enormous changes. It isn't that it was so but it was a feeling that you felt — that if you wanted something it was possible to get it. I honestly believed that sexism, for example, would change, that racism would change and perhaps the capitalist system would change — if enough people got together and engaged in the activities that I was engaged in, there would be enormous change. I no longer think this is possible. Some of it might be just getting a little older.

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Very briefly, what wasn't possible before was a sense of openness that's absolutely true — a sense of possibility, a sense of people given a chance. It was very American, it was a kind of a frontier mentality of what could be done. What I fear about the aftermath is what hasn't been possible since, is the initial trust for a new initiative, the initial trust for a new idea, the initial trust for a new gesture, that initial trust for an exploratory mentality. And the fact is it was a period where people said what they thought, no matter how stupid. Now we have a time in which, people are deeply full of self-censorship.

What made this possible for me is a sense of expanded horizons and a sort of lifting of the cloud of political terror that had seemed to hang over my head, over my family's head during the forties and fifties — a sense that you could almost make your own future, you could make your own career, you could decide to be anything that you wanted to be and once again, if you simply put your energy into it, you could do it, you could go from being a graduate student in literature to being a rock 'n roll musician, which I did for a time, to then going to be a theater critic and journalist to then going into photography criticism without any credentials, without any real training, without any sense that somehow you had to pass through a certification process to do things.

There was more love in the sixties. The shorthand term **Love** denoted what we were, and they were against. Remember the Festival of Life vs. the Society of Death. Perhaps this is more archetypally presented in the Beatles' *Yellow Submarine*. The "Blue Meanies" are the ones that try to kill. Once the Blue Meanies are dealt with in *Yellow Submarine*, of course, "All You Need Is Love." What was meant by that, and what was one of the subcultural understandings, was that once the physical needs were taken care of, once you had a society that could produce the wealth to sustain itself, and once you got rid of those people who had a vital interest in inequitable distribution and oppression, you could move to a society based on love. And that was part of the vision of the sixties. And love was meant in every way, from physical, sexual love to a kind of agape, a love of humanity. That's not possible now.

A big change from the fifties to sixties is that I was suddenly defending clients whom I believed in, whom I liked. I liked the person who was arrested for smoking pot, the civil rights workers in the deep south. I thought these people were the "good guys." In the fifties, I represented corporate swindlers.

To me the sixties had to do with rebellion, with throwing everything over, ripping out everything I had grown up with and trying to change it.

Another important factor was the human potential movement as it came to be known in California — Esalen, Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers. This experience formulated an attitude on my part of directness and honesty in expression and putting a great value on direct human, honest communication, throwing caution to the wind, saying what was on your mind, saying the truth. The sixties gave me a license to be a so-called radical in the courts, although I was being conservative in the tradition of preserving the legal system. I was interested in revolutionizing the court room — courtroom decorum, courtroom behavior, the relationship between the judge and the lawyer. The obsequious model was anathema to me — the conception of the lawyer was a thirties B-movie lawyer: bald-headed, pot-bellied, bookwormish, thick glasses. I wanted him to be John Wayne; I wanted to be Cowboy Clarence Darrow in the courtroom.

The heroes who emerged out of the sixties were people who took realistic and very difficult stands during their being popular culture figures, whether Muhammed Ali or Angela Davis, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, or people like that. They were militant and literally put their lives on the line in being in opposition to the establishment.

In the courtroom I used vulgar and obscene language and ended up in the Supreme Court in a case called *Rosen v. California* for disturbing the peace.

This was annulled by the Supreme Court. I was convicted in that case for using vulgar and profane language in front of women and children. In the first trial I was my own lawyer and got an eleven-one hung jury. For my second trial I had a woman lawyer and was convicted. She appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court. Ultimately the California law, under which I was convicted, was held unconstitutional. I was able to knock out a speech-inhibition law. The sixties were a cultural complex that filtered through me and caused me to act the way I did. I couldn't have behaved that way in the fifties.

It was a unique event certainly in the history of the United States, if not the history of the world. When you think about it, there were a set of uprisings over a set of issues that were really world-wide. I think partly that had been made possible by the development of an international culture, so to speak. You look at the people that you met in the sixties, especially younger people, and you saw that in some way, no matter if they were French, or German or British, they all seemed to look alike in a certain way, had the same hair style, they wore the same clothes, so that was unique already, an international culture had been in the making.

Another aspect of the sixties worth noting is that it was a very international period, much more so than the fifties and much more so than nowadays. In the fifties, when I went to Europe, it was, in some respects, burdensome going by a propeller airplane that had to make two stops on the way. Suddenly, in the late fifties, early sixties, the jet age came, which meant that one could go from New York to London, to Paris or Frankfurt very, very quickly, and quite easily in contrast to previous times. And suddenly people arrived in New York from Europe and other parts of the world on a regular, frequent basis. New Yorkers were in Europe all the time; the exchanges were quite remarkable.

The pressure to know, to understand, became absolutely gripping when the academic community, the young of our nation, in school began to question the whole meaning of the United States' participation in the war in Vietnam.

I think the culmination of that really began to take place; '68 expressed it: the uprising not only at Columbia University, then to be repeated around the country, especially in the elite schools, but the uprisings that were taking place in Europe. And we forget, for example, even in Japan, they mounted demonstrations that would make ours, you know, look paltry. They would field twenty, thirty, fifty thousand, a hundred thousand students and go up against the police with clubs and with discipline. I don't know if you will remember, for example, '68 was also the time of the Olympics in Mexico. Well, not only did the Olympics have some manifestations of this protest, but, in fact, the student uprising just before the Olympics in which a lot of Mexican students were shot and tortured and killed. The magnitude of it — even in China — stuns the mind.

The sixties were the time which, in effect, really made it clear to America that it was not the only answer to the world's problems, because it had its own problems.

Patriotism was defined in the sixties in a way very noble: dissent was the essence of patriotism, and the truth is no longer is that the case.

I left the south in the early '60s, and there was no racial question then. Blacks were inferior, and that was the long and the short of it. As a southerner I didn't like what I saw happening with blacks, but on the other hand as a southerner I found myself accepting it. I was not about to make any great stand for blacks. I think that was probably typical of folks of my generation. There was an enormous change when I came back in 1966. I remember my most interesting assignment as a reporter was to interview the black head of the New Orleans school system. I was amazed I had come back a mere six years later and New Orleans would have a black Ph.D. heading the school system. I remember I expected him to be uneducated. I

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felt he probably got the job through Uncle Tom tokenism. I was staggered to find a person as fully intelligent as I was, who immediately understood exactly what I was going through. He pierced this immediately and without my really acknowledging he sort of had me in tears in a half hour.

But I came back periodically throughout the sixties, throughout the later sixties, to visit parents and friends. I remember going into a department store and there were no longer two sets of drinking fountains and two sets of stairs, as there used to be when I was growing up. And the change in the use of words, no more **colored**, but **black**; and that took many people a long time to change. Many people kept a bridle on their tongues, whereas formerly there was an attempt, at any rate, to be real in their tolerance and not just theoretical about it — partly law, partly conscience.

And I found myself as a southerner going through a huge change in how I viewed black people. It had been one thing to encounter Africans in Europe; they seemed to be a race apart. It was another to encounter someone who had pride without arrogance, who knew what he was up to. He was slowly changing the school system; and he knew about education — a Harvard degree — nothing so fancy as to appear stupid, but thorough and well-grounded. That was my first inkling that the South was in for a major shift.

There were a lot of doors opened to blacks in the sixties. There was a concern in terms of government policies of providing equal opportunities for minorities to come within society. This was a direct result of the agitation movements, the movements of black and white students in the south had an effect on American society. There was an optimism about blacks and whites working together. In the eighties, this might seem ridiculous, but in the sixties it was a functioning reality.

So many things came together in the sixties — everybody's dreams — whether it was religion's dreams of a better world. The sixties was a time of Protestant hope that the world could be saved, not by making people believe in our dogma, but by loving the world. That was happening with Protestants. It was post-Vatican II for Catholics. So that there was the fire from John XXIII and the hope that if the Scriptures were heard in the native language, it would waken the hearts of Catholics. There was much optimism and confusion that was going on in religion. In the political life we really believed that we could win the war on poverty. We believed that with everything being thrown up in the air it was going to come down in a creative pattern that could lead to real change.

Well the optimism came simply because of the demographic shift. If you look at the demography of a nation and see that the bulge of its population is young and there is a stream of new energy and new young people and a dominant field of economic consumer growth in children's toys and children's books and especially in a society that prizes education — at least the acquisition of certificates of education, diplomas. Then you're dealing with the impression of expanding possibilities, increasing labor pool, more schools, more education. Well, it seems to me that it was before unemployment that the sixties began, before these young baby-boom children came of employable age; and there was the view that there would be an ever-expanding economy and that that ever-expanding economy would be fueled by a fair amount of optimism about technology. The sixties is the era of space travel — I mean John Glenn. It's the era of people going to moon. It is also the era of DNA. This is the first time that the revolution in biology took popular fascination.

My father was a beer salesman; my mother was a waitress. If it hadn't been for the nineteen sixties, I'd probably be a beer salesman or a waiter today. Instead, I'm a college professor and somewhat of an intellectual. How can that be? Very simple, back in the nineteen sixties, suddenly everybody and their brother was in graduate school. I was in graduate school, and my brother was in graduate school.

And I remember I was a graduate student at Columbia in 1960, and about 1962 or so they decided to reorganize the curriculum. There were no texts, and we wrote up some notes. We

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gave freshmen material that nowadays is only taught in graduate courses — really advanced mathematics. That wasn't just happening at Columbia; Princeton was doing it. Most places, I think, were doing that. We were really going to teach properly. We were going to tell them the real dope — no more fooling around with sort of low-level calculus and fudging the proofs. They were going to get everything.

Certainly everybody was very enthusiastic about it. They thought it was going to change mathematics; there was going to be a whole new generation of people who were going to be mathematically literate. Of course, what it did was just blow the minds of the freshmen. People flunked right and left. Actually nobody seemed to care very much. Neither the faculty nor the students were terribly upset about that; that seemed to be the kind of thing that just happened. That, of course, has since been dropped. That lasted, what, 1962 to maybe the late sixties and began to fade out. Now it's just the way it was in the fifties.

I wanted to talk about the interesting period of the financial market in the sixties, and why people like myself came into it, and why we succeeded at it. I think you got to start at the beginning. After the depression, very few people came into it, and there was a tremendous void. In the nineteen forties and nineteen fifties, it was not considered an area of opportunity, very low volume on the stock exchange, very few people wanted to come into it — certainly not the people who were motivated, and certainly not, shall we say, the creative types who were willing to take the plunge. There was a huge void, I guess you would say. And then came the people who were long on confidence, long on guts and balls, but short on experience — people like myself who saw it as an opportunity to make a lot of money. You became a millionaire. We became millionaires our first year out, net after taxes — beyond our wildest expectations. And money was coming in through the transepts. You couldn't stop the money coming in. People would call you, whom you'd never even heard of before, and say, "Will you take my million dollars, please? I'll fly in from Iowa to see you; I'll fly from Wisconsin to see you. Please take my money." It was a different era.

What was special about the sixties for fashion was that it was the first time that the fashion pyramid was turned upside-down. In other words, ever since there were fashion designers, they were at the top of this special pyramid, and they were copied by each successive, cheaper kind of manufacturer or seamstress or strata of society.

For the first time in the sixties, the ideas began to come from the street, rather than from the top.

And the influence went exactly the other way than it had been. The arrows were going up instead of down. For example, Yves St. Laurent showed a pea-jacket on his runway in Paris. It was in the sixties that for the first time college students, or we should say students, went to thrift stores. That was the beginning of something that is new, the very fancy vintage clothing business, where the prices are almost the same as new clothes and those displayed in beautiful shops on the very best streets. But that was something that really started in the sixties.

Poor people, poor students, went to thrift stores and Salvation Armies to find warm, wearable clothes and to find things that looked interesting to them — to look different than what was for sale in the bourgeois department stores. The point is fashion is about style, about looking in some special way; so for them the special way to look was to not look the same they would look if they'd been dressed by their mothers.

I remember one time that I was real shocked. I had shipped a T-shirt, this was about 1967, to about four hundred stores; and it didn't particularly sell very well. It was a long sleeve, what at the time people called it a Wallace Beery neck, a round neck with a half placket and buttons, and it was in funky colors. And I had it shipped to four hundred stores, and it didn't mean much. It just sat in the stores for four or five weeks. Then, one day, John Lennon, when he was with the Beatles, wore it on the Ed Sullivan Show. Two days after, I never had seen so many reorders. Of the three hundred stores that bought it, probably 260 wanted more. I was completely shocked. I didn't know why people suddenly wanted this shirt. Then someone told me it was on the Ed Sullivan Show.

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For me, the word "funky," which I took from the Black community and brought it to the fashion world, had to do with a sense of color. It was a dusty, muted color, and many of these colors were not typical colors. There was dusty plum, corset pink, which was the color of your grandmother's corset that had been washed about thirty times and kept on fading over the years to a color that was so washed out it was no longer pink. I used to use colors like this. We had something we called unisex. Unisex was just one set of sizes, very different from what we call "androgynous" today.

Unisex meant there were five sizes. There was extra small, small, medium, large, extra large. The first three sizes were worn predominantly by women. The medium, the equivalent of a 36 man's size, was worn by very thin guys, and the large and extra large by normal guys.

Women started wearing men's jeans in '67, I think because the men's jeans companies more reflected the tone of the time. They were more sensitive and quicker, and also because it was known that men's clothes were made better. I still think that's true. I

used to sell them a lot of short midriff tops, where in those days women would expose parts of their stomach. This was considered sexy. Even the men were wearing real tight and form-fitting clothes. Some were later on even see-through. We had a lot of tops that were sheer. This was part of the feeling of outrageousness of the times. People were no longer afraid to expose parts of their bodies. They wanted to show it.

Of course, later on you have women not wearing bras.

When I started off, I had this dream of making a million dollars before I was thirty, and then becoming reasonably rich from that point forward. I thought it would take me a while. But luckily it didn't. Or unfortunately, on one level, it didn't, because I soon came to realize that once you had enough money, the making more of it only involved a desire for more power, more glory, and that wasn't what motivated me. To me it was just chips; it was a wonderful game, a lot of fun. It required being on top of every event that was happening in the world. It wasn't just making money, not that I have a distaste for money, because I don't; but money for me meant independence — the ability to do anything I wanted to do. Once I had enough, I didn't know why I was making more, so I tried to pull back.

Many of my friends during the sixties looked askance at me because I was so successful. Some of the friendships I had before my success passed a little bit, didn't want to be friends with someone with as much money as I had. It was a value a lot of friends I went to college with shared. It certainly made me not want to do anything ostentatious.

Now when you're successful, people don't hesitate to have a chauffeur-driven car, to buy a fantastic house, or a townhouse in the city, and really spend money. In that era, people didn't spend money. They made it, saved it, and were proud of what they accomplished. You weren't respected for showing off your money. You were respected for achieving something, but money, in and of itself, was not a quality which engendered respect.

I haven't got the exact numbers, but I remember in the fifties that there would have been a dozen galleries one would have gone to as a matter of course. In the sixties, it becomes three dozen. Today, it's probably up to about six dozen. There's just been this jump in — that's the way I would measure it — the amount of time it would take me to stay up with the art world, and it took a lot longer in the sixties. You had to give it almost a whole day. Today, it's like racing in and out of galleries. Of course, there was an equally large growth in the number of artists. Clement Greenberg once said that in 1948 the whole modern art world consisted of fifty people — everybody, I mean, artists, critics, curators, collectors, you know, the whole thing. I think it was probably closer to a hundred. But no more. I once did a count of artists around 1958, '59, counted every artist that was part of, say, "the New York School," and the number was about 250. What you get in the sixties is an enormous growth of the number of artists, particularly artists who go to college, go to university, take BFA's, then MFA's, you know the idea that one could have a career in art was a fantasy in the fifties; the thought of

success was just out of reach. In the sixties, it becomes possible; the attitude becomes possible.

It was a period of social movement, and a certain hope. Granted, this was a post-war generation. We had a sense of optimism. We thought that things could be resolved by using a placard to demonstrate, that at that point penicillin could cure everything.

A lot of consumer technology came of age in the sixties — domestic technology, appliances of various kinds and their broad distribution. It is the first generation really to be brought up on television. It is the real development of high-fidelity. This is really the first time that sound-reproduction came of age — the illusion of plausibility. So it seems to me there are lots of reasons one can look to in the social structure and the economic structure of the sixties to say that it really was a period of growth.

The sixties were the last time of drug optimism in the U.S., and I thought that with both kinds of drug use, licit and illicit, or therapeutic and recreational, or whatever. The first tranquilizers were introduced in the nineteen fifties — Thorazine or Chlorpromazine, which is given credit for removing many people from mental institutions, but also the first of the minor tranquilizers, Miltown (Meproamate), was introduced in the fifties. They both made their mark, but neither of them had achieved really widespread use. Meproamate had achieved some use, but during the early nineteen sixties Leo Sternbach and Hoffman LaRoche Co. began giving us Benzodiazepines, the two important tranquilizers that characterized the sixties. Librium was introduced in 1961 or '62, and Valium was introduced in 1965. For a time Librium was the widest selling drug in the world, and then Valium took over and became the widest selling drug in the world. People really were optimistic. These were drugs that made folks feel better, calmed them down, made them in some ways more functional, made people optimistic; and people were optimistic about them. I think the period of optimism was relatively short, though, because the American ethic says you can't take drugs to get well; you're supposed to do that on your own, you're supposed to have strength and character and will power. So the tenor began to turn against them, at least in the popular media, and later for the docs, but from '63 until '73, Valium sales went up, up, up, up. 1973 peaked at about 75 million prescriptions, and then it turned down. So the '60s time of drug optimism in Valium lasted until 1973, when the sales of Valium began to turn down markedly; and it has been going down every year since, until they're half of what they were, because people are afraid of Valium and Valium is criticized.

I remember being in high school in 1964, in the eleventh grade, and wondering how I was going to lead my life. It was clear to me that, in order to survive in this society, to have any kind of career, or anything like that, you had to follow the rules. You had to get married, you had to have children, you had to not have sex. You had to appear as virginal as possible until you got married, and then you weren't supposed to like it very much, and all this sort of thing. I was a person who read aloud from the book **Love without Fear** every morning in the homeroom to the girls, much to great delight.

You know that book, **Love without Fear**? It's a sort of how-to sex book from the nineteen fifties — fascinating book. Those who ever saw **Love without Fear** will know it well; it's very nasty. The parts that were the most fun to us, of course, were the parts about the young man who goes to the prostitute and the bad thing happens to him. He can never have sex again and, you know, stuff like that. Anyway, it was basically a "how to be a virgin" kind of a book — tips for teens. So I used to wonder how I was going to survive, and then I got to college.

I think that people were ready to reject the kind of lives that they saw their parents having. I certainly looked at my family, and I thought that that kind of monogamous structure might be interesting down the road, but certainly in the short term it was not anything that I had an interest in at all and I wasn't even sure about down the road, in fact. When I was in high school, I used to go around and say, "Oh, I'm not going to get married; I'm just going to go around and have affairs." I kind of said that lightly and blithely, almost as a joke; and here I am doing exactly that.

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And, in fact, it's extraordinary, when you think now, what changes in terms of permissiveness and understanding have happened. But in those days, no writer could sit down at a typewriter and write, literally write, a love scene which involved lovemaking. He couldn't permit himself to think about the actual moments of lovemaking, because he knew he couldn't write something that would be published. It wasn't even a question of language to begin with. Even if he had found some way around the problem of describing it, it wasn't possible. Henry Miller was the first man who actually did this, very deliberately; and, of course, he wasn't permitted in the end. When we finally published that, there was a great deal of literary censorship.

I remember people trying to talk about sex openly for the first time, and people discussing sex openly. You know how nice it was to actually talk about it, as opposed to never talking about it, because, of course, if you mentioned it, anything about it, you lost caste, and nice women didn't do that. And so there were a lot of articles about how to have sex, how to have orgasm, what an orgasm was, whether there were two, whether there were three, whatever it was; and then it was permissible to actually talk to men about sex. And I must say that I think that's something that will never come again. In the sixties, people talked about sex to each other with great ease, which is odd, since they had never talked about sex. But once the cat was out of the bag, it was perfectly natural and easy to turn to somebody that you were having sex with and say, "You know, this is not going well. And I'm not really enjoying it so much. So what can we do to fix it up and . . ." You know that was, all of a sudden, a kind of cultural thing, you were allowed to do that, and people did it. There was also no reluctance to tell a man right at the beginning what you preferred in sex. In fact, it was almost the way that you did it, because we were all so open, supposedly, that you could just come right out and say, "I'd like you to do this, you know," and then if he got upset, he was a jerk; he was not one of you; he was not a fulfilled man. People had conversations about their intimate sex lives with each other, and with others all the time. Then, it's funny, because those ranks closed about 1975. Suddenly you didn't do that anymore. I mean, if you turned to somebody and said, "You know, you're not giving me enough orgasms," it's suddenly grounds for vendetta forever from the other person.

What happened to me in the sixties was women got together and had consciousness-raising sessions. I was in several of those, and they were all wonderful. We talked about our lives, and we talked about sex and men and marriages and so on. At that point I had just separated from my second husband, and I was very eager not to be involved in a group with a majority of married women, because, at all costs, I wanted to avoid getting married again. I was terrified of being contaminated if I were around too many married people.

It turned out that one of the women in my group was a lesbian, which absolutely fascinated me, it turned out, because I was eager to find out what the whole experience was like, which I did, and then lived with her for about six years. What was significant was that there was an atmosphere of acceptance at the time. I was already rebelling by being part of all these political groups, and I was rebelling against male sexism by being part of the women's movement. Consequently, getting sexually involved with women at that time didn't seem like a rebellion. It didn't feel like a defiance, like a lot of other things I was doing did. Of course, it was. It's just that it didn't have that quality for me. It felt comfortable for me. Everybody knew about it. It was no secret; it wasn't anything I was trying to hide. I was never a flag-waving lesbian either. There was a whole sexual permissiveness at the time that made that permissible also.

When you were talking about "consciousness-raising groups," you were talking about people who were just trying to get themselves to say things for the first time, who needed the help of other women. I mean they had probably never talked to other women. My grandmother, for example, says that she never made any other girl friends. She was in retail, and you just didn't make friends, especially girl friends. Why would you want to? Every woman was with her man, and that was it. So the idea of getting a bunch of women together to talk was just an amazing idea. No one had ever considered this possibility before — to talk about problems. But I always think that in the beginning consciousness-raising was

really about being able to talk at all. It was really so exciting to go sit down with a bunch of women and go, "So, did you get laid last night?" Everybody would just be so **excited** that they were talking about it.

The sixties for me was a very portable time, a time filled with a spiritual force which sustains itself. Whenever you ask who you are, or try to place yourself in American culture, you always have to go back to the sixties for a reference, because, I think, at that point the society was more desperate for definitions. There was more of an edge for the possibilities not only of change, but of self-discovery.

I think people were fortunate to be part of that era, because it was mad, reckless. It had all the qualities of a good smoke, a good lay, a good drink.

Today, I write novels. One of the ways the sixties mean a lot to me as a writer is I think of them as the same as the eighteen forties, fifties, in Russia and Europe. That was a time that opened up possibilities for Russians and Europeans; it was as if a new democracy, a new age, a new social order came into the world. It gave enormous hope to make a new society.

The same thing happened to my generation.

The young people in the sixties thought they would change the world much more than they did and thus now feel disappointed. They now think they were wrong, and they laugh a little at themselves when they were younger. Now I feel they underestimate what they did.

When I look back at the sixties and meet anyone from my generation I feel a special bond. I think of it as the "hip head" — the ability to look at a situation from any one of a dozen angles and have them all be true. There are a dozen ways of looking at each thing. The great thing about the fifties was there was only one way to do things.

I think a great contribution to the language was a term mentioned earlier, which is consciousness-raising. It speaks directly to the idea that your level of awareness can be lifted. I think once your consciousness is raised, it can't be possibly lowered, except for something like brain damage, maybe. You can't forget things. That was something that I think happened to all of us in the sixties was our level of consciousness about a whole variety of issues was raised.

I think it's important not to render the sixties nostalgic. What I fear terribly is that the sixties have become a kind of exaggerated. . . . They were a terrible time in many ways. People got hurt terribly. People believed a lot of nonsense, which hurt themselves. It was a period of chaos and dismemberment with a lot of hope, with very little constructive residue. People who lived in it, somehow, as they grow older should really discipline themselves from talking about it as a significant historical entity. I refer back to people who were active in the thirties, who have romanticized the politics of the thirties, are insufferable to us; and I think there's a danger that that can be repeated.

What is truly special about the sixties was that, to those involved in it, it suddenly seemed that anything was possible, that history was not a millstone around your neck. It was extraordinary to discover, in fact, that many people didn't even care about history, that history could be discarded, or so it seemed that way. There was this heady moment when anything could seem possible of achievement, that all the rules and laws of the past as to how history is composed could really be thrown overboard. It was an insane moment, but fascinating. It lasted for perhaps three years, four years, and then it turned sour, gradually sour. There was a great deal of infighting among the people who were creating the changes. Is that what really happened, as I remember it? It was a long time ago, twenty years.

I don't think the sixties actually have stopped. I think the reason I would say that is that the only chance we have now, if we have a chance at all, in our national life and our international existence, is because what happened in the sixties happened in the sixties.

Roz Baxandall

Leon Botstein

A. D. Coleman

Maureen Connor

Elizabeth Diggs

Finvola Drury

Maria Irene Fornes

Ray Gallon

Sorrel Hays

Joe Johnson

Fred Jordan

Jeremiah Kaplan

Jerome Klinkowitz

Margaret Sipsey
Kornfield

Richard Kostelanetz

Ralph Larkin

Leonard Lopate

John P. Morgan

Mary Peacock

Donald Porter

Emily Prager

Alan Rosanes

Gerald Rosen

Irving Sandler

Z

Myles Tierney

Mr.X.

Sol Yurick

Present at the Creation

by Don Meinshausen

1969 was a strange time — a man had landed on the moon, and the Mets won a pennant. A great time for the birth of a new political movement.

I am a single, straight pagan, and a member of the Unitarian Universalist Church. I have been a part of the libertarian movement for more than 30 years. What follows is my account of my place in the birth and maturation of the libertarian movement.

I was a Goldwater activist when I was 13, and two years later I attended Ayn Rand lectures. When I was 19, as a member of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), I submitted the idea of having a panel at a YAF regional convention showing the conservative-libertarian spectrum: Henry Paolucci, former Conservative Party candidate, as the traditionalist; Frank S. Meyer, ex-communist writer for *National Review* who proposed a fusion of traditionalism and libertarianism; Jerome Tuccille, then an Objectivist; and Karl Hess, who, in his then recent *Playboy* article "The Death of Politics," took the view of libertarianism as being closer to the New Left than to conservatism. The debate made an impression on me and many others who later became libertarians. It was here that I first met Karl, and Murray Rothbard, the Karl Marx of Libertarianism. It was here that the East and West Coast leaders of YAF first met to plan to organize a libertarian caucus.

Later I met with Karl and his son to form an anarchist caucus within YAF to anchor the new libertarians to a consistent position. I strongly suggested that we introduce a resolution for YAF to support draft resistance. Although YAF supported abolishing conscription, draft resistance was especially unpopular with its funders. YAF was not only a training ground for future conservative leaders, it also pushed to fight the New Left as well as support the war in Vietnam.

These were extremely unpopular positions on campus.

I was a spy for the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) within Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) during all the time I was organizing libertarians within YAF, and the other libertarians knew it. I had decided to become a spy within SDS to learn why SDS had become much more popular than the Right. After all, if I was going to be a radical for capitalism, I had to learn whatever I could about becoming a radical. Giving information to the government, which I later regretted, was a way of covering myself in case I later wished to work within the system.

I had the right costume for the part: granny glasses, long hair, moustache, work shirt, and jeans. Instead of the U.S. Army surplus field jacket, I wore a West Point tunic jacket that I got from my brother after he graduated from West Point. Some SDSers objected, calling me a political transvestite or a multi-party personality, but since I was considered cadre I felt I was entitled. Anarchist theorist and Spanish Civil War veteran Murray Bookchin, in his brilliant essay "Listen, Marxist!" has an interesting theory for this tired attire. A revolution tends to copy the one immediately preceding it. The uniform thinking as well as clothing was a faded copy of the union organizing of the 1930s when the American Left made its greatest mark on history. Murray Bookchin once spoke to an LP convention, and his presence

on the anarchist Left was a mirror image of Murray Rothbard's in the libertarian movement. He thundered against the attack on Western civilization while maintaining his radicalism just like Rothbard.

Just after I had first met Karl Hess and Murray Rothbard, I was invited to join them in Rothbard's famous living room where I met some of the leading lights of early libertarianism: Joe Peden, Leonard Liggio, Roy Childs, Jerome Tuccille,

Just after I had first met Karl Hess and Murray Rothbard, I was invited to join them in Rothbard's famous living room where I met some of the leading lights of early libertarianism.

Walter Block, and others. These gentlemen knew that I was part of SDS, but did not know that I was spying on it for HUAC; they assumed that I was a typical New Leftist. "So we hear that you are a member of SDS, Don," chirped Murray approvingly. "Off the pigs," said Walter, encouragingly. I visibly winced. I had heard too much of this rhetoric before and was surprised to hear it here. Murray noticed my discomfort and said, "Don't say that, Don might think we're cops. We are going to have an experiment, and Don, you are going to be the guinea pig. We are going to try to convert you to free-market anarchism." Murray and the others then explained how a commune might trade handmade sandals for home-grown rice, how money would evolve, and how the evolution of markets would result. Needless to say they were successful, but I sure wished that they had proceeded from a different direction. I decided at that point to reveal that I had some knowledge of what they were saying without disclosing who I was. "You know, this sounds an awfully lot like Ayn Rand," I said, thinking that my comment would be received positively. "That right-wing bitch, forget her!" yelled Murray, greatly revising my image of Rand as the radical for capitalism.

To establish my credibility within SDS, I created my own chapter, was elected head of it, and helped lead the takeover of a building on my campus, Essex County College. It was a racially mixed, radical community college in Newark, N.J., a city where major riots had just occurred. The elected president of our student body was a black Muslim draft resister. One assistant to the dean actually tried to have me beaten up by Italian working-class youths, who later told me of his plan. To further illustrate his cravenness, the dean told me that I could not set up a literature table because no rules for this had been established. He even told me I could not start an SDS chapter because no national organizations were allowed on campus. I set up a Students for Peace group instead.

People have asked me what kind of information about SDS the government was looking for. My handler, an ex-communist, always asked me who was calling himself a communist. I told him since the government was calling

them communists they were calling themselves communists as a badge of honor.

Be careful of political experimentation in difficult times. In the autumn of 1968 the SDS and the Black Panthers decided to have a rally, perform guerrilla theatre, and march to protest the war and the lack of choice in the upcoming elections. I got together with my friends in YAF and we planned a genteel theatre critique. Boy, did we underestimate the situation. A bunch of the Italian students joined us and they did not like student radicals. During the march a general melee broke out. At one point five of these students tried to attack me. A black student who I had just made friends with a few days before pulled out a knife. Fortunately at this time my friends in YAF intervened. There is a photo of two groups of students attacking and defending me while I lay on the ground in a fetal position with my mind screaming, "What am I doing?" The police arrested the black student. I went to his trial, where the judge was nice enough to drop the charges. There are things that one learns in real life that one does not learn in books.

Later the college's administration tried psychological warfare. At a student leadership development conference students were required to fill out forms that asked us who we would trust in a crisis, etc., so that they could undermine and divide us. At one point the school psychologist sat within our discussion circle just to show how intimidated we were by authority. We learned our lesson well, and his removal became one of our demands later that spring.

In my role as SDS activist on campus, I did what I thought a conscientious activist should do. Student power was the expression of the belief that people should have influence on the institutions that shape their lives. After all, we were supposedly trying to learn how to participate in a democratic society. I was also involved in a struggle to protect basic civil liberties like freedom of assembly, press, and speech. As Students for Peace we confined ourselves to national issues such as opposition to the war, the draft, and the marijuana laws. Some SDSers from Rutgers and Princeton looked down on us because our actions were not oriented to the working class; they thought it was mere stu-

"So we hear that you are a member of SDS, Don?" chirped Rothbard approvingly. "Off the pigs," said Walter Block, encouragingly.

dent power and petit bourgeois. What really pissed me off was their "Well, we created a civil liberties issue but it was a good idea anyway" attitude. They were apologizing for the very liberties that protected their politics.

The situation in the late '60s was similar to today's: an unpopular war abroad, an unpopular drug war at home, widespread government spying on its citizens, a Republican president mired in scandal who repudiated the conservative ideal of limited government, and the ensuing damaged economy. The campuses were in turmoil. Rallies of 500,000 were

mounted to oppose the war in several cities. Add in the civil rights struggles, the rise of rock music, the sexual revolution, the adolescent baby boomers, and the cultural ferment fueled by marijuana and psychedelics, and you can understand how we were radicalized.

As an experiment to see how white, working-class youth would respond to radical arguments, I arranged for the National Lawyers Guild to address my group on campus. It was loud and passionate, definitely something that was not part of the accepted academic style that allowed students to snooze in peace.

One fear that these students had was that if the school were closed or they were kicked out, it would mean that they could be drafted and sent to Vietnam. This college was also a possible means of entry into the middle class. Since I came from a blue-collar background myself, and with my brother a lieutenant in Vietnam, I could sympathize with their plight, even if it was exaggerated. Neighboring classroom instructors complained, and I went to the dean and was told that I was to face a disciplinary hearing. I then told the NLG of this fact and they immediately produced a brief as well as legal representation and we had a meeting with the dean. My law student advocate asked what the rule was that I had supposedly broken. Was I entitled to legal representation? Was I entitled to a jury of my peers? You get the idea. The dean blanched, took me aside and told me that he would drop the charges.

There was another incident that nudged me in a libertarian direction. One student came up to me wearing a U.S. Army jacket and told me he was a Vietnam vet. "Oh no!" I exclaimed. How was I going to explain myself? He saw my discomfort: many people thought that the returning veterans were pro-war, but the truth was quite different. He was in a combat unit that encountered land mines and came under sniper fire which appeared to come from nearby villages. They would go into these villages and no one would or could tell them who was responsible. Without such cooperation a military unit becomes oppressive no matter what the original intent was.

Later we formed a coalition composed of Italian working-class youth, hippies, and blacks. We discovered that out of 33 administrators only one was black, in a college with over 40 percent black enrollment. We also discovered that many instructors had been removed from other colleges due

to incompetency. That spring we joined our more established scholarly comrades at more reputable institutions in the spring rite of a building takeover; all our demands were met and we celebrated in a feast paid for by the college. The manipulative administrators were removed, a black studies program was implemented, needed safety procedures were installed, and most importantly the students got a lesson in grass-roots organizing they would never forget. Mark Rudd,

"You know, this sounds an awfully lot like Ayn Rand," I said. "That right-wing bitch, forget her!" yelled Rothbard.

who became a leader in the Weather Underground, told me that what I had done was going to be a model for working-class organizing. (I wonder whom he was working for?)

I attended the SDS convention in June 1969, still a spy, unknown to those around me. Who were these people? Liberators, malcontents, or the next set of tyrants? I approached this woman dressed all in black, Leslie Fish, a Left-anarchist who was also at the time (I later found) a member of the "Benjamin Tucker up against the wall motherfucker" chapter of YAF, as well as an SDS leader who helped lead a takeover at the University of Michigan. I asked her, "What book was it that radicalized you?" She replied, *"Atlas Shrugged."* I immediately did a triple mental back flip and told her, "But I have heard from the highest authority that this is a right-wing book!" She then explained that *Atlas Shrugged* was a story of a technocratic revolution in which the pigs definitely get offed. "You know, I never thought of it that way before," I said, realizing at that moment that Rothbard, master of libertarian revisionism, had just met his match. 1969 was a strange time — a man had landed on the moon, and the Mets won a pennant. A great time for the birth of an unlikely new movement.

After attending an SDS convention and bringing back armfuls of radical verbiage, I asked my HUAC handler what he thought was most important. He said that the resolution calling for legalization of marijuana was noteworthy. I said nothing because I had, a few months before, introduced such a resolution at the YAF convention. He then told me that the most subversive document that I had retrieved was not anything that called for support for the Viet Cong, for civil disobedience, or even for a revolution; the most revealing of radical perfidy was a pamphlet called "The Myth of Vaginal Orgasm." He also wanted me to get more copies for the Chicago Red Squad (perhaps for nighttime reading?). He then told me it showed that the then budding women's movement was nothing more than a bunch of lesbians who wanted to take over "our" women.

Male chauvinism was rampant in the New Left. I remember that during the 1969 SDS convention a Black Panther speaker commented that the correct position for women in the movement was on their backs. "Fight male chauvinism!" yelled the Progressive Labor Party (Stalinist) faction. "Fight white racism!" stormed the incipient Weather (Stalinoid) fac-



"There were three amnesiacs waiting to see you, Doctor, but they all wandered away."

tion. Talk about radical one-upsmanship. Later, the SDS split, the Stalinoids chanting, "Power to the People!" and the Stalinists chanting, "Power to the Workers!" I had wisely retreated to the balcony, joining the anarchists, the Bavarian Illuminati, and the Justified Ancients of Mummum in chanting, "Let's go Mets!" I'm not a baseball fan, but if I am forced to make such decisions, I may as well back a winner.

Another government investigator complained how difficult it was to infiltrate the new radical youth groups since they were so spontaneous. This was in contrast to the Communist Party, which had a more conservative style and wardrobe and could be relied upon to follow the Kremlin's orders. This confounded him, and perhaps this is why he later became a major investigator of the Watergate affair. There may be a lesson here somewhere.

The next day I went to the rump caucus meeting that later became the Weatherman faction. They were putting together a manifesto that declared that everything that an American owned was the product of imperialism and that there was no hope for revolution in white America. The only thing that they thought could be accomplished was to disrupt the U.S. so that the Third World could achieve independence. The term Weatherman did not come from the term "whether man or beast" but rather from a Bob Dylan song: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows." We met in a church that had posted on its front an appropriate verse for the day. "There are ways like unto a man and these are the ways of Death." Seeing how things were going, I later volunteered to help defend the national office from a possible takeover by the Stalinist faction. I arrived to find people cowering, peering from under a window, holding clubs to defend a ratty old office. Things were going from bad to worse as the following running doggerel written by Leslie Fish suggests:

Praise Mao from whom quotations flow
Break windows where ere you go
Let rhythmic chants all thoughts resist
Just shout Right On and raise your fist! (Amen)

Libertarians were opposed to both the welfare state and the warfare state. The next stage was the acceptance of civil disobedience as a tactic. This question was dramatically

Male chauvinism was rampant in the New Left. I remember that during the 1969 SDS convention a Black Panther speaker commented that the correct position for women in the movement was on their backs.

faced at the 1969 YAF convention, held in St. Louis over Labor Day weekend.

The YAF anarchist caucus could not arrange to meet at the convention hotel, so we decided to meet at the 600-foot-tall Arch, St. Louis' most famous landmark. Karl Hess, the most charismatic figure in the libertarian movement, spoke passionately about freedom, the war, the draft, and how liberty contracts when government expands, whether it is the

welfare state or the warfare state. He walked among the crowd of libertarians and conservatives, all of whom had been inspired by the words that he wrote for Barry Goldwater. He was characteristically warm, spoke simply and wisely, and never got angry or talked down to people.

We shouted out our slogan, "laissez-faire." The conservatives responded with "lazy-fairy." We had a gesture of one finger upraised — no, not that finger, but the forefinger —

I was a spy for the House Un-American Activities Committee within SDS during all the time I was organizing libertarians within YAF, and the other libertarians knew it.

which stood for individualism and meant we were not afraid of standing up for our beliefs. The conservatives said that in order to show the true shade of our beliefs we should show the pinky.

Back in the convention hall, the traditionalists denied libertarian delegate credentials and purged libertarians from positions they held in the organization. It was apparent that YAF was not going to accept, let alone adopt, our positions. We felt a strong need to show the contrast between libertarians and traditionalists. We needed ceremonial magic that would incorporate the Statue of Liberty (America's goddess symbol) with the trademark of the radical sixties. Public draft-card burning was a way activists had protested the war and the draft, so we decided to use it as a dramatic symbol of our discontent.

I approached David Schumacher, then a Princeton student and now a rancher and executive, who agreed to burn a facsimile of a draft card. (Draft-card burning was a felony at the time, and none of us really wanted to spend five years in the big house.) Durk Pearson, now a researcher and author on life extension, provided the needed copy of a draft card, and Jarrett Wollstein, then as now a libertarian pamphleteer, provided a lighter. At the moment of the defeat of our draft-resistance resolution, David lit the draft card and held it up as the living embodiment of YAF's logo, the Torch of Liberty (from our Goddess of the NYC harbor).

Conservatives were outraged and a melee erupted. At that moment, the libertarians realized that we needed to declare our independence from the conservative movement and form our own. Many view this as the exact moment the contemporary libertarian movement was born.

I did not burn the draft card because I had pissed off the conservative movement earlier that month by my testimony at the House Internal Security Subcommittee (formerly HUAC). I told the committee that in the process of investigating SDS, I had discovered a much more dangerous organization that had destroyed much more property and lives than SDS ever could and that this organization was the United States government. Now the committee was used to handling hostile witnesses. In fact, radicals were proud of being subpoenaed; they called it subpoenas envy. What really pissed off HUAC was that I was supposed to be a

Famous People I Smoked Pot With

Unfortunately, in the eyes of the law, the fact that my distribution of drugs has brought pleasure to many and harm to none is of little consequence. So is the fact that many cultural icons, creative, capable, beloved people who have contributed greatly to American society, have used drugs. Some of the people that I have smoked pot or done other drugs with are quite well known. Since the following people are dead, I can reveal their names.

Karl Hess — Chief speechwriter for GOP presidential candidate Barry Goldwater and ghostwriter for Nixon and Ford — and not to be redundant, a Mafia crime figure. He wrote the 1960 Republican platform. Karl was the subject of a documentary that won an Academy Award. I have a video of him with Robert Anton Wilson, famed science-fiction writer and philosopher, that was made at the 1987 Libertarian Party convention.

Timothy Leary — Famed former Harvard professor and software designer. While known for his advocacy of LSD, he also wrote the first paper on group therapy and devised the Leary Personality Test, which has been used in prisons. I produced an event with Leary and Wilson called "From Psychedelics to Cyberspace" that introduced virtual reality to New York City in 1990. This event attracted over 1,300 people as well as coverage of over 50 media outlets, including the three major television networks, and got a front-page story in *The New York Times*.

Terrence McKenna — Author of *The Archaic Revival* which postulates that psychedelic mushrooms were the first domesticated plant. He also founded a botanical preserve of plants used in shamanic preparations used all over the world.

Spalding Gray — Actor in almost 40 films including *The Killing Fields*. His famous monologue "Swimming to Cambodia" is based on his experiences in that film, a history of the genocide done by Pol Pot and his receiving aid from the U.S. Spalding also freely admitted his use of psychedelics. Recently *The New York Times* had a full page article on him calling him the greatest monologist of our time. He was also the subject of a cover story in *New York Magazine*.

Allen Ginsberg — Poet laureate of the '60s and author of "Howl" and "Kaddish." He led Buddhist chants at peace rallies to help mediate (or meditate) an end to the Vietnam conflict. He was known for bringing the war "om." I met him at a fund-raising party and told him I admired his poetry. "Will you give me a blow job?" he responded. Poetry for Allen was a sound way of receiving oral gratification in one sense or another. Alienated entertainers of the time developed their talent in a selfish though honest search for a groupie to get into.

Andrew Kopkind — New Left writer and editor of *May Day* and *Hard Times*. He taped a talk of mine and printed it in his magazine. That was nice since I never did that for him.

Walter Breen — Husband of and researcher for bestselling author Marion Zimmer Bradley. He was an accom-

plished author in his own right, on humor, ancient Greece, classical music, and the occult. His encyclopedia of American numismatics made him the leading authority in that field. He agreed with my theory that each rise of statism in America was marked by the physical and image debasement of its coinage. Walter and I attended a psychedelics conference together.

Abbie Hoffman — I confronted him about his cocaine dealing at his coming out from hiding party, saying that he brought dishonor to all of us who counseled people to stay away from hard drugs so that we could show the public the distinction between the relative harmlessness of the marijuana culture vs. the deadly, paranoid cocaine culture.

Jerry Rubin — Author of *Growing Up At 37* and former partner of the political/comedic Abbie Hoffman, whom he debated at yuppie vs. yuppie debates. I met Jerry at one of his famous networking parties (there were 3,000 people attending) when he was a stockbroker. I told him about the legal "smart" and life-extension drugs designed by Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw. This former yuppie ended up working for former YAFers Durk and Sandy as salesperson for their products.

Steve Donaldson — Former Goldwater activist, Navy vet, noted pre-Stonewall gay activist, and head of Stop Prison Rape. He was the subject of a documentary on *60 Minutes*. While in prison he was raped as many as 50 times in one night and yet never had any hatred for those responsible. A true saint with a punkish sense of humor. It was an honor to give him marijuana while he was in the last stages of AIDS which he got when raped in prison.

Ron Crickenberger — Former political director of the Libertarian Party. He was once arrested for possession of marijuana and was involved in protests against the drug war.

Remember, these are only the dead ones, whose anonymity no longer needs to be protected. I also smoked pot with three people who wrote speeches for Ronald Reagan; Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, who has admitted that he "drank the bong water" and has submitted medical marijuana bills; and Ron Kimberling, who actually authored a libertarian position paper calling for an end to the drug war and later was Assistant Secretary of Education, and is now executive director of the Ronald Reagan Foundation, which administers the Reagan Presidential Library. Another future GOP leader I smoked pot with was Shawn Steele, who later became the chair of the California Republican Party. All of these were members of our libertarian caucus of Young Americans for Freedom. It is a truism of that time that a conservative who smoked pot soon became a libertarian. It is also a fact that many of us who did LSD evolved into anarchists. Maybe this is the real reason for Reagan's War on Drugs and why I joined the opposition.

friendly witness.

So in one short season, I helped lead a building takeover, told my draft board to fuck off, was kicked out of SDS and YAF for being an anarchist, broke up the conservative movement, did LSD again, went to Woodstock, and lost my virginity. It is too bad I never could find a way to get academic

SDS split. The Stalinoids chanted, "Power to the People!" The Stalinists chanted, "Power to the Workers!" I chanted, "Let's go Mets!"

credit for it. I never told HUAC about my libertarian activities, and as far as I know no one got in trouble because of my spying, except for my HUAC handler.

In 1970, I had a show on WBAI, the radical radio station in New York, called "The Left and Right of Anarchy." I participated in anti-war events and the McGovern campaign, though I cast a write-in vote for John Hospers. I was also involved in the Radical Libertarian Alliance. We took an extremely left-libertarian approach to stop our new movement from drifting rightward as well as to make inroads on the Left. We had a magazine called *Outlook*. One of the editors, Louis Rossetto, went on to become the founder and publisher of the cyberculture magazine *Wired*.

I organized the first libertarian tax protest with guerrilla theater at the Federal Building in New York City in 1972. I also helped in organizing and filming state income tax protests in New Jersey, including one with over 10,000 people in 1976. I believe that taxpayer organizing will be to the libertarian movement what union organizing was to the Left. The difference is that our efforts will result in an immediate profit for the population involved. With union organizing, this has not necessarily been the case.

From 1973 until about 1984 I worked almost continuously on ballot drives for the Libertarian Party, collecting over 1,000 signatures a week (500 in one day is my record). I also helped in campus organizing and ran for office. In New Jersey I was given a life membership because I had gotten over 300 signatures to put us over the top on the last day.

I live in Hoboken and was once involved as an opposition research and volunteer coordinator in a coalition that elected the eccentric, atheist, Adlai-Stevenson Democrat Tom Vezzetti as mayor. This man was described in the *New York Daily News* as the wackiest mayor in America (circa 1985). I was part of a group that put together a coalition of yuppies, Italian working-class people, Bohemians, Hispanics, blacks, Republicans, and Democrats to oust a machine politician who had been there for many years.

In 1987, I was arrested for sale of LSD and later that year, while on bail, organized "An Evening with Karl Hess and Robert Anton Wilson" for the 1987 Libertarian Party convention. While in prison, through the help of my attorney, I got the LP to accept my idea of a "roast" for Karl Hess. We even invited Barry Goldwater, who declined for health reasons. I got out of jail in time to watch the fall of the Berlin Wall on TV and to roast Karl at the 1989 LP convention.

I attended this year the largest annual leftist gathering, the Socialist Scholars Conference. Even though this is an election year with an unpopular war, attendance continues downward. The reason, I believe, is that people who in previous years would become Marxist are now finding more libertarian ways. I had an Operation Politically Homeless table at the conference. I did something new in asking participants to choose a color dot that stood for their chosen ideology; red for Marxist, yellow for social democrat, green for Green and blue for other. What resulted on the diamond chart was a left crescent with over half scoring in the top half but no color pattern. There was a friendlier reaction than I anticipated, and everyone liked the Fully Informed Jury Association brochures.

I organized a panel of people involved with unions buying out their companies using Employee Stock Ownership Plans. Professor Joseph Blasi, who chaired the panel, was appointed by the United Steel Workers to the board of directors of Northwestern Steel and Wire which the union had taken over. Another panel member was helping privatize companies in Yugoslavia. Another had been a union organizer and became an investment banker, using that position to help unions.

Any leftist who owns equity is part of the way to libertarianism. There are probably more industrial workers involved in ESOPs than in labor unions. Some of the largest corporations in the U.S. have ESOPs. If ESOPs and socially aware investment funds controlled the largest firms then opposition to deregulation, privatization, and lowering high taxes would greatly diminish.

I am not completely "left brained." I have been a delegate to the American Independent Party and Populist Party conventions to see what was going on. I found out that these groups, too, were in decline. Perhaps as a result of my past I like to blend in so that I can get a different perspective as well as drop a few libertarian asides. I even attended a Christian Coalition conference and was pleasantly surprised to find out that there were other libertarians there, even on

In one short season, I helped lead a building takeover, told my draft board to fuck off, was kicked out of SDS and YAF for being an anarchist, broke up the conservative movement, did LSD, went to Woodstock, and lost my virginity.

the panels. No, I did not get into any discussion of my version of the "old-time religion."

On March 12, The War on Some Drugs caught up with me. I was arrested for dealing in illegal substances. I have since pleaded guilty to federal charges of conspiracy to distribute some 3,000 hits of ecstasy and state charges of conspiracy to distribute over 20 pounds of pot. My federal and state sentences are to be served concurrently and consist of 42 months in a state penitentiary. For now, I am under house arrest and must wear an electronic monitoring bracelet. It is

rumored that these may soon be available to the public with bands designed by Swatch.

I have never had a drug problem, except for sugar, the true gateway drug. Sugar can cause drowsiness at inappropriate times and can incite anger, not a good thing for activists. I have asthma and am diabetic. My blood sugar is under control and I do not need insulin. I am under care by a natural physician who was personally recommended by Gary Null. My nutritional supplement bill runs to several hundred dollars a month, and I am very concerned about the threat posed by S. 722 (the Dietary Supplement Safety Act of 2003) and the Codex Alimentarius (a commission created by the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN) to our right to supplements. The alternative health community should be high on our list of marketing opportunities.

While I have witnessed a lot of drug use, I have confined my use and sales to pot and psychedelics. I explain this as a karmic connection that I feel, in that if a seller knowingly sells something bad, it is visited back upon him; and in the same way, the sale of something good comes back to the seller to benefit him.



In 1993, I conceived and helped organize a ritual to help recharge the goddess who stood at the center of power in Washington, D.C. On top of the Capitol Dome stands a goddess who was suffering terrible decay. Considering all the fetid hot air around her it was obvious she needed renewal. When she was taken down for refurbishing the group held a ritual to recharge her. Unbeknownst to them, at the same time in a different part of the Capitol building, the Masonic

Reflections, from page 16

sand. Kennedy finally decided to link increased military aid with stronger pressure for domestic reforms within Vietnam, including a campaign against government corruption. The rest is history.

Even in the best of circumstances, regime change often goes astray due to unintended consequences, popular resistance, and the almost inevitable tension between the installed regime and the regime-makers. Forcing regime change within a culture foreign to our own is a formula for disaster, no matter what the underlying intentions.

Interestingly, Sean Hannity has been one of the few commentators to ask why Ted Kennedy is making comparisons to Vietnam when his own brother was the author of that infamy. Hannity has gone so far as to raise the specter Mary Jo Kopechne. I say to my fellow Fox News commentator, "Don't be immature! That's water under the bridge!" Ouch. On that note of bad taste . . .

— Wendy McElroy

Between Iraq and a hard place — President Bush has appointed veteran diplomat John Negroponte, now the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, to be the ambassador to Iraq. The U.S. embassy in Iraq is slated to be the largest U.S. embassy in the world, with 3,000 employees. That huge an embassy, of course, means that his job, which will in some ways be more like nation-building than traditional diplomacy, will be daunting to say the least.

Some elements of America's intransigent Left have never

Order, also dressed in ritual garb, did a ceremonial relaying of the cornerstone. Scoffers may call it a coincidence; I call it a coinci-dance. As above, so below.

In Nashville, there stands a full-size replica of the Parthenon with a 42-foot statue of the goddess Athena inside. I made a pilgrimage there, and she told me that she wanted a celebration honoring her. Athena is the goddess of reason, justice, and victory as well as the deity who presided over the

On March 12, the War on Some Drugs caught up with me. I pleaded guilty to federal charges of conspiracy to distribute some 3,000 hits of ecstasy and state charges of conspiracy to distribute over 20 pounds of pot.

Golden Age of Greece. I arranged with the Church of All Worlds (the name comes from the church in Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land*) to rent the Parthenon for an evening and to revive the Panathenia, a festival honoring Athena after a 1,600-year hiatus. As in the original, the group honored her with athletic contests, seminars, music, dance, dramatic readings, and a Greek feast, all in costume. It got a good review in *Gnosis* magazine.

I have also participated in ceremonies honoring the ancient ones in old temples, some of them thousands of years old, in Luxor, Egypt as well as in Angkor Wat, Cambodia; Pattani, Thailand; Mexico City; and Bali. □

forgiven Mr. Negroponte for being closely involved, as ambassador to Honduras, in the Reagan administration's efforts to unseat the Sandinista government in Nicaragua in the 1980s. Otherwise, the career diplomat has a solid reputation. The fact that he does not have Middle East experience and doesn't speak Arabic, however, will not help.

I talked to Ed Peck, who was chief of mission (a fussy bureaucratic term that is more or less equivalent to ambassador) in Baghdad from 1977 to 1980. He told me that, like most ambassadors, Negroponte will have little freedom of action and will be closely watched by both the media and second-guessers back home. "I wouldn't take that job for anything," he said — not that he likely would have been offered it, since, having retired, he has been an outspoken critic of Dubya's excellent adventure in Iraq.

Some cynics say Negroponte will in fact be governor general or proconsul of Iraq. However, his position will be more delicate than that.

If the interim Iraqi council is to be useful to the United States, it must have enough real power to convince various Iraqi factions that it is not simply a tool of the American "imperial" occupying army. However, the more power the interim council has, the more incentive Iraqis will have to fight over it, and the more difficult it will be to avoid conflict among factions competing for power. Negroponte will quickly find himself in a very uncomfortable position.

— Alan W. Bock

continued on page 53

Reviews

Washington's Crossing, by David Hackett Fischer. Oxford University Press, 2004, 576 pages.

The Road to Freedom

Stephen Cox

George Washington's army had been marching through the back country of New Jersey for five hours on a cold winter night.

The wet ground was frozen solid, and the roads were covered with a glaze of quick-frozen ice and snow. An artillery sergeant remembered that many of his men were "entirely barefooted," and here again "the ground was literally marked with the blood of soldiers [sic] feet." The artillery horses also "were without shoes and when passing over the ice would slide in every direction and could advance only by the assistance of the soldiers."

Finally, as the first streaks of dawn appeared in the eastern sky, the army came to Quaker Bridge. There suddenly it stopped in its tracks. The bridge was strong enough for Quakers on their way to meeting, but it would not bear the army's artillery and ammunition carts. It was necessary to build another, and a party of axemen and carpenters went frantically to work.

They built the bridge, they passed the river, they found the British army in an orchard near Princeton. The battle was on. During a British bayonet charge, an American officer was shot from his horse, trapped by the onrushing enemy, then mortally wounded by a blow from a musket butt. Because he

was "handsomely uniformed," the British thought he was General Washington. He refused to surrender, so "they bayoneted him many times, and one cried, 'Damn him he is dead. Let us leave him.'"

Never forget: that was what would have happened to Washington, if the enemy had caught him. But heedless of

Even before Washington's victories in New Jersey, armed militia sprang up all around the British forces, harassing, killing, and impeding them.

danger, as he always was, Washington rode among the troops, rallying them with shouts.

"Parade with us, my brave fellows! There is but a handful of the enemy, and we will have them directly." Washington led his men straight into the center of the battle, within thirty paces of the British line. He was mounted on a white horse, an easy mark for any British soldier, and yet none shot him.

As the battle progressed, blood appeared "everywhere in the orchard and fields, flowing bright across the icy surface of the snow." But one of Washington's men spoke for many others when he wrote to his wife, "O, my

Susan! It was a glorious day, and I would not have been absent from it for all the money I ever expect to be worth." And Washington's men won the battle.

This, the battle of Princeton, Jan. 3, 1777, is but one episode in David Hackett Fischer's story of the turn in America's fortunes during the first six months after the Declaration of Independence. The events began with Washington's withdrawal from New York City in the face of the largest European army that had ever been projected overseas. They proceeded through his retreat across New Jersey to Pennsylvania, the British army's occupation of New Jersey and its hopeful attempt to subdue the state and bring it back into the empire, Washington's epic (re)crossing of the Delaware to attack the British in their frontier outpost at Trenton, his defeat of General Cornwallis' avenging legions at the second battle of Trenton, his successful surprise attack at Princeton, and the destabilization of the British plan to hold America by subduing one vital region after another. First New York, then Rhode Island and New Jersey . . . each section would be conquered and held as a rallying-place for loyalists and a base for future operations.

That was the plan decided upon by the two chief commanders of British forces, William Howe (army) and his

brother Richard Howe (navy), and it failed. Fischer's book is especially enlightening on the various alternatives that the Howes considered. One of the alternatives they decided against was the one that, in this reviewer's opinion, they should have adopted. It was the scheme naggingly urged by General Henry Clinton: go after Washington's army, trap it, and wipe it out. The Howes spurned opportunities to do that, preferring to proceed (Vietnam style?) with more pacific and graduated responses. They didn't work. Clinton's plan appears to have had a better chance of succeeding. It was military common sense, and its wisdom appears confirmed by the countless references in Fischer's book to statements by leading Americans prophesying doom if Washington's force should be caught and eliminated.

On the other hand, the ready response of American citizens to the needs of Washington's army argues that the spirit of independence was much too deeply seated to lose its capacity to raise new armies. Even before Washington's victories in New Jersey, armed militia sprang up all around the British forces, harassing, killing, and impeding them. And although Washington was plagued by the tendency of many of his soldiers to get up and leave when their short enlistment periods ended, it didn't take much to persuade many of them to stay.

The relationship of money and finance to the American war effort is an endlessly interesting subject, and Fischer provides a good deal of infor-

Greatness and courage may be capable only of ostensive definition: you point at such stories and you say: "There they are."

mation about it. Faced with a mass of soldiers whose enlistments were expiring, Washington appealed to a leading businessman of Philadelphia, Robert Morris. Morris contacted a business friend "and persuaded him to unearth a chest of hard money that Morris knew to be buried in his garden. Morris

literally dug up the cash and sent Washington 'two parcels of hard money,' which arrived on New Year's Eve, just in time." The money was spent on \$10 bounties for the men who agreed to re-enlist. It was an idea originated by Thomas Mifflin (whose fascinating picture with his wife Sarah, by John Singleton Copley, graces a page of this volume), another wealthy Philadelphian who supported the war financially and served in it himself. Washington thought that \$10, the modern equivalent of \$1,000, was too high! But he was pleased to put the proposition to his men, and to put it twice, because it didn't work the first time:

The men watched as Washington "wheeled his horse about, rode in front of the regiment," and spoke to them again. Long afterward, a sergeant still remembered his words:

"My brave fellows," Washington began, "you have done all I asked you to do, and more than could be reasonably expected; but your country is at stake, your wives, your houses, and all that you hold dear. You have worn yourselves out with the fatigues and hardships, but we know not how to spare you. If you will consent to stay one month longer, you will render that service to the cause of liberty, and to your country, which you probably can never do under any other circumstances."

It was a rational appeal to rational interests, both material and spiritual, and it worked. Lest you think that the \$10 was a mercenary influence on superficial minds, Fischer adds that the soldiers "were veterans who understood what they were being asked to do. They knew well what the cost might be. One of them remembered later that nearly half of the men who stepped forward would be killed in the fighting or dead of disease 'soon after.'"

Your heart stops when you read that. It's something that happens frequently during the reading of this book. It is a big book, distinguished for its plenitude of information on obscure subjects that turn out to be interesting and, very often, deeply moving: the organization of the American and British armies, and of the Hessian soldiers imported by the British (no, they weren't drunks, and they weren't automata, as they have commonly been pictured); the nature, supply, and use of the many kinds of military equip-

ment that the two armies employed; their different styles of leadership; the fate of civilian populations in enemy hands; the giving of "quarter" to enemy soldiers; problems of weather and geography; the reason why

His maps are good — and his plot and characters can never be surpassed.

Washington would not have simply sat down in the boat during his famous crossing of the Delaware (the boat that he used on that daring voyage would have been full of freezing water). But the best effects in Fischer's story are those that involve the emotions of the participants.

Soldier John Greenwood, remembering the hours he spent freezing on the banks of the Delaware, after the crossing but before the attack on Trenton:

The noise of the soldiers coming over and clearing away the ice, the rattling of the cannon wheels on the frozen ground, and the cheerfulness of my fellow-comrades encouraged me beyond expression, and, big coward as I acknowledge myself to be, I felt great pleasure, more than I now do in writing about it.

"Big coward?"

Soldier Stephen Olney, waiting with other besieged Americans before the second battle of Trenton, to see whether the British would break through and destroy them, asking another man

what he thought now, of our independence. He answered cheerfully, "I don't know; the Lord must help us."

"Cheerfully."

Dr. Benjamin Rush, American courier, getting some rest in Trenton after riding all night on behalf of the cause, waking up to the sound of an alarm gun:

"I started up, and the first creature I saw was a black woman crying and wringing her hands in my room. She was followed by general St. Clair with a composed countenance. I asked him what was the matter. He said the enemy were advancing."

"What do you intend to do?" Rush asked.

"Why, fight them," St. Clair replied, with a smile.

General George Washington, watching the retreat of his soldiers across the bridge at Assunpink Creek, sitting "his horse quietly beside the bridge" with the horse's chest "pressed close" against the bridge rail, so close to the action that the soldiers brushed the horse and the general's leg as they rushed in a mass to safety. The British and the Hessians were pushing forward, just on the other side of the little bridge.

Greatness and courage may be capable only of ostensive definition: you point at such stories and you say: "There they are."

David Hackett Fischer, the author of this book, is one of America's most prominent historians. He deserves his reputation. In 1970 he published *Historians' Fallacies*, the best introduction to the problems of American historiography, and to problems of argumentative logic, that I know anything about — a work rich in wisdom and humor. In 1989 he published *Albion's Seed*, a searching analysis of the settlement of America by British immigrants; and in 1994 his best book, *Paul Revere's Ride*, a meticulous yet emotionally harrowing account of the first armed clashes between Americans and Britons in what became the War of the Revolution. I believe that Fischer has published only one bad book, his history of the "price revolution" of the 16th century, *The Great Wave* (1996); it's a good subject, but the book is foggily conceived and sloppily written.

In *Washington's Crossing*, as in *Paul Revere's Ride*, Fischer has rehabilitated narrative history, still frowned on in certain academic circles, restoring it as a medium of argument and bringing out the emotion that should emerge from good stories and good analysis. I could wish for only two improvements in this book.

First, in both *Washington's Crossing* and *Paul Revere's Ride*, Fischer discusses the various ideas of liberty that various groups of Americans entertained. In the current book he distinguishes "an idea of liberty as reciprocal rights that belonged to all the people," an idea characteristic of politically active Philadelphians, from three other ideas: "the exclusive rights of New England towns, or the hierarchical rights of Virginia, or the individual autonomy of the backsettlers" or frontiersmen. This

is interesting, and I wish he would elaborate on his ideas; but he does so in neither book. I also wish he would

It is a big book, distinguished for its plenitude of information on obscure subjects that turn out to be interesting and, very often, deeply moving.

respond to the obvious question: if those ideas of liberty were so different, why do we see so many shared

assumptions about liberty in the debates of the Continental Congress?

Second, we need better illustrations. Fischer's book jacket could scarcely be improved, except by enlarging it: it's a glorious color reproduction of most of Emanuel Leutze's deservedly famous painting, "Washington Crossing the Delaware" (1851). The book provides an interesting discussion of the painting and its origin. But the illustrations inside the book, though many, are small, black and white, and so dim that one sometimes cannot make out the features to which Fischer's captions call attention. But his maps are good — and his plot and characters can never be surpassed. □

Perfectly Legal, by David Cay Johnston. Penguin, 2004, 338 pages.

Perfectly Naive

Mark Skousen

"Fear is the foundation of most governments."

— John Adams (1776)

John Adams was referring to the tyrannical King George III, but his quotation could replace Oliver Wendell Holmes' as the official motto on the IRS building in Washington, D.C. Taxes are not the price we pay for civilization; rather taxes are the price we pay for *not* building a civilized society. The higher the tax rate, the greater the failure. The lower the tax, the more voluntary, and the more civilized, our society is.*

But such thoughts are foreign to social democrats who say tax minimizers cheat honest citizens in this country by taking advantage of legal loopholes. *New York Times* reporter David Cay Johnston is a perfect example of this

naive, distorted thinking. In his new book, *Perfectly Legal: The Covert Campaign to Rig Our Tax System to Benefit the Super Rich — and Cheat Everyone Else*, Johnston makes a simple argument.

The rich are getting away with murder by avoiding taxes through legal loopholes, such as corporate jets, family limited partnerships, charitable trusts, tax credits, offshore trusts, etc. He goes into great detail exposing exactly how sophisticated tax schemes work, with the assistance of tax-protest groups and libertarian organizations such as the Cato Institute and the Club for Growth.

The tax burden on the poor and middle class is high because the rich aren't paying their fair share. Over and over again, he insists, "everyone else in America has to bear the burden of those untaxed dollars."

Therefore, Congress should move quickly to close all tax loopholes and empower the IRS to increase the num-

* See my article, "Persuasion *versus* Force," in the Sept. 1991 *Liberty*, p. 47.

ber of audits.

What Johnston fails to realize is that closing the rich man's loopholes will do nothing to reduce the tax burden on middle America. He fails to understand that closing loopholes and raising additional revenues will simply allow the federal government to come up with new ways to spend more money. As a result, the tax burden will remain high.

The only real way to ameliorate the heavy tax burden of the middle class is to cut taxes so that all citizens of all income levels can take advantage. The only way to reduce the burden of government is to starve it. Supply-siders have it wrong when, citing the Laffer Curve, they urge Congress to cut taxes because, miraculously, it will increase revenues. As Milton Friedman says, "If a tax cut increases revenues, you haven't cut taxes enough!"

Johnston also makes the ridiculous claim that the IRS has been handcuffed by the anti-IRS "bill of taxpayers' rights," budget restraints, and its failure to audit wealthy taxpayers. "Cheating is rampant," he claims. His solution: Congress needs to increase

dramatically the IRS budget, hire more agents to audit people, and discover ways that Congress can close loopholes. Johnston's employer, *The New York Times*, has made a concerted effort

Closing the rich man's loopholes will do nothing to reduce the tax burden on middle America. It will simply allow the federal government to come up with new ways to spend money.

to expose the latest loopholes and tax tricks, and help the IRS and Congress change the laws.

The IRS seems to be listening to Johnston and the *Times*: Audits increased 14 percent last year, and 24 percent for individuals earning more than \$100,000 a year. State and city audits have also jumped. Governments everywhere are hungry for revenues, and

what better source than the private productive sector?

On the bright side, Johnston supports the flat tax. The flat tax is a good idea, and the lower the better. Once the tax rates are cut to moderate levels, Congress won't need to close the loopholes. Why? Because with the lower rates, taxpayers and corporations won't have incentives to use exotic loopholes, which are often expensive and time-consuming. That many companies are going offshore, and wealthy individuals are investing in family limited partnerships, selling tax credits, or even renouncing their U.S. citizenship, are telling signs that tax rates are simply too high, and need to be slashed. Johnston and the social democrats just don't get it. Tax avoidance, whether legal or illegal, is an indication of our tax code's efficacy.

Congress has already done this in some areas of the tax code. Now that the long-term capital gains tax rate and the dividend rate have been reduced to 15 percent, fewer investors are engaging in questionable tax strategies to avoid reporting their gains, going offshore, or setting up tax shelters such as variable annuities or defined-contribution plans.


Johnston's sins of commission are considerable, but his sins of omission are appalling. He fails to note the following (provided to me by former Congressman Robert Bauman, now chairman of the Sovereign Society):

1. Each year, taxpayers spend more than \$6 billion worth of man-hours trying to comply with the Internal Revenue Code. If you add up all costs of tax compliance (use of accountants, lawyers, and so on), taxpayers pay over \$100 billion annually, not counting taxes actually paid. It costs over \$10 billion a year just to run the IRS' bloated 110,000-employee bureau-crazy.






2. When the first national income tax became law in 1913, the entire Internal Revenue Code fit into a slim volume of 173 pages. Today, the tax code contains over 18,000 pages of laws, regulations, advisories, and rulings. Forms, instructions, orders, and notices take many thousands more.

3. The IRS can't count. The General Accounting Office reported* that in

* GAO Pub. 94-120.



Calling All Jews!

Jolie, Barbra, even Sammy, Leo, and Liz

"Almost every Jew in America owes his life to laissez faire capitalism. It was relatively laissez faire America that welcomed Jews in unlimited numbers, and *progressive*, New Deal America that turned them away by the boatload, and back to Auschwitz... For Jews especially: God Bless America should be God bless laissez faire capitalism."

For *The Jewish Debt to the Right*,
see [Intellectually Incorrect](http://IntellectuallyIncorrect.at.intinc.org) at intinc.org

auditing 45 random transactions handled by the IRS, 16 were properly calculated and 29 were wrong, an error rate of 64 percent! Given this abysmal record, it is easy to see why Americans genuinely fear an IRS audit. Johnston does report on the recent congressional hearings concerning numerous cases of IRS abuse. One after another witness came before the Senate Finance Committee in 1997 and 1998 and offered proof of how ruthlessly the IRS can misuse its unbridled powers. According to testimony, the IRS viewed all taxpayers as adversaries, assuming them guilty until they could prove otherwise. It snatched property, seized bank accounts, and turned people out of their homes, often without regard to due process of law. Much of this activ-

ity was carried out in secret, with little accountability. Johnston's response? He dismisses these charges and finds little evidence of "systematic abuse by IRS

Once the tax rates are cut to moderate levels, taxpayers and corporations won't have incentives to use exotic loopholes, which are often expensive and time-consuming.

agents." In *Unbridled Power*, former IRS official historian Shelley L. Davis reported that "IRS reform is long overdue." □

American Experience: Emma Goldman. Written, produced, and directed by Mel Bucklin. WGBH, 2004.

Goldman Lite

Richard Kostelanetz

I have long regarded Emma Goldman as one of the great American anti-statists. I maintain a more-than-sentimental interest in anything new that comes to light about her, so I eagerly anticipated Mel Bucklin's 2004 documentary about her that aired on "public television" as part of PBS's *American Experience* series. I was disappointed.

Stylistically, it is a typical product of National Endowment for the Humanities support: a succession of talking heads solemnly filmed against brown-tinged settings which, out of focus, suggest the interviews took place in a library, reflecting the deleterious visual influence of the NEH's favorite documentarian, Ken Burns. Most of

these heads belong to professors, members of the academic party, who were subsidized for advising the filmmaker. Their cooperation is required by an NEH whose funding bias is essentially Stalinist, much as Eastern European cultural czars required that Communist Party members be subsidized for their official cultural produce. As a result, the principal images in the film do not belong to Emma Goldman but to the talking heads. Turn off the sound, and you realize that these middle-aged folk could be talking about anything under the sun. Ignore the picture, and you'll hear comments that are often puerile.

The talking heads compensate for the absence of any footage or audio of Goldman herself, which is unfortunate, because she was reputed to be a great lecturer. The most vivid testimonial to

her oratorical prowess comes from the American writer Henry Miller, likewise an anarchist, who heard her in San Diego at the beginning of the last century. However, Miller isn't mentioned, perhaps because he wasn't an academic. Nor does the documentary acknowledge my friend Alix Kates Schulman, who edited the best-known Goldman anthology three decades ago and wrote a biography of her. Perhaps not coincidentally, Schulman isn't a professor either. Oddly, this Stalinist operational principle at the NEH has survived administrations both Republican and Democratic, neither apparently aware of the profound subversion of culture they were sponsoring.

A disconcerting insecurity about Goldman's physical appearance permeates the film. Inconsistent still photographs of her face seem to portray different women. As no one comments on these discrepancies, you wonder if the filmmakers watched what they produced. Historian Martin Duberman describes Goldman as physically imposing, while the filmmakers show photographs of her that reveal a short woman, barely more than five feet tall.

What is finally lacking from the film is an afterimage, which is the measure of any visual art, either kinetic or static — the image that sticks in your head long after you've seen the work. Without an afterimage, the documentary is just journalism or, as in this case, mere interviews. Indeed, a stronger afterimage of Goldman appears in Warren Beatty's pseudo-fictional *Reds* (1981), in which she is portrayed by Maureen Stapleton. From Jessica Litwak's one-woman Emma Goldman theatrical performance, which I witnessed a decade ago, I recall an even stronger afterimage.

The soupy generic Muzak behind the speakers in this film is not just awful. Having wondered whether the producers watched the film they created, I found myself wondering also whether they listened to it.

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What mystifies me, especially given the federal government's sponsorship of the film, is the documentary's minimizing her most important achievement in political criticism — discovering early, really early, from a perspective customarily labeled leftist, that Lenin's Soviet Union offered not freedom but a new kind of despotism. Needless to say, deported from the U.S., to which she immigrated as a child, she went to Russia soon after the revolution with high expectations. Quickly noting that the Party functionaries had become a new aristocracy, she published two pioneering classics of anti-Soviet criticism, *My Disillusionment with Russia* (1923) and *My Further Disillusionment with Russia* (1924), both

of which are still readable. These books weren't mentioned at all. The film also neglected her critical analysis of the Spanish Civil War, perhaps

What is finally lacking from the film is an afterimage, which is the measure of any visual art.

because the producers ran out of money, or because they could find no talking heads to narrate her final decade.

The real contribution of the film to

the documentary tradition is its unusually frank discussion of Goldman's sex life. Believing early that women should have control of their own bodies, she slept around, as we would now say, and could even be sort of enslaved to a skilled lover. Her enthusiasm, and her tastes, are portrayed in a remarkable dramatized seduction involving the removal of underwear typical a century ago (no bra!) to show bodies that are apparently nude (though partially obscured, perhaps in keeping with the sensibilities of those who produce material for public television) even if their heads and private parts are kept privatized, so to speak.

Elsewhere, the playwright Tony Kushner uses a four-letter word for excrement that is not bleeped or blanked out, even though it is among the seven for which the New York radio station WBAI was prosecuted not too long ago. So "adult" is this film that a friend felt embarrassed when watching it with her pre-teen daughter before the latter's bedtime. If the anti-porn fanatics in John Ashcroft's Justice Department screen this film, will they prosecute the filmmaker? Or their own NEH, not for Stalinism but — always for the wrong thing — the support of obscenity? Or disinter Emma Goldman from her Chicago grave? Stay tuned.

I know of no great documentary that is a pointless succession of talking heads, except perhaps Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1934), about Adolf Hitler and his cronies. Indeed, her *Olympia* (1936), which I regard among the greatest documentaries, didn't get "up close and personal" with anyone. West German sponsors, I know from experience, haven't sanctioned bureaucratic rigmarole conducive to mediocrity, which accounts for their sponsoring superior documentaries and other films.

The truest scandal of the NEH and its sister, the National Endowment for the Arts, is not that they supported porn or financed reds but that they extended taxpayer support to so many people and so much poor work that is, to be frank, negligible in the sad, continuing tradition of inept federal welfare. □

Notes on Contributors

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Tim Condon is an attorney in Tampa, Fla., a Marine Corps veteran, and the director of member services for the Free State Project.

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

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

Scott Chambers is a cartoonist living in Arizona.

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

Michael Drew is a writer living in Berkeley, Calif.

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

Wendy McElroy is editor of *ifeminists.com* and is the author of *The Reasonable Woman: A Guide to Intellectual Survival*.

Don Meinshausen is a longtime libertarian activist, who is awaiting sentencing to federal prison.

Max Orhai is a freelance writer living in Ecotopia.

Patrick Quealy is managing editor of *Liberty*, whose average daily intake of caffeine is 1.5g.

Mark Skousen is teaches at Columbia Business School.

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

Reflections, from page 46

Bad attitude? Take the train! — The *Washington Times* states that major U.S. airports are considering the "option of using private companies beginning Nov. 19 if they can demonstrate security would not diminish." The first question that occurs to me: would these private citizens have the same right to fine me for my attitude as the government security officers currently do?

Another article in the *Washington Times* says a fine of up to \$1,500 can be levied (after the fact, of course) against an air traveler for something called nonphysical interference with screening. What is that? Looking at the screener the wrong way? Failing to jump high enough when told to jump? Or maybe, just maybe, "nonphysical interference with screening" consists of a bad "attitude"; perhaps failing to greet a screener with appropriate deference or subservience as she arbitrarily forces you to disrobe publicly or submit to an additional, "random" inspection? No kidding. The TSA is asserting the right and the power to fine you, a law-abiding American citizen or lawful visitor to this great land, simply because its employees don't like your "attitude." One of eight "aggravating factors" listed in the new guidelines is the "attitude of violator."

How does my neighbor properly acquire this power over me?

Airports are also poised to institute the much-discussed trusted-traveler card in order to speed up waiting in clogged security-check lines. According to *Wired*, "While civil liberties groups have questioned the plan's merits, travel industry groups have welcomed it." Again, business joins hands with government to violate privacy rights. One of the reasons the travel industry welcomes the card is because it accomplishes much the same goal as CAPPs without the controversy caused by the legislation. If the card is successful with business travelers, I suspect it will become a required piece of identification for anyone wishing to board a plane in the U.S. within five years.

The Transportation Security Administration (TSA) is trying to make end-runs around the "privacy problem." For example, *Wired* reports that the TSA has appointed "a vocal critic of its privacy practices to write its privacy policies, perhaps in a move to placate congressional critics and privacy advocates. Lisa Dean, who has worked as the Washington policy liaison for the Electronic Frontier Foundation since June 2003, is scheduled to start as the chief privacy officer of the TSA. . . ." I think we can expect a great level of sophistication in how plans to violate civil liberties are worded and in the TSA's PR outreach to privacy watchdog groups.

— Wendy McElroy

Air America, RIP — The leftist radio network Air America went off the air after only two weeks. MultiCultural Radio Broadcasting, Inc. took Air America off the air in two of the fledgling network's largest markets after it fell behind in payments of more than \$1 million.

A judge ruled that the owner of MultiCultural had to put Air America back on the air, even though he wasn't getting paid. That's what you get when you do business with the party of trial lawyers. When leftists can't get their way through legitimate means, they resort to a sympathetic judge.

Air America was supposed to be a great boon for leftists, a

counter to the right-wing perspective that supposedly dominates the airwaves through such notoriously conservative news outlets as CNN and NPR. Air America succeeded only in proving that leftists have absolutely no idea of how business works.

Rather than approach potential investors, Air America solicited donations for startup capital. The network is supposed to compete with Rush Limbaugh's syndicated radio program, the most profitable one in the nation. In order to do this, Air America should have focused on selling advertising. By soliciting donations instead, they competed with NPR for hard-earned rubles from leftist listeners. The major flaw with this business model is that investors always demand a return on their investment, whereas donors write the money off as soon as it leaves their hands. This has been proven time and again by the welfare programs that most leftists champion. Since there is no incentive for recipients of donations to return a quality product, they often don't.

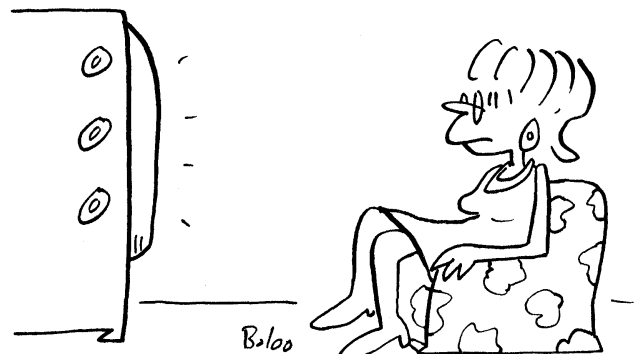
If you heard Air America, you were treated to two weeks of the most god-awful broadcasting this side of college radio. It was really funny to hear Al Franken try to imitate what his foes Sean Hannity, Rush Limbaugh, and Bill O'Reilly do so naturally. He unintentionally proved that despite his claims to the contrary in his best-selling book, these men have real talent. Franken was incapable of running the show without a co-host. He even had to rely on guests to fill the uncomfortable pauses between commercial breaks.

Nor was there much talk on the "talk" radio network. Hosts took few phone calls. I suspect the switchboards were jammed with opposing viewpoints from people like me who have been dying to take a crack at Democratic icons like Lizz Winstead and Janeane Garofalo. But I didn't hear a single caller who disagreed with the hosts, supporting my belief that Marxism can only exist in a situation where opposing viewpoints never see the light of day.

There was an organized protest against the owner of the stations where Air America was taken off the air, and the leftist network issued a "humorous" call to take crowbars to the heads of those who prevent Air America from being heard. Franken even gave out the number of the stations' owner and asked listeners to call and lodge their complaints. The phones were tied up for the next 36 hours.

With protests, pledge-breaks, and lawsuits, Air America has used in business the same tactics the Left uses in politics. This should be a warning to anyone thinking of doing business with leftists.

— Tim Slagle



"That's \$19.95 for tapes, \$29.95 for CDs, or for \$99.95, O.J. will visit you *personally* to explain how he didn't do it."

Freedom in Our Lifetime, *from page 22*

Since then, according to Barone, "Vermont has attracted culturally left-wing people; New Hampshire has attracted economically right-wing people." New Hampshire's population has consistently grown more than the national average and, in most cases, New Hampshire has been the only state in the Northeast in which that was the case. Politically, New Hampshire is the most libertarian state in the Northeast, and for a while at least, it exerted a real force on national politics. Although it was "inundated by statist" in the 1990s and

The hope is that bringing more freedom-oriented people to a single state will not only lead to smaller government in that state, but have an influence on other states.

went for Clinton-Gore, it has retained its taxophobia. In 2002, after the state Supreme Court found in the constitution the responsibility of the state to finance education, voters rejected Democratic Gov. Jeanne Shaheen's attempt to do so with a broad-based school tax. Republican Craig Benson was subsequently elected governor and he appointed a new Supreme Court Justice, so the court is unlikely to try to force the state to enact a school tax again soon.

Economist Richard Vedder noted that migrations have in the past changed regional political cultures, noting the Mormons moving to Utah and Jews moving to Israel. He presented census data showing that "since at least 1850, at any moment in time at least one third of the American population is living in a different state or country than the one in which they were born, and taxes seem to matter a great deal." Between 2001 and 2003 some 819,110 Americans moved from high-tax states into lower-tax states. He claims that this migration has had at least a small impact, with the tax burden in the 10 highest-tax states falling slightly.

A Revolution by Other Means, *from page 26*

— or may not — be small, but we are powerful regardless. We don't recognize each other in the street. We mostly don't think of ourselves as belonging to a "movement," or if we do we don't think we belong to the same movement. In fact, we don't: we are individuals. And we have communities, too. In a world where organizing becomes ever easier, our communi-

I spoke about previous libertarian efforts to establish free states in various parts of the world. These efforts — Minerva on a reef near Tonga in the South Pacific; Abaco, which considered secession when the Bahamas became independent from Great Britain; and Vanuatu in the New Hebrides — have met with little success. None of these efforts led to the establishment of even a small libertarian-oriented country. Nor have efforts to build a ship or floating platform managed to establish a free colony on the high seas.

I wonder whether libertarians, some of whom are not the most congenial of folks, would alienate New Hampshireites of longer residence. But, if at least some of them were savvy activists, they could have an influence beyond what their raw numbers would suggest (Richard Vedder had noted that even 20,000 libertarians would be a minority of those expected to move to New Hampshire, which added 37,082 new residents between April 2001 and July 2003, in the next five years).

If the Free State Project could attract 20,000 people to commit to move, it might have a chance of success. More than 200 years ago, a group of migrants established a country in North America that, from today's perspective, was remarkably libertarian. The founding documents, which most Americans still claim to revere, provide a solid foundation for a free society, although the country has strayed far from this.

And the idea of federalism, with the 50 states serving as 50 laboratories for social and political policies, still has some institutional reality and emotional resonance among Americans, despite 50 years or more of efforts to centralize and impose policy uniformity.

Of course, the only way to find out if New Hampshire could really be a laboratory of liberty is to try it. If 20,000 do decide to move, they will no doubt encounter problems nobody had anticipated, but they might also discover opportunities nobody had sufficiently appreciated. I hope they succeed, although this southern California native is still planning to let climate trump politics in his own life. □

Reclaiming the American Frontier, *from page 28*

Free State Project membership and announced to the world on Oct. 1, 2003. This state, New Hampshire, is blessed with great beauty, a strong economy, and a population already disposed toward low taxes, small government, and individual freedom. For those who uphold the system of constitutional federalism bequeathed to us by the Founding Fathers, for those who would resist the further encroachments of an ever-expanding federal government, the Free State is our nat-

ties are becoming more numerous, stronger, and more visible. Some of us will join the Free State Project. Others of us may move to Wyoming or Costa Rica. Others won't join anything at all — but regardless of the success of any of these efforts, as long as some people are willing to fight and to die for freedom, some people will be free. □

ural home. We are creating an authentically and traditionally free geographic entity in the midst of an increasingly unfree polity. We will demonstrate to the world the benefits of small government, low taxes, privatization, decentralization, and individual rights that may not be transgressed.

The Free State Project is the reopening of the American frontier. The migration is already beginning.

Join us. □

Pittsburgh

Progress is the war against anti-disabled bigotry, reported in *USA Today*:

Attorneys reached a settlement with supermarket chain Giant Eagle after the chain fired a man with Down syndrome for eating half a doughnut and putting the rest back in a box for sale. A jury ruled that the company violated his rights under the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Cleveland

Unusual theological debate, from a report in the *Plain Dealer*:

A couple who got into a dispute over a theological point after watching Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* were arrested after the argument turned violent. The woman suffered injuries on her arm and face, while her husband had a scissors stab wound on his hand. They were debating whether God the Father in the holy Trinity was human or symbolic.

Glassport, Pennsylvania

Curious right of spring, from the wilds of the Keystone State. From *The Guardian*:

As part of its celebration of the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, the Glassport Assembly of God performed an Easter show with actors whipping the Easter bunny and breaking eggs.

Berlin

Curious capitalist venture, from a dispatch in London's estimable *Telegraph*:

A Western German businessman has acquired the rights to the official emblem of communist East German, and plans to license the logo for use on T-shirts, cigarette lighters, belts and a host of other products.

Tblisi, Republic of Georgia

Advance in the War on Drugs in the Caucasus, from a report on ABC NewsOnline:

Georgia's parliament has enacted a measure mandating drug tests for MPs and expulsion of those who fail their drug test.

Sydney, Australia

Further evidence of the superiority of socialized medicine, from a dispatch of the *Herald Sun*:

Sydney's St George Hospital has defended its surgery record after Pat Skinner, a 69-year-old woman, had part of her colon removed, but continued to suffer intense pain for months afterwards. It was only after she insisted on an x-ray 18 months after the surgery that she discovered a pair of 7-inch surgical scissors had been left in her abdomen.

Woodlawn, Maryland

Curious therapeutic episode, from the *Baltimore Sun*:

A brawl broke out during an anger management assembly at Woodland High School. Authorities said a confrontation between a student's mother and a group of girls who had been bothering her turned into a shouting and shoving match, before the crowd of 750 students erupted into "chaos." The melee began as students on stage acted out peaceful ways to resolve conflict. "People were climbing over seats and starting fighting about stupid stuff," said ninth-grader Melissa Parks.

Brussels

Further evidence that law enforcement is far too important to be entrusted to private firms, from *The Independent*:

A fight broke out between four Belgian police officers on Wednesday after local cops disputed the identity papers of a pair of plainclothes colleagues, a police spokesperson said. "They were in civilian outfits. They showed their police cards but the

local police didn't believe them."

A scuffle started, and one of the Flemish officers needed hospital treatment after being put in an arm lock.

London

Creative alternative to burial, from a dispatch in the estimable *London Telegraph*:

The widow of an expert on vintage shotguns had her husband's ashes loaded into cartridges and used by friends for the last shoot of the season. "He was loaded in our Caledonian Classic, a 28 gram load, No 6 shot with degradable plastic wadding," a representative of Caledonian Cartridge Company said.

Tokyo

Peculiar bit of news from the Land of the Rising Sun, as reported in the *Business Report*:

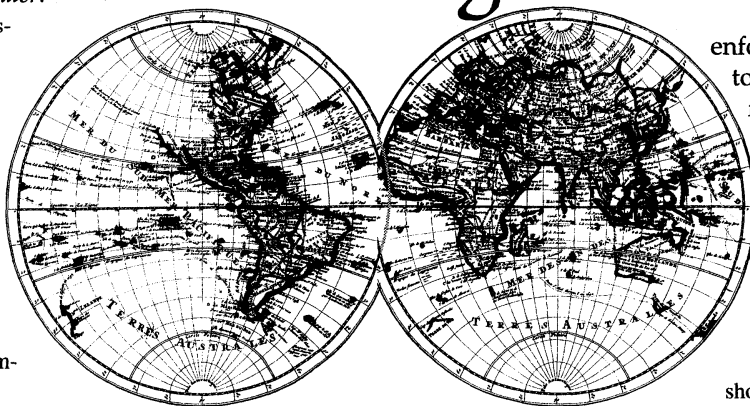
The Japanese government is staging a high-profile campaign to get reluctant citizens to pay their contributions to the state pension system. Trade Minister Shoichi Nakagawa admitted he hasn't paid his premiums for 21 years. "I paid until I left the company where I was employed in 1983 but after becoming a politician, I forgot to pay."

Seattle

The term "compulsory education" takes on new meaning, from a report in the distinguished *Seattle Times*:

A spokesman for the Kent School District in suburban Seattle, told reporters that it does not know how many students have been handcuffed by private security guards in its schools, because it only records student-handcuffing in incidents that are "violent." The most recent case is of a 4 feet 10 inches tall and 80 pound fifth-grader who refused to get into a security guard's car.

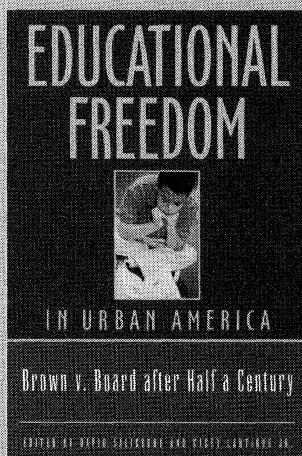
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(Readers are invited to forward news clippings or other items for publication in *Terra Incognita*, or email to libertyterra@yahoo.com.)

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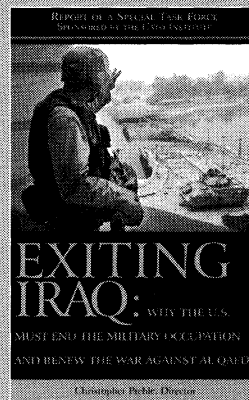
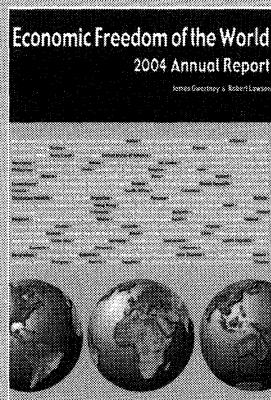
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Edited by David Salisbury and Casey Lartigue Jr.

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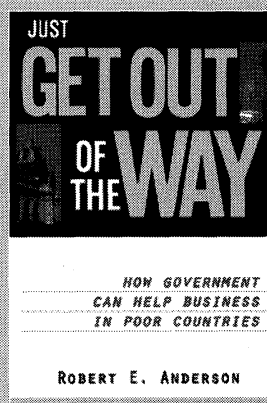
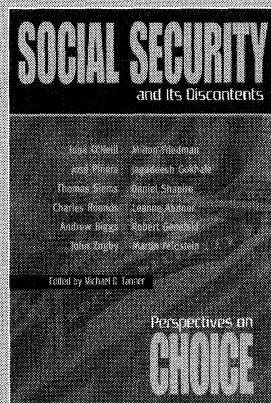


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