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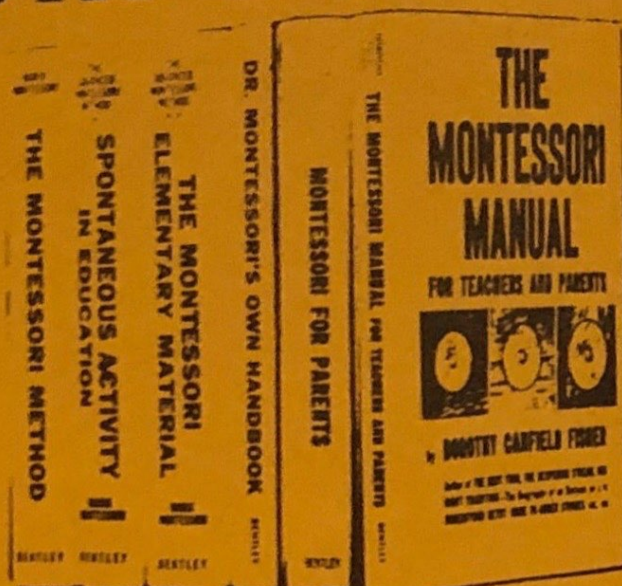
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Dedication

To Ayn Rand, Robert Heinlein, Murray Rothbard and the others
who have fought to remove the shackles of politics from mankind.

What Is Libertarianism?

Libertarianism is freedom.

Libertarianism is a philosophy of rational human action.

Libertarianism is an ideology directed toward the maximum freedom of the individual within the laws of reality.

Libertarianism is a concept of individual liberty.

Libertarianism is the realization by an individual of his self, and the rational needs for his own happiness.

Libertarianism is a movement of individuals aware of the meaning of freedom and working to make that idea a reality.

Libertarianism is an agreement with the principle that an individual is solely responsible for his own life, and he may pursue the interests of his life so long as he denies to no other man the same right.

Libertarianism is the conceptual result of an individual's love for life.

Libertarianism is an understanding that free enterprise is the only economic system consistent with individual liberty.

Libertarianism is the knowledge that the coercion of an individual has no rightful place in human society.

Libertarianism is a revolution against those institutions by men which attempt to dictate to the individual by force.

Libertarianism is the belief that no individual is equal to another.

Libertarianism is an appreciation of the beauty of the free and rational human being.

Libertarianism is.

About The Handbook

This handbook has been designed for use by Libertarians and those who wish general information about the Libertarian movement. The concept of a quick reference guide for an intellectual revolution is both exciting and disturbing. It is exciting because it offers the possibility of bringing together pertinent facts concerning all the major facets of the greatest event in the history of Man. It is disturbing because it might easily present this movement to new minds in a glossy or dead manner; or worse, it might misrepresent the movement altogether by selective inclusion or exclusion of particular factions of this broad based concept.... We, the editors, have attempted to carry forward all the exciting possibilities of such a venture, and at the same time have tried to the best of our ability to present Libertarianism in a true and even light. We have not compromised. Every idea, person, group, or publication included in this volume has been judged by the opening statement, WHAT IS LIBERTARIANISM. There are those who use that term loosely. Though much may be added to the depth of it, no Libertarian will argue, we think, with that statement. To those who do, we say, 'check your premises', for this definition has been built by the lives of every individual who has suffered at the hands of his fellow men.

Concerning the opinions expressed in the HANDBOOK. The editors recognize no right of any individual or group to free space in the HANDBOOK to express opposing views.... However, if you have something worth saying, and have said it well, we might include it in the 1973 edition. We will pay \$2.00 for any comment, Review, or criticism used. Please make them as short as possible without damaging the point of what you have to say.

Vincent McCaffrey, editor
Mark C. Frazier, co-editor

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LIBERTARIANS:

A Publication Announcement

The Center for Independent Education is pleased to announce the publication EDUCATION, FREE AND COMPULSORY by Dr. Murray N. Rothbard.

Dr. Rothbard is an economist and historian. Among his best known works are MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE, and AMERICA'S GREAT DEPRESSION.

As Dr. Rothbard points out in this essay, the question of compulsory education which has been practically dormant since the end of the 19th Century is beginning to resurface. His consideration of compulsory education is divided into three parts: 1) the Individual's Education; 2) Compulsory Education in Europe; and 3) Compulsory Education in the United States.

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The Line-Up

Profound and often bitter differences are found in the libertarian movement--in philosophy, tactics, interests, and goals. Five or more readily distinguishable groups now populate the libertarian landscape.

THE OBJECTIVISTS remain perhaps the largest of these groups. Inspired by Ayn Rand's Fountainhead and Atlas Shrugged, they take their name from the belief in an objective reality and man's ability to comprehend it. Objectivists assert that self-interest is man's single standard of morality, that self-fulfillment is the only moral aim in life. Rationally selfish individuals associate with each other on the basis of mutual advantage, or trade, in which neither side is sacrificed to the other. Thus, a laissez-faire capitalist system, which respects property rights and the pursuit of happiness, can be the only moral foundation of society. Objectivists criticize altruism, irrationality, and collectivism as dangerous obstructions to self-fulfillment.

The number of Objectivists (or students of Objectivism, Rand's preferred name) appears to lie somewhere between 40,000 and 200,000. Few of them have taken politically active positions, preferring to devote energies to self-cultivation over proselytizing. Rand herself has explicitly refrained from political involvement, occasionally making qualified endorsements of conservative candidates and giving infrequent lectures, but little else. Objectivists tend to follow her lead in this and many other matters, such as disdain for the "hippies," the ecology movement, drugs, etc. Recently, however, a number of Rand's followers have split with her over her defense of monopoly government, her support of government wiretapping against radical groups, her break-up with a former protegee--Nathaniel Branden, and acceptance of a government paid trip to Florida to view a moon shot.

While Objectivists support a limited constitutional government, they do not favor granting the state coercive powers to tax or draft. The functions of the state would be limited to preventing fraud, theft, physical harm, or threat of aggression. Funding for such a state might come either by putting a small fee on all contracts to guarantee their enforcement, running a lottery, or soliciting voluntary contributions.

Radical critiques of U.S. history and foreign policy tend to be viewed very skeptically by Objectivists. The United States, they believe, has come closer to the ideal of a libertarian society than any other, and

what faults it has usually stem from mistaken attempts to "do good." These faults include the regulation and growing enslavement of businessmen, rising welfare payments and other subsidies, and foreign aid. Most of them are traced to the moral bankruptcy of the nation's intellectuals, beginning in the Progressive and New Deal eras, when the U.S. began its modern orgy of give-aways. For radicals to charge that such subsidies and regulations came about at the behest of capitalists, Objectivists maintain, is laughable. Capitalists lose by such interferences in the free market. Objectivists also dismiss the idea of American "imperialism"--they see American foreign policy as justly resisting the spread of hostile tyrannist regimes. And few question the idea of giving American military aid to suppress wars mounted by tyrannist movements--if the cost is in line with results and the regime being supported is more libertarian than its adversaries.

THE ANARCHIST LIBERTARIANS easily make up the most diverse libertarian group. Holding that a truly laissez-faire society is one in which no group of individuals may initiate force, and that a monopoly government can only maintain its status by forcibly quashing competition, anarchist libertarians dot groups from the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) to the John Birch Society, and make up several of their own. The largest number claim Objectivist backgrounds; many maintain that if the principles of Objectivism are consistently applied, they lead to a non-violent anarchist society. Others uphold anarcho-capitalism from purely economic standpoints, others still out of abhorrence for the historical excesses of the state. A substantial segment views libertarian socialism as superior to anarcho-capitalism, though a number of libertarians would dispute classifying any communalists as part of the libertarian movement. (Communalism is antagonistic to individualism and property rights, they point out, and hence latently tyrannical). Yet true left-wing libertarians maintain that they are only interested in being allowed to live their own lifestyles on their own territory, so there is no reason for not calling them libertarians.

While anarchist libertarians are too varied for much generalization, most tend to be much more radical in their outlook on American society than the Objectivists. They argue frequently that the whole of American history--from the sanctioning of slavery and the theft from the Indians to the growth of a state-controlled economic complex--makes the traditional rhetoric of liberty a hollow lie. Many believe that America's departure from isolationist foreign policy marked the beginning of an American Empire, where foreign military and economic aid goes to those dictatorships which bolster American corporations.

They tend to sympathize with the views of such left-wing historians as Gabriel Kolko that the United States--not Russia or China--is most to blame for the Cold War. And, along with some Marxists, they believe that statist big-businessmen put forth the Progressive and New Deal legislation in an attempt to increase their hold over the economy. Some, though not many, see a New Left emphasis on localized and decentralized decision-making, tolerance for divergent life-styles, etc., as making the left less menacing to libertarianism than the Buckley-type right.

Anarchist libertarians vehemently argue that state-less societies would be peaceful societies, free of the chaos and violence usually identified with anarchism. Men would make it their first priority to find ways to prevent coercion. Groups of peaceful men would voluntarily come together for mutual defense, insurance companies would take measures to protect their clients, and the power of boycott and ostracism would influence those who did not abide by arbitration services. Ireland, they point out, utilized a non-coercive boycotting system for over 900 years to enforce the decisions of its courts.

Of all the groups in the libertarian movement, the anarchist libertarians are growing the fastest. They also tend to be the most active in educational and political activities--of the three largest libertarian organizations, two are dominated by anarchists, as are most of the libertarian publications. The libertarian movement has become increasingly sectarian with their presence. Ayn Rand has called them "Hippies of the Right", and name-calling between various anarchist libertarians has gone even further on issues of strategy. But they remain the liveliest part of the libertarian movement.

THE CONSERVATIVE LIBERTARIANS, if strictly defined, fall second only to the Objectivists in terms of numbers. If very loosely defined, however, to include Goldwater Republicanism and parts of the John Birch Society, they numerically surpass all other variants of libertarianism.

Conservative libertarians share a number of traits with the Objectivists. They dislike most, if not all, of the "youth culture", defend America's historical record, and generally support conservative politicians as the lesser of evils. But they frequently part company with the Objectivists over such issues as religion, taxation, philosophy, and Rand herself. Most conservative libertarians believe taxation to be necessary to finance the police, army, and courts. They downplay the importance of philosophy (usually) while often stressing religious justifications for libertarianism. And many feel more comfortable

with Jefferson, Ludwig Von Mises, and Leonard Read as intellectual guides--Rand is "too atheistic", "too idealistic", or "too selfish."

The bulk of the libertarian institutes, foundations, and wealthy individuals belong to this category. The largest libertarian magazine--The Freeman--is published by the leading conservative-libertarian group, the Foundation for Economic Education.

THE AUTARCHISTS are libertarian pacifists. They believe that force should never be used--even to protect one's self from aggression--arguing that just such incidents of defensive and ever-escalating violence have been responsible for the Earth's bloody past. To determine what is defensive force, they say, is such a complicated process that the best man can do is seek non-coercive ways of resisting aggression. While Autarchists deny any role for the state, they shy away from describing themselves as anarchists because the word carries connotations directly opposed to the idea of peaceful society. Most believe that change cannot come through the political system, and actively encourage apathy and non-involvement in elections. A group of Autarchists, called the League of Non-Voters, is currently working for a nation-wide voter boycott. Autarchists are among the least numerous of the major variants of libertarianism, and are centered at Robert LeFevre's Ramparts College.

THE RETREATISTS are among the more fascinating species of libertarians. Living in Canadian backwoods provinces, establishing underground shelters in National Parks, or roaming the continent in mobile trailers, the retreatists feel that hopes of making America libertarian are remote. They have decided that escaping the State on a personal level is the best one can do. Between 200 and 1000 libertarians now live this way in the U.S. and Canada, and others are in the process of planning enclave communities in other countries or on islands. Oregon retreatists publish an informative newsletter describing current approaches to "self-liberation," called Vonu-life. If things really get bad, you might think of subscribing.

"....if common folks should not be made to pay for uncommon schools, why should uncommon folks be made to pay for common schools?"

Benjamin Tucker

Democracy has been defined as the principle that 'one man is as good as another, if not a little better.' Anarchy may be defined as the principle that one government is as bad as another, if not a little worse.

Benjamin Tucker



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Issues

This year may prove to be a turning point for the Libertarian movement. New Deal Liberalism is dying, the New Left has subsided, and the conservatives have proven unable to expand their base. At the same time revulsion with high taxes, public schools, increasing bureaucratic growth, pollution, welfare costs, and military spending leaves the public particularly open to libertarian suggestions.

The following section attempts to give a cross section of libertarian positions on various current problems. They are by no means absolute or final proposals, and many are dealt with very quickly, but they do silhouette the shape of a broad libertarian "program" for the country as a whole.

EDUCATION is one of the most promising targets for libertarians. All over the country school bond issues are being voted down by angry taxpayers; public and private schools are running ever-bigger deficits; and studies have shown that rising public school expenditures lead to no increase in student achievement. Libertarian solutions to these problems do exist.

Among the most promising of these solutions is the "deferred tuition" system of education. Under this plan, schools educate children in return for a small percentage (perhaps 2%) of their future earnings. This plan is now being applied at a number of well known colleges, Yale among them, and there is no reason why it can not be extended down into elementary and secondary schools. The cost of education would be born by those who receive it, and when they are in a position to pay for it. The system, equally important, creates tremendous incentives to educate children better. The better educated they are, the more money they will pay back to the school.

In the interim period, before government financing of schools ends, a "performance-contracting" approach would probably go far in eliminating the wastes and lack of achievement which characterizes public schools. Under this system, a community would invite private, profit-making educational organizations to handle its children's teaching. The private groups would be told that they wouldn't be paid unless the children reached certain levels of verbal and mathematical competence each year--with additional proviso that they receive increasing bonuses if the children's achievement surpasses the minimum set.

The children's achievement would be monitored by any one of a number of independent testing services. The "performance contracting" system would thus create strong incentives for educators to find the best ways to help children learn, unlike the current system which rewards good and bad alike.

Another (interim) measure, a variant of the performance-contracting system, is the "voucher system". Under this approach, money normally spent for public schools is distributed to parents with the proviso that they use it to send their children to a private school of their choice. Generally, a "voucher" of about \$800. per child is suggested. In this system, parents and children are able to select that school they think is best suited for there wants--and bad schools are forced out of business for lack of patronage. Some libertarians believe, however, that there is more harm than good in the voucher system, because it would invite state regulation and eliminate the small amount of freedom remaining to private schools today.

One of the most readily feasible approaches for thickly settled urban and suburban areas, and an action already taken by many, is the banding together of mutually interested parents to start pre-schools and grammar schools under their direct control (the Montessori type school has been especially adaptable here), hiring their own teachers, and using the volunteered help of the parents on a rotating basis.

POLLUTION, suprisingly enough, is another area libertarians can suggest and implement answers. Off-hand, many people fail to see how a system of laissez-faire--"leaving people alone"--could control pollution. But laissez-faire consistently applied is anti-pollution, for it holds that everyone must leave everyone else alone. Polluters do not leave people alone. They are criminals, destroying people's health and property without their consent, and as such are liable for damages in a libertarian society. Presently the courts have made a point of protecting the industrial polluter (a form of subsidy) at the expense of the individual. However, changes are being wrought in the wake of the "pollution scare"--changes, all leading to more government control. Libertarians should make themselves heard, clearly and often, on the point that pollution is simply a problem of property rights, requiring the strict preservation of those rights without regard to the "public good". Today it is an issue, but tomorrow it will be a law, and not one that libertarians will find easy to live with.

PRISON REFORM also suggests libertarian solutions, one of which is quite similar to an earlier suggestion for education--performance contracting. Again, under this system, payments to those operating the facility would be contingent upon success; in this case rehabilita-

tion. Given some supervision to ensure that torture and inhumane punishment were not used, the performance contracting approach would inspire a good deal of innovation and instill incentives for treating prisoners like human beings and individuals, not beasts. The present system--in which prisoners cost \$9,000. per year to maintain for an overall 20% rehabilitation rate-- is outrageous. A performance contracting system, tied to the recidivism rate of the prisoners, could only do better.

More immediately, it is long past time that voices were raised concerning a penal system which punishes law breakers by arbitrary standards, and does nothing to see that the victim is repaid for his loss. (in fact, makes the victim pay again by supporting the criminal with his taxes). It is a system which imprisons individuals who have committed no crime against any other person (crimes without victims). A thief may steal several thousand dollars and be imprisoned for many years, supported on taxes, when he could easily have earned the amount he stole in a year, paid it back plus damages, and supported himself at the same time. Meanwhile an individual arrested for smoking marijuana can spend years of his life in prison, not having trespassed on anyone else's rights, but having his own totally ignored. . . . It is no joke or perversion of logic to call these wronged individuals "political prisoners" for it is a political system which has arbitrarily taken their rights--no act of their own.

TRANSPORTATION presents itself as an obvious issue for profitable exploration. The solution to the problem is clear--the market should decide what forms of transportation should be used. Ten or twenty years ago, this position would have been dismissed with a laugh, but but as the fruits of crushing railroad legislation and massive highway construction have ripened, many people have come to appreciate the logic behind a market-oriented approach. People now see that mass transit and railroad systems are far more sensible ways of handling the transportation problem, as they pollute less, cost less, are more efficient, and offer variety. Had not hidden subsidies been given the automobile manufacturers in the form of federally built roads, and had the ICC restrained itself from strangling railroads in red tape, it is obvious that the free market would have not only offered us a viable rail system, but would also have explored the possibility of modes not even dreamed of with the present state of restriction. . . . It is not a difficult task for libertarians to point up alternatives to a people fed up with the present state of things. The only other alternatives voiced ask for more of the same. . . . All regulations must be dropped, now. Eventually all government owned means of transportation should be sold on the market to the highest bidder. There are many instances of private roads in this country (yes today!) which can be pointed to

for example, but it must be driven home that roads should be in the hands of private owner (just as railroad tracks are) and maintained by the owners, whether they be corporations, or home owners on a street in suburbia, or the stores and business on mainstreet USA. Larger streets might operate on the basis of some computerized or credit card toll system, the toll price adjusted to the time of day, the cost of smaller roads absorbed by homeowners who use it as the price of convenience or by store owners as a business overhead. Those roads which could not carry enough traffic to support themselves would be consigned to a well justified oblivion.

COMMUNICATIONS is a field obviously and appreciably worse for state control. Government protected telephone monopolies are forcing sub-standard service at exorbitant rates on the citizen. Government regulated television broadcasting is notorious for insipid programming and monolithic news coverage with a liberal slant, subject to political influence and favoritism. The Postal Service, though recently made semi-autonomous, provides sluggish and spotty as well as careless mail delivery at a cost almost twice that possible by private firms such a United Parcel Service and the Independent Postal Service of America, both of which are prohibited from carrying first class mail. And governmental supervision of cable TV has, until recently, stifled the growth of a communications media which could make computers, libraries, and periodicals available to any home at the touch of a button. This last area is particularly adaptable to the use of libertarians along with recent innovations in video-tape. Lectures, seminars, documentaries and the like can be filmed at low cost and played over local cable TV channels.

WELFARE must, all libertarians agree, be abolished--at least in its present state-funded form. To those who argue that the state should guarantee a minimum standard of living to its subjects, libertarians answer simply that any forcible transfer of wealth is immoral. Government subsidies to any one or any thing--Lockheed, farmers, poor--should end.... But while proponents of a state welfare system envisage starvation in the streets without government subsidy to the poor, libertarians see quite the opposite. An economy unbound by restrictive union laws, high taxes, intricate building laws, minimum wage levels, etc., libertarians believe, would be far wealthier, far more conducive to upward mobility (especially with non-state schools), far less expensive to live in, and far more fertile a source of employment for the poor. In cases where no means of support existed for a person, charities would take up the slack. For parentless children, orphanages run either by charities or on a deferred tuition system would provide quality room and board as well as education.

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tion. Given some supervision to ensure that torture and inhumane punishment were not used, the performance contracting approach would inspire a good deal of innovation and instill incentives for treating prisoners like human beings and individuals, not beasts. The present system--in which prisoners cost \$9,000. per year to maintain for an overall 20% rehabilitation rate-- is outrageous. A performance contracting system, tied to the recidivism rate of the prisoners, could only do better.

More immediately, it is long past time that voices were raised concerning a penal system which punishes law breakers by arbitrary standards, and does nothing to see that the victim is repaid for his loss. (in fact, makes the victim pay again by supporting the criminal with his taxes). It is a system which imprisons individuals who have committed no crime against any other person (crimes without victims). A thief may steal several thousand dollars and be imprisoned for many years, supported on taxes, when he could easily have earned the amount he stole in a year, paid it back plus damages, and supported himself at the same time. Meanwhile an individual arrested for smoking marijuana can spend years of his life in prison, not having trespassed on anyone else's rights, but having his own totally ignored. . . . It is no joke or perversion of logic to call these wronged individuals "political prisoners" for it is a political system which has arbitrarily taken their rights--no act of their own.

TRANSPORTATION presents itself as an obvious issue for profitable exploration. The solution to the problem is clear --the market should decide what forms of transportation should be used. Ten or twenty years ago, this position would have been dismissed with a laugh, but but as the fruits of crushing railroad legislation and massive highway construction have ripened, many people have come to appreciate the logic behind a market-oriented approach. People now see that mass transit and railroad systems are far more sensible ways of handling the transportation problem, as they pollute less, cost less, are more efficient, and offer variety. Had not hidden subsidies been given the automobile manufacturers in the form of federally built roads, and had the ICC restrained itself from strangling railroads in red tape, it is obvious that the free market would have not only offered us a viable rail system, but would also have explored the possibility of modes not even dreamed of with the present state of restriction. . . . It is not a difficult task for libertarians to point up alternatives to a people fed up with the present state of things. The only other alternatives voiced ask for more of the same. . . . All regulations must be dropped, now. Eventually all government owned means of transportation should be sold on the market to the highest bidder. There are many instances of private roads in this country (yes today!) which can be pointed to

for example, but it must be driven home that roads should be in the hands of private owner (just as railroad tracks are) and maintained by the owners, whether they be corporations, or home owners on a street in suburbia, or the stores and business on mainstreet USA. Larger streets might operate on the basis of some computerized or credit card toll system, the toll price adjusted to the time of day, the cost of smaller roads absorbed by homeowners who use it as the price of convenience or by store owners as a business overhead. Those roads which could not carry enough traffic to support themselves would be consigned to a well justified oblivion.

COMMUNICATIONS is a field obviously and appreciably worse for state control. Government protected telephone monopolies are forcing sub-standard service at exorbitant rates on the citizen. Government regulated television broadcasting is notorious for insipid programming and monolithic news coverage with a liberal slant, subject to political influence and favoritism. The Postal Service, though recently made semi-autonomous, provides sluggish and spotty as well as careless mail delivery at a cost almost twice that possible by private firms such as United Parcel Service and the Independent Postal Service of America, both of which are prohibited from carrying first class mail. And governmental supervision of cable TV has, until recently, stifled the growth of a communications media which could make computers, libraries, and periodicals available to any home at the touch of a button. This last area is particularly adaptable to the use of libertarians along with recent innovations in video-tape. Lectures, seminars, documentaries and the like can be filmed at low cost and played over local cable TV channels.

WELFARE must, all libertarians agree, be abolished--at least in its present state-funded form. To those who argue that the state should guarantee a minimum standard of living to its subjects, libertarians answer simply that any forcible transfer of wealth is immoral. Government subsidies to any one or any thing--Lockheed, farmers, poor--should end.... But while proponents of a state welfare system envisage starvation in the streets without government subsidy to the poor, libertarians see quite the opposite. An economy unbound by restrictive union laws, high taxes, intricate building laws, minimum wage levels, etc., libertarians believe, would be far wealthier, far more conducive to upward mobility (especially with non-state schools), far less expensive to live in, and far more fertile a source of employment for the poor. In cases where no means of support existed for a person, charities would take up the slack. For parentless children, orphanages run either by charities or on a deferred tuition system would provide quality room and board as well as education.

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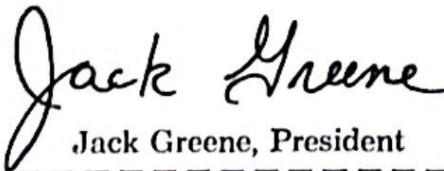
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Before 1930--despite a tremendous number of immigrants, big families, poor transportation, and the lack of large-scale welfare programs--few people starved in the U.S. relative to other nations. In a society which permits the free pursuit of happiness, such as did the U.S. of that time, natural generosity flowers and the demands of an unrestrained economy provide plentiful jobs.

MONOPOLIES protected by the state--such as telephone, electricity, and airline companies--should be defranchised. But, monopolies rising from the natural forces of the free market have provided a thornier problem for libertarians. Most argue that monopolies can only survive on a free market if they are the cheapest and most efficient source of the product they sell. American history bears out this contention. A number of increasingly influential left-wing historians--such as Gabriel Kolko--maintain that the steel, oil, and refining monopolies of the Gilded Age would have been doomed had American society remained substantially *laissez-faire*; the monopolists were threatened by increasing competition and decentralization of markets. In fact, Kolko points out, the monopolists instigated the era of Progressive legislation in an attempt to maintain their position through state regulation. A survey of the major railroad systems at the time also leads to this conclusion.... Those railroads which had been created by government grants almost invariably demonstrated monopolistic vices (poor service, high rates, poor management) while those which shunned state privileges (notably James Hill's Great Northern) not only offered better rates and services, but even adopted such practices as giving free grain and stud cattle to those who relied on the railroad to ship their produce out. (Hill's was the only railroad to prosper while the others went bankrupt).

A further, more recent case, also points up conclusions. In early 1970 a price war broke out in Cambridge, Massachusetts when one Xerox copying service decided to try to drive its two competitors out of business. It lowered its prices from a 5¢-4¢-3¢ schedule to a 3¢-2¢-1¢ schedule, forcing its competitors to follow suit. Eventually, at these prices, some firm(s) would be driven out of the market, and the survivor(s) would be able to raise rates higher than they were originally. Assume that the ploy succeeds, two out of three firms go bankrupt, and the third raises its prices to 10¢-9¢-8¢. Potential competitors would be reluctant to invade the market, fearing a similar demise. But, nothing prevents an entrepreneur from now seeking out dissatisfied customers and getting them to pledge long term contracts to him at the 5¢-4¢-3¢ rates. Once he has gotten enough customers, there is little the monopolist can do to hurt him.... The threat alone of such an occurrence is enough to keep the monopolist relatively honest--if not at first, then once he's seen it work elsewhere.

The long-term contracting principle is capable of demolishing almost any monopoly in the long run. Even General Motors--were it charging \$8,000. per car--would be vulnerable, once enough long term patronage contracts had been collected by a competitor. The only case where this approach would not hold involves the monopolization of a non-substitutable natural resource, which is physically an almost impossible task, without, of course, government interference. In such a case it would be a matter of economic boycott by consumers and other industries which wished to keep favor with consumers and who supplied the monopolist (such as a power company) which would quickly bring the monopolist into line.

DEFENSE poses another tough problem for libertarians. A number of limited state advocates think that current U.S. defense expenditures are justified, while free market anarchists believe them to be dangerously excessive and note that in time defense should be funded without tax revenues.... Limited statist base their case on the belief that the free market is incapable of providing adequate protection from external or internal aggression. Only a central agency given the responsibility for defense can insure security, they maintain. Anarchist libertarians say that if such a central agency relies on forced taxation for its support, or tries to put down alternative defense agencies within its boundaries, it should not exist. Anarchists generally recognize that it would be catastrophic if tax-support for defense ended immediately, but insist that alternative, non-coercive ways of funding defense can be found. They further contend that the Randian concept of funding the army, not through direct taxation, but through fees paid to the government by those who use its services (for instance, a percentage charge on all contracts to be held legal before the state courts) is nevertheless a tax, and further, limits legality to only that which is recognized by the state--another infringement on the rights of individuals--even if it is granted that such methods could possibly fund adequate defense forces along with the other apparatus of a limited government.

Both groups recognize that some defenses must be maintained against the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Anarcho-capitalists, however, charge that government is more likely than a free market to misgauge the extent of the threat. This, they say, is responsible for the spiraling arms race. Randians point out that they are not defending the present state of our foreign policy, but only noting what they think is the impossibility of an anarchist society to adequately co-ordinate and defend itself in the atomic age. They note that we are dealing with governments which have shown again and again that their intention is world domination, and not simply defense, and that as long as such powers exist, there can be no dreaming about free market defense.

Anarchists concede that defense is a "collective" or "common" good in the sense that it would be physically difficult to deny it to those within a geographical area who refuse to pay for it. But they maintain that the pressures of ostracism and boycott against those who shirk responsibility for defending the society will guarantee adequate funding. An agreement might be made by the major companies of a region, for instance, and those who refused to become parties to some form of defense would not be traded with. An even surer means of financing might be a levy placed by the owners of transportation systems on their customers, transportation being dependent on prosperity and peace to make it profitable as a business. Persons who do not pay would have a difficult time getting around. Another interested party in the situation might be insurance companies, who would operate efficient defense systems as part of the necessary cost of protecting their clients.

MEDICINE, which in the face of technological advances, has been steadily deteriorating in quality and availability for the average consumer, is a good example of governmental regulation keeping an industry from developing with the market. It has been pointed out in numerous recent books and articles that the shortage of doctors is caused by the legal necessity for physicians to handle medical cases which might easily be taken care of by specifically trained technicians (e.g., mid-wifery and the prescription of drugs, etc.) The institution of Medicaid and Medicare and other governmental moves toward socialized medicine will see to it that the quality of medical treatment becomes subordinate to quantity and further insure the present decline.

PSYCHOLOGY is already used to imprison or otherwise strip the rights from millions of individuals in this country because they do not behave in a way that conforms to the commonly accepted patterns. Dr. Thomas Szasz and too few others have been sounding the alarm over this situation for many years and only lately have received any notice. Criminals are arbitrarily set free while innocent eccentrics are locked in wards.... a major point of contention here is 'Whether the possibility of insanity excuses an individual from the moral judgment of right and wrong'.

These are some brief sketches of various libertarian positions on current issues. These summaries by no means pretend to offer final ideas on any subject. The seriously interested should refer to the many books listed in the section of the HANDBOOK devoted to books.

Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

Benjamin Franklin

MacDonough's Song

by Rudyard Kipling

Whether the state can loose and bind
 In heaven as well as on Earth:
If it be wiser to kill mankind
 Before or after the birth--
These are matters of high concern
 Where State kept schoolmen are;
But Holy State (we have lived to learn)
 Endeth in Holy War.

Whether The People be led by the Lord
 Or lured by the loudest throat:
If it be quicker to die by the sword
 Or cheaper to die by the vote--
These are things we have dealt with once,
 (And they will not rise from their grave)
For Holy People, however it runs,
 Endeth in Holy Slave.

Whatsoever, for any cause,
 Feeleth to take or give
Power above or beyond the laws,
 Suffer it not to live!
Holy State or Holy King--
 Or Holy People's will--
Have no truck with the senseless thing.
 Order the guns and kill!

Saying after me--

Once there was The People--Terror gave it birth;
Once there was The People and it made a Hell of Earth.
Earth arose and crushed it. Listen, O ye slain!
Once there was The People--it shall never be again!

A Short History

A Libertarian history is by necessity a history of ideas and the events which preceeded or followed them. There is little historical significance to Libertarianism in the past existence of a geographical area where there was no law or government or regulation of a society by force, unless that 'freedom' was the result of the purposeful action of some individuals or resulted in a measurable realization by the individuals involved of the value of this freedom. Likewise, little importance should be given to liberties granted by a totalitarian state, some of whose citizens escaped to the New World. So long as those citizens believed that their liberties were a matter to be granted, they could have little or no influence on the development of freedom with which we are concerned.

A good example of this last case is the usual homage paid to our Anglo-Saxon traditions. This is not to say that no roots may be found there, but only that traditional historians have magnified those beginnings to such a degree that it would seem that the freedoms enjoyed in America were the inevitable outcome of that heritage. It was not. Nor was it the inevitable result of our forefathers confrontation with the wilderness. Latin America is sufficient refutation of that idea.... What must be examined to understand the development of Libertarianism in America is a compound of facts centered on the genius of particular individuals. The scholarship that must be done to understand its elements fully is a depth of chemistry impossible to a reference essay of this kind.... It is certain that Libertarian historians are at this moment sweating over the source material and using their Holmesian perceptiveness to reveal the story. James J. Martin, Murry N. Rothbard, and others, have already begun the task.

But, what are some of the more visible elements? First, one must remember the nature of man; a creature of independent mind, who from birth must learn to think for himself, or perish. As his awareness grows that mind is molded by his parents, friends, and surroundings. But only in the case of the most extreme 'brain washing' will this child give up the most of his ability to think for himself to higher authority, be it church or state. No matter what his education, he will think, to the greatest degree, for himself. His immediate concern is survival, and history is a tragic record of this attempt in the face of church and state. If he is forced to give his last grain of wheat to the state, he will survive against the greatest odds until he has grown another. If he is taught by the church that his only pleasure is

the most mortal sin, he will ignore the prospect of hell to experience it again. In fact, the church and state are dependent for their own survival on the knowledge that he will. Their real concern is not to stop him, but to control him....So, the first and most important element is man's own nature.

The next major ingredient is the nature of man's would-be masters. They are inefficient. No matter how well designed, the church and the state as rulers of men form a bad circuit, to use Isabel Patterson's analogy in *THE GOD OF THE MACHINE*. The loss of energy is inevitable. The infinite number of situations which the masters have no provision for, or cannot control, leaves their fallibility open to the view of even the most ignorant. If one master fails badly enough, or the energy loss is great enough, a new master will be ready to take the place. Again, the slave's allegiance to his rulers only extends so far as his own survival. He'll do what works in that respect. He is adaptable. Adaptability is both his strength and his weakness. But always, at the most basic level, he is aware that it is up to him alone to survive. He is responsible for himself. He will gain or lose by his own keen mindedness.

These first two elements, given any point in recorded time, are what made it history.

Libertarian history begins with Aristotle and the Greeks because it is there that logic and its use in understanding the universe is first discovered. Strains are drawn from the growth of the merchant city, Rome, and the system of law developed there. But the great body of thought which is the base of Libertarian philosophy begins in the Post-Renaissance, the Age of Reason--the 17th century.

The state as the major force of coercion came to an end with the fall of Rome. For the next thousand years it was to be the church that ruled every facet of men's lives, or attempted to. Kings played pawn in the feudal empire of the church. All knowledge and endeavor, every act and thought was judged by masters of fear and psychological perversion who needed no sword, much less a gun, to make men kneel. If challenges had not come from without, it might never have changed. First the Vikings came with their interest in the gold on the church's alters, forcing the church to raise armies under the command of its generals, the kings. When the threat was gone, the generals did not send the armies home. They found that they could keep their new power by forcibly collecting funds from their subjects just as the church had always done. The church allowed it because a new threat was closing on its domain, another church with the strength of youth the old church had lost. Out of the path of the new religion fled the

scholars of the dying Byzantine Empire; seeking refuge in the cultural centers of medieval Europe, and bringing with them the last remnants of the work of Aristotle, the seed of the Renaissance, giving birth to the first great Western universities.

Armies blessed by the Pope went off to defend the old faith in the land of its birth. They came back with a taste for Eastern riches. Soldiers became traders, and fishing ports became centers to distribute the precious spices and cloth. The church, unknowing of the threat that might arise from men allowed to trade freely among themselves, concentrated on the schisms within its own body. Thomas Aquinas, influenced by the new Aristotelian thought, challenged the Platonism of Augustine which had governed the theology of the church for eight hundred years. Bishops who craved the papal throne hired armies with their gold. Dukes and princes did the same. The soldiers, able to win land in battle, but not buy it, spent their wages with the new traders.

And then there was the Plague, destroying a quarter of the population of Europe; it created the greatest manpower shortage in history. The value of a man's talent went up, no matter what his class. But the final blow to the scheme of things ordained by gods was the printing press. Knowledge was suddenly at the fingertips of every man.

Aristotle's truth was knowledge. Men went in search of it, and the New World was discovered.

It was men, not laws or customs or citizens that first came to the New World of America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries. Men of the Post-renaissance; coming from Holland, Flanders, Normandy and Brittany, Vendee, Aunis, and Gascony, of Sweden and the northern German states, of Spain as well as of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland; men of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation--of religious wars as bloody as anything mankind has ever witnessed; men of the new middle class of Europe, and men with no class at all.

Each group came with their own intentions of how life should be lived and were met by a wilderness which was not partial to their customs. The weak did not last to influence the survivors. Thousands of miles separated them from the central authority of their homelands. They survived as men always have, by their wits. The new land did not teach them to recognize their liberty. They simply learned a new manner of survival. In time it became a matter of habit. The old ways were forgotten.

The English came in the greatest numbers, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, it was the English government which proposed to rule them all. In the end it was the best of the English customs which survived and only because they worked. English common law, trial by jury, and the innocence of the accused until proven guilty were integral to the base on which undreamed of things would be built. England had always been a maverick, the Roman Province on the fringe, and since the discovery of the New World and Henry VIII's denial of Papal authority, it had become ever more increasingly so. England was now an island of traders. Englishmen were no longer serfs on the lands of lords, they were now merchants and craftsmen, with all the de facto mobility and freedom that comes with money. Business so outstripped the growth of the state that government was unable to tax its people into the slavery of poverty. And this freedom by default also became a habit.

To begin with, the single most important element in the discovery and development of America by the white man was trade. It should be noted that the first European discoverers were traders--the Norsemen--not Viking adventurers, and Columbus was commissioned by the Spanish Queen to find Cathay and India--for trade. "The first twelve of the English continental colonies, and all English island colonies except Jamaica, were founded and settled by private enterprise, personal or corporate. The English Crown, claiming the entire American continent north of Mexico, had neither the money nor the aptitude to found colonies. So it gave concessions to individuals and companies." And so, like young Rome, much of the character of the growing empire was influenced by the needs and demands of trade. In the case of Rome, it brought about Roman Law. In the case of America, it meant a traditional respect for free enterprise and the value of money, as well as the establishment from the start of a strong middle class and a reverence for men who earned their living.

Laws take time to develop. Bit by bit a government tries them out. The ones that work it keeps, the ones that do not, it preserves by means of another law. A state cannot take the chance of leaping too far too fast. A mistake could mean their downfall and a takeover by another, less rash, power. In the 17th and 18th centuries the growth of wealth amongst the new 'middle class' was so drastic, the laws were unable to compensate for it. The government was designed for the feudal ages when only three classes existed, the royalty, the ruled, and the church. It had been a static society, each part dependent on the other, as in an ant hive. Trade and money brought a situation no one knew how to handle. It would take centuries for governments to learn the new methods. In England it took a civil war and Oliver Cromwell to bring the state out of the Middle Ages. Even so, it was too late for the moment to stop the tide.

So, we have a grossly inefficient government, thousands of miles away, trying to rule a people who haven't fallen out of its control as they have discovered new methods of getting things done, many of whom were not even bound by a traditional allegiance because England was not their homeland, who for the most part were of the new trading class or who had been dispossessed by religious or civil strife of any social position, who had been influenced by the spirit of discovery and change of the Renaissance, and by philosophers like More, Bacon, Descartes, and Spinoza to question, leaving them open to the coming philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who have preserved certain proven customs and grown strong in their ability to survive due to contact with an unforgiving wilderness, who were forced to face reality with common sense, and were the benefactors of a greater wealth of knowledge because of the printed word.... Add to this situation a period of such rapid change throughout Europe that no state power could possibly fill the gap left by the inefficient ones. The result...

A good example was set for the colonial American by the first English settlement. The first ten years of Jamestown's existence were a horrible failure, costly in lives and money. During that period the settlers themselves had little stake in their undertaking, being little more than hired hands on a company plantation. Two thirds of them died, and the company neared bankruptcy. At best these people owned a few shares of stock, purchased so that they might leave their homeland where they had little future. At worst they were convicts condemned to die who were offered a chance to survive, and their freedom after ten or fifteen years work. By 1617 their terms of hire were running out. The shareholders who still lived were returning home. To keep them, the Company made them landed tenants who could own their land after a few years work. Suddenly the colony bloomed from the swamps around the fort. By 1627 their plantations extended twenty miles along the James River.... Captain John Smith described it best, "When our people were fed out of the common store, and laboured jointly together, glad was he who could slip from his labour, or slumber over his task, he cared not how; nay, the most honest among them would hardly take so much true paines in a week, as now for themselves they will doe in a day." 3

The puritans who came en masse to New England and Virginia in the 1630's left a strange heritage. We may thank them and damn them in the same breath--In the search for individual closeness to their God through simplicity and directness, they stressed certain early christian teachings and dropped the trappings which had grown up since the fifth century. Their churches were the center of their lives, and their churches were democratically run, every parishioner having a voice, giving these forebearers an experience enjoyed by few in the world.

Their doctrines held that all professions, business included, were good in their Lord's eyes, giving a complete sanction to what the Roman Church considered a necessary evil.

It was in 1630 that the Massachusetts Bay Company came to America, and established their government, basing the framework of that government on the Company charter, an interesting precedent.

Amongst the children and grandchildren of those who first came to America were thinkers, men of the mind. It was these men and women who attempted to philosophically understand the nature of freedom in the face of the state which was slowly adjusting itself and re-exerting control over its domain. It would be their children and grandchildren who would finally bring the contest to the battlefield and win--temporarily--a measure of freedom never known by men before. Outside of the most established colonies, where, as in the case of Virginia, a new aristocracy was attempting to gain for itself some of the amenities of power enjoyed by their counterparts in the homeland, some fairly radical social developments took place.

In the mid-seventeenth century in-coming settlers from England to Virginia, faced with the new planter aristocracy of that colony which had monopolized the land by physical possession and restrictive laws, and confronted also by an arm of the Anglican church they had hoped to leave behind, moved south to Albemarle and for a short while enjoyed the freedom of being beyond the reach of any government. That came to an end in 1663 with the inclusion of Albemarle in the land grants of the crown forming the Carolinas. It should be remembered that we are still in an age when all land is technically owned by the King and only looked after by his subjects. Though tradition had grown up in only the previous two centuries which forbade the King to fool with the estates of Englishmen in England (a man's home is his castle) this New World at first did not seem restricted by those traditions, at least in the eyes of the crown. The Englishmen who came to America however, had no intention of leaving such protective tradition behind.

At the same time that Presbyterians and Quakers were fleeing south from Williamsburg to Albemarle, others of mixed beliefs both religious and political were moving south from the second major port to the New World, Massachusetts Bay Colony, and settling in those areas untouched by the claim of the crown that were to become Rhode Island and Connecticut. In 1636 Providence was established by the Reverend Roger Williams and immediately became a haven for those persecuted by the Puritans. In time however, the anarchism of the new settlement became impinged by the leader himself and the few

other who had gained actual title to the land. In the nearby settlement of Pocasset this situation gave historical birth to the person Murray Rothbard believes to be our first explicit anarchist, Anne Hutchinson. Her fight with William Coddington succeeded in establishing democratic government and religious liberty in the settlement, and she thought that "such persons as magistrates were obviously superfluous" in her mind.

Anne Hutchinson's sister, Catherine Scott, became the leader of a group of Baptists in the new settlements and continued the agitation for religious and political freedom for some years following Anne's death. Meanwhile a new force was felt in the person of Samuel Gorton. Chased from England, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Providence for his convictions against organized religion and all governmental aggression against the rights of Englishmen established by common law, he eventually established the new settlement of Shawomet, finished with "Bewitching and bemadding poor Providence....with his unclear and foul censures of all the ministers of this country....". For some years the new settlement lived apart from the stricter air of its neighbors, but then in 1648 joined with the other Rhode Island settlements forming the colony of Providence Plantations.

As Cromwell in England persecuted the Libertarian Levellers (with imprisonment and death) who had helped him gain the republican victory over the forces of the crown, Roger Williams took more and more power unto himself, finally bringing about the revolt of the Baptists against new decrees opposed to immorality and the imposition of compulsory military service (the establishment of an American tradition perhaps), as well as the levying of general taxes to pay for a more centralized government. Rebecca Throckmorton, Robert West, Anne and Robert Williams (the brother of Roger) as well as Catherine Scott were among the protesters. One man, William Harris, circulated a pamphlet through the new colony calling for an end to taxation and "all civil governments". Tried and found guilty of treason for his actions, Harris and his son were saved from the penalties when the evidence against them was lost at sea on its way to England.... But, despite instituted repression, Rhode Island remained the freest of all the colonies established.

In Pennsylvania in 1681 a very different situation arose. Attracted by the rich land grant to William Penn, and guarantees of religious freedom in his "Holy experiment" for the Quakers, 12,000 people flocked to the rolling hills on the far side of the Delaware. Poor management on the part of Penn, who had returned to England, had left behind a weak government, as well as a people who had enjoyed

a prohibition on taxes for several years as part of his guarantees to attract them, and a colony virtually free of the archy of state restrictions.

The first council left behind to govern having proven inefficient, the attempts to collect taxes ignored, the collection of duties by the Collector Of The Kings Customs having proved futile in the face of colonists who evaded the Royal Navigation Laws, Penn tried to re-establish government by appointing a new council made up of leading citizens of the colony. This time the assembly again defied Penn and the new council by voting down new proposals for taxes. With no money to pay for their jobs as rulers, the government stopped....

Penn next appointed a Deputy-governor to act for him with the powers of the Council. For a while government was again halted, this time by the refusal of the former Council leader Thomas Lloyd to relinquish the Great Seal, without which all documents were invalid. Lloyd now became the leader of all attempts by Penn and his Deputy to govern. The Deputy having failed, Penn gave power back to the Council. Government, however weak, slowly returned to the colony. An attempt at a new tax in 1692 was voted down again by the assembly. One George Keith raised the question of whether it was right for a Quaker who believed in non-violence, to attempt coercion through government. Keith and his followers were ostracized and his pamphlets confiscated. (One can see that pamphletting is beginning as a strong American Tradition as well).

In 1692 the King revoked William Penn's rights as Governor in the face of war with France and appointed a new Governor over both New York and Pennsylvania, for the purpose of raising taxes and a fighting force against French Canada. But both the assembly and the Council refused to co-operate. After a partial success in 1694, it was not until 1696 that taxes were finally levied on the colony. Over the protest of various leaders, government, with the power of money, began to take a firm hold.

Editors note: The 1973 edition of the HANDBOOK will continue this history from 1700 to 1789.

I have been unable to conceive how any rational being could propose happiness to himself from the exercise of power over others.
Jefferson

Where liberty is, there is my country.

James Otis

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You're probably very tired of today's mass media magazines. Almost without exception they fall into one of two categories: either they loftily claim to be objective, while blatantly mixing in reporting with biased commentaries; or they openly espouse some variety of collectivism (perhaps the fervent nationalism of the "right" or the welfare statism of the "left"). Until recently *that* was the kind of choice you had if you wanted relevant, urbane analysis and comment on the state of the world and the prospects for the future.

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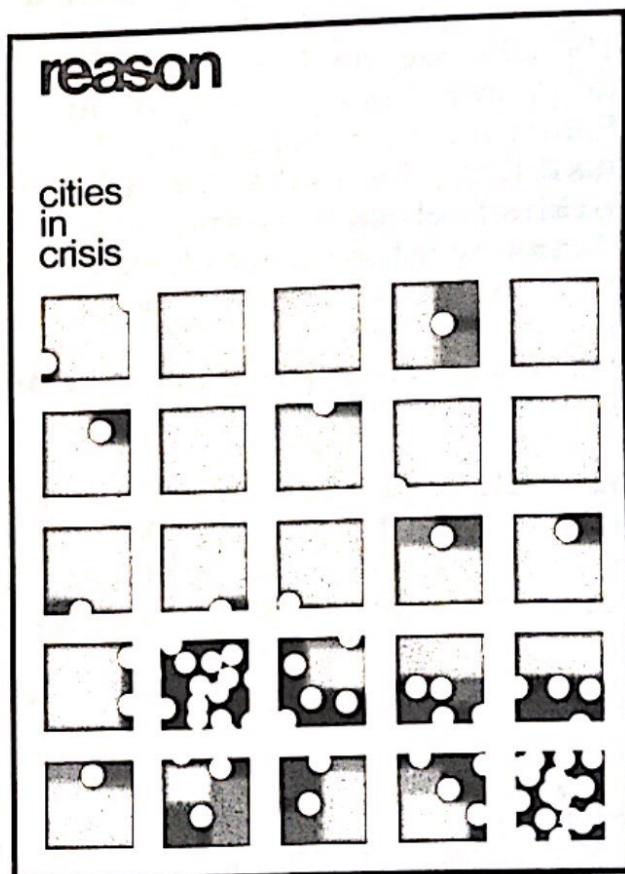
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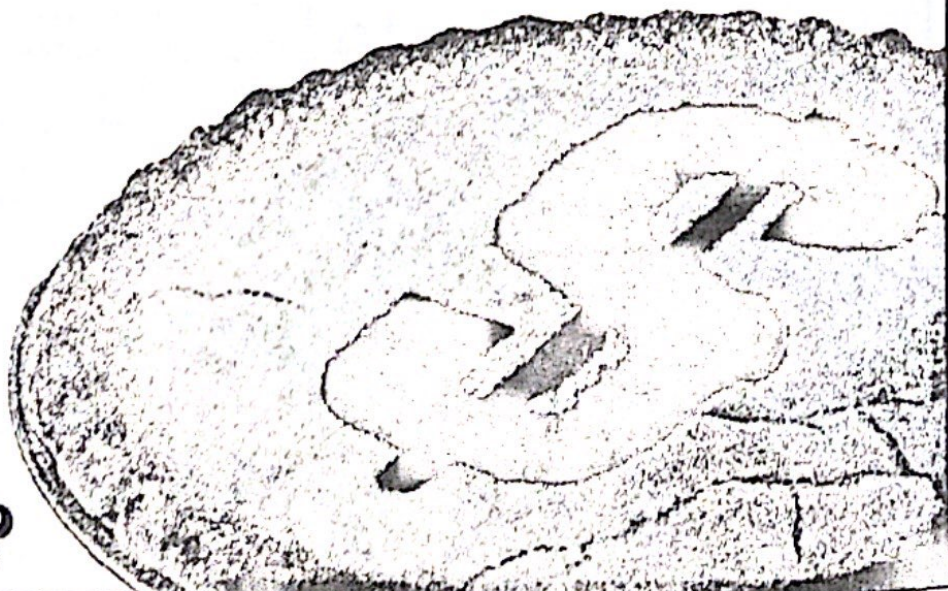
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Tactics

Got the libertarian blues? The feeling that anything you do has no chance of changing current trends? Perhaps the following would help.

First, you should try to locate and list all the libertarians possible in the area. If nothing else, you'll probably be able to sell your list to some magazine or group if things don't go right. Try taking out a few "personal" ads in nearby papers, asking libertarians to write. Call up the nearest chapter of Young Americans for Freedom or Young Republicans--while both are predominantly conservative, some libertarians belong and most members will be able to refer you to several. You can reach local and state chapters by writing the national headquarters for both groups. (YAF: 1221 Mass. Ave. NW, Washington, D.C.; YR's: 310 1st St. SE, Washington, D.C.). National libertarian groups are an even better source of contacts, and most are willing to send you names of members nearby upon request. Watch the letters-to-editor column in the closest big newspaper, and take down the names and towns of people who write promising letters. Write down license plate numbers of cars carrying pro-freedom bumperstickers (you can usually get the owners name from the Registry of Motor Vehicles) and put some bumper stickers of your own on your car. Try putting up notices at local colleges saying you'd like to meet people who like Ayn Rand.

If all else fails, write us at the handbook--we know people in most states.

You'll probably wind up with anywhere from 15 to 100 names after a month or so. Generally, the people will volunteer their interests and political orientation, so you can pick out those who seem to be what you want, and stay in touch with them. Soliciting their ideas about current issues and what, if anything, they'd like to do with other libertarians is usually a good idea--in any event, it will give you an idea of what approach would have the best chance of success for a group.

There are a number of possible approaches. You can shop around for a national organization which seems to fit your taste and the taste of those you correspond with, and decide to become a local chapter, or you can set up an independent association. You can decide to concentrate on political and philosophical discussion, or on simply getting together for social purposes, or on finding ways to educate others about libertarianism.

Whatever you decide, the next step should be to invite people to a meeting. Ten is the largest size one should start with; larger groups tend to split up and lose attention quickly. An effective way to involve each person in the meeting, and to ensure that a number of ideas get expressed, is to pass the chairmanship of the meeting to a new person each 15 minutes. Temporary chairmen are allowed to cut off discussion, bring up new topics, and set up ground rules for decisions. The system works better than it might sound.

Possible proposals you might bring up at the first meeting could be: starting a newsletter for various members, making a list of those in attendance available to all, and investigating various programs the group might try.

Whenever possible, naturally, these activities should run at a profit for those who manage them.

If the members of the group show interest in educational activities, a number of possible courses of action suggest themselves. A rather sedate group might find letter writing campaigns ideal. Each individual could be charged with bringing a draft of a letter to the editor he or she had written since the last meeting, or forfeit 50¢ to the group treasury. Editors who receive a number of seemingly unassociated letters harping on a common theme are apt to print some of them. Further, it increases the newspaper's awareness of libertarianism and the chances it will report on libertarian activities.

Your group might also raise money to put libertarian ads in the local newspaper, rent billboards, or publish magazines and newspapers.

A more energetic group can pick from a variety of tactics, limited only by the time and financial resources of those involved. If the group is centered in a small town, serious consideration of working in town politics should be made. Many towns today threaten revolt over school taxes--and libertarians have solutions. A libertarian group could easily find support for putting education on a deferred tuition basis--under this system, schools are financed not by taxes but rather a small percentage of the child's future income. (Two percent would be ample). Such a system has already been applied with success at several prestigious colleges, and there is no reason why it cannot work as well with public schools. It would clearly have appeal to those without children, who are nevertheless forced to pay heavily for the education of other's children.

Another program which might meet with some measure of success is the performance-contracting system, also applied to education. Under this program, private profit-making groups are invited to take

over the town's schools. The groups are given near total freedom to operate--with but one proviso. The group does not get paid unless the children's performance in verbal and mathematical skills improves so much per year. Bonuses are given for achievement beyond the minimum specified. Since the achievement levels are tested by an independent firm, the school operators face strong incentives to find ways to interest children in what they learn. The market rewards the successful and drives out the incompetent. Taxpayers get more for their money. And if this system is combined with the deferred tuition system, the state can get out of education altogether.

In another area, libertarians working in town politics can make potentially acceptable proposals. A Dartmouth economist, Edwin G. Dolan, recently thought up a means of controlling pollution which makes a great deal of sense. He suggested that meters be placed in the exhaust pipes of automobiles, or periodic checks be made of mileage, to determine the approximate amount of pollutants put out by each car. The community would then hold a referendum to determine what levy, if any, to place on each ounce of pollutant. The money collected from such a levy would then be divided equally between all the residents of the town--as compensation for damages caused by pollution. Thus, the town would have an incentive to find the right price to put on automobile pollution--if the town had little smog, it would not penalize pollution severely; if it had a lot, polluters would pay their victims heavily. While this solution does not exactly correspond with a free-market model, it represents a vast improvement over what happens now.

Other issues, such as rent-control, public housing, busing, and taxes also invite libertarian action. Speaking to local town and high school groups, writing letters, leafletting congested areas, etc. are all means of focussing attention on the subject. But these issues do not necessarily provide libertarians with the same opportunities to make headlines for innovative ideas as do the three mentioned before.

For groups one notch higher on the activism scale, posters and stickers offer good chances of rewards. Permanent, adhesive-backed stickers reading 'This is another fine service of Superstate' or 'Brought to you by your local State monopoly' make fine ornaments in broken telephone booths, rundown subway cars, and on the sides of mailboxes and bureaucrats' doors. A simple sticker reading TAANSTAFL or 'Who is John Galt?' might be read by 50,000 people a day--if placed in the toll basket on a turnpike. In urban areas, posters plastered onto street lamp poles attract a good deal of attention if they are well done. They are seen daily by people who work in the media and acquaint the 'man in the street' with libertarianism. All one needs to make a pos-

ter is a little imagination, a typewriter, some transfer lettering for headlines (see your local art store) and a printer. The printer is easy--Seaview Duplicating Corp., 212-26 48th Avenue, Bayside, New York 11364 gives an introductory offer of 1000 8.5"x11" copies of your original for \$5.75, shipping included. You can't beat that price. To paste up your posters, get a small pack of wheat wallpaper paste, some wallpaper brushes, a bucket, and some friends. Then choose a relatively uncrowded night and attack all the street lamps in town, putting a coat of paste on the pole before you put on the poster and over the poster after it's in place. Smooth out any airbubbles so people can't tear them off. If any cops stop you, tell them that you're putting up anti-communist posters, and chances are you'll be left alone.

Some poster ideas: IRS 1040 forms with a stenciled "PROTEST!" printed over them, posters satirizing the left (e.g. a poster denouncing capitalism for creating 'mass poverty' while at the same time 'corrupting the masses with too many consumer goods'), etc.

The group might also decide to set up a fake socialist party--perhaps UNISON, for UNited SOcialist Nations. UNISON could print posters proselytizing the wisdom of George Fitzhugh--Fitzhugh was an unflinching socialist of the 19th century who persuasively defended slavery as the highest form of socialism. His quotes prove highly embarrassing to the left. (For a five-page selection of his best, send \$1 to Quotes, 15 Yale Street, Winchester, Mass. 01890). The ersatz party could also be used to sponsor debates, lectures, and pamphlets, and to participate in left-wing demonstrations.

Demonstrations of a more sincere nature offer your libertarian group further chances for publicity. Catapults which shoot dumplings at planes can be erected at spots where low-flying aircraft bother residents. Realistic facsimiles of parking tickets can be printed up and then put in the windshields of illegally parked bureaucrat's cars (almost all have special license plates, and they're illegally parked around government buildings all the time). Individuals can make off with more than their share of 1040 forms--thereby depleting the total supply--and fill them out for non-existent people. And tax protests, held on April 15, might prove hugely successful if well-publicized and scheduled for lunch hour near an IRS building. Reception committees can also be organized for various liberal and conservative presidential candidates.

Any events of this nature deserve coverage by the press and the media. Prepare a press release by announcing the nature and goals of the project, along with background description of the nature of the organ-

ization, and mail it to all local newspapers and TV stations a week in advance of the event. If possible, include copies of any clippings of previous stories about your group or similar groups elsewhere in the country. Press releases should be short--no more than 500 words--double-spaced, simply worded. Be sure a phone number and name is listed if further information is desired. If you decide to hold a press conference, reserve a conference room in a well-known hotel on a weekday afternoon (cost will be about \$20). Begin the conference without delay, speak for about 15 minutes, and then open it up for questions. After an hour has passed, or interest wanes, thank everyone for coming. That is the reporter's signal that the conference has ended. In all cases, be sure to phone the newspapers and TV stations the morning before your event, to remind them. And have plenty of literature and extra press releases available.

If your group is composed predominantly of college students, further possibilities open. Most colleges have speakers bureaus, and the control of these is a tempting prize. Speakers bureaus are generally allotted several thousand dollars per year to bring in well-known individuals. Libertarians at Babson College--pioneers in this field--discovered that they could almost fill the entire schedule with libertarians from the right and left, after they had gained control. It is surprisingly easy to get on the staffs of speakers bureaus: do all the odd jobs for it you can, don't antagonize people politically until you're appointed chairman, and make sure the position stays with libertarians when you leave.

A second pivotal target in the college milieu is the student paper. Invariably, it will be strongly collectivist, but if you work hard and are not too vociferous at first, you will probably get on. The paper provides a chance to write features on topics of your choice, cover newsworthy libertarian events, and write dissenting libertarian editorials. If a number of hard-core libertarians manage to make it, the paper can be, with luck, "passed along" to other libertarians.

A final past-time for libertarian groups of all kinds lies with radio and television talk shows. Many stations are desperate for interesting and unusual programs, and libertarianism offers both in quantity. It is generally best to have one particular theme for each show, such as why taxes are not necessary, how education would be financed via the market, how laissez-faire can control pollution, etc. Many times, if the name and address of your group is announced, listeners will make further inquiries. And a related, frequently overlooked opportunity for spreading libertarian ideas rests in the 'equal time' provisions of the FCC--listeners who are reasonably coherent and rational are given facilities to rebut editorials made by radio and TV stations.

These suggestions, while admittedly sketchy and incomplete, may provide some aid in organizing your own libertarian group--and easing the libertarian blues.

More Quotes...

Communism is a drag -- it's like one big telephone company. Capitalism gives you a choice, baby, and that's where it's at.

Lenny Bruce

That government is best which governs least....

H. D. Thoreau

No man -- or group or government -- has the right to assume the role of a criminal and initiate the use of physical compulsion against any man....

Ayn Rand

We have something very tangible to offer, -- something very rational, practical, and easy of application. We offer cooperation. We offer non-compulsive organization... We offer every possible method of voluntary social union by which men and women may act together for the furtherance of well-being.

Benjamin Tucker

It is necessary to abolish completely, in principle and practice, everything which may be called political power; as long as political power exists there will always be rulers and ruled, masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited.

Michael Bakunin

The government consists of a gang of men exactly like you and me. They have, taking one with another, no special talent for the business of government; they have only a talent for getting and holding office. Their principal device to that end is to search out groups who pant and pine for something they can't get and to promise to give it to them.. Nine times out of ten that promise is worth nothing. The tenth time it is made good by looting A to satisfy B. In other words, government is a broker in pillage, and every election is sort of an advance auction sale of stolen goods.

H. L. Mencken

No man has a natural right to commit aggression on the equal rights of another.

Jefferson

Strategy

We live in delicate times. The nation seems to be slipping into an era of stagnancy, where progress is marked by the growth of the governments tentacles. Around and within, the public feels beset by danger, and yearns for "normalcy" to banish the nightmares of the past 30 years. In this setting, libertarians must tread with care, taking pains to avoid mistakes which will panic those in power and alienate middle class America, while at the same time organizing and vocalizing revulsion with state policies.

But these are also hopeful times. Libertarians are growing in prestige and influence both in the Left and the Right. This growth may prove strong enough to bring about an ironic end: as society slowly grows more dissatisfied and polarized, left and right, both extremes may in some ways come closer together. Because dissatisfaction and radicalization are likely to deepen, the strategy for libertarians most likely to succeed is to promote both non-violent anarchism on the Left and laissez-faire capitalism on the Right.

Many signs indicate that this is already happening. First, there is the tremendous flowering of anti-political sentiments on the left. The past decade has seen burgeoning numbers of anarchist and anti-political spokesmen there: Karl Hess, Carl Oglesby, Paul Goodman, Gar Alperovitz, Howard Zinn, Marcus Raskin, Mitchell Goodman, Ivan Illich, etc., People who once breathed political involvement now find pleasures in self-cultivation; much of the 'counter culture' asks only to be let alone. Many of those who remain politically active and radical increasingly question the merits of centralized authority and power. Best yet, prominent leftists have begun attacking left-wing sacred cows such as public education, public housing, federal regulatory agencies, and more.

Elsewhere, the signs are even more hopeful. Atlas Shrugged has captured the imagination of a whole younger generation of right-wing intellectuals, and it is safe to assume that the ideological right a decade from now will be overwhelmingly libertarian. In economics, the Chicago School surges against decrepit Keynesianism. A new breed of social theorists challenge liberal myths about the city: Banfield, Forrester, Jacobs, Sennet, Anderson and others have suggested that the government has caused more problems than it has solved. Many Americans seem to be moving towards a Taft-like position of non-interventionism in foreign countries. Increasingly, the arrogance of New Deal-Fair Deal-Great Society liberalism appears to be in head-long retreat. Lib-

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eral orthodoxy has worn tiresomely, and liberals are searching for new creeds to replace the old.

Meanwhile, of course, the poisons introduced by liberals take their toll. Having found that their policies provoke worse problems than what they were intended to solve, liberals may try to abandon some forms of 'medication' for social problems, but the damage they have done remains uncorrected. Indeed, it grows worse. America's economic and moral decline--moral being measured by respect for individual rights--will soon lead to a point where major reforms are needed to postpone disaster, and the crisis psychology which will accompany such reforms may well lead people to vote for lethal 'cures'. Libertarians must do what they can to ensure that a crisis psychology does not spread--unless real popular support for libertarian reforms is present. This can be assured only if libertarians achieve positions of influence: in media, in political organizations, in the universities and schools. And this can only be successful if the terms of political debate change from the current orientation towards the authoritarian Left and Right, to the issue of liberty versus tyranny.

But liberty in our time is possible, provided libertarians recognize and prepare for the future, and give consideration to those occupations which will help free the country. The intellectual tide is shifting at last --it now remains to be seen whether libertarians build dikes or passively await the next collectivist wave.

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Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government
of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others?

Jefferson

I'm the one that's got to die, when its time for me to die -- so let me
live my life -- the way I want to.

Jimi Hendrix

Films

CYRANO DE BERGERAC--This is a film of a play, and looks like it. In that respect it fails. But in all others it is close to perfect. Jose Ferrar's portrayal of Cyrano is probably the best on record. It is impossible to believe that the man who was able to capture the essence of Cyrano has been consistently poor in most of his other films. But no matter. This is Cyrano the way you see it in your dreams.

DARK VICTORY--This is one of several films which enjoyed the benefit of superb acting by Bette Davis. The male lead, by no means a hero when compared to the heroine, is played like a rock by George Brent. The story sounds soapy--a young playgirl learns that she is going to die, learns to accept it bravely, marries her doctor, and dies--but because of fine direction and Miss Davis, it becomes a beautiful testament to human spirit.

THE FOUNTAINHEAD--The story is, of course, superb. But this film does not do justice to the theme developed in Ayn Rand's novel of the same name. She is responsible for the screenplay. King Vidor is responsible for the choppy direction. The acting is unfortunately only adequate by Gary Cooper and Patricia Neal. The rest of the cast is generally excellent; especially Raymond Massey as Gail Wynand.

THE GENERAL--This silent film is the perfection of an art form within the general art of the film. It is a monument to one man: Buster Keaton. This is not a libertarian film in any ideological sense, it is simply one of the greatest comedies ever made. Great comedy can do wonderful things for the human spirit. And the human spirit is what libertarianism is all about... This film will release the tension that comes from hearing about something like the wage-price freeze. I will say nothing more about the film itself, because, as an art form unfamiliar to most people today, it is the kind of thing which must be discovered by each individual for himself.

To describe it would be as futile as explaining a great painting to someone who has never seen anything more than markings in the sand.

HIGH NOON--This film stands as one of the greatest ever made. It is as close to a work of art as Hollywood has ever come. In judging the film, one must first judge its star, Gary Cooper. A superstar who appeared in many bad films in which he was required to be 'himself', i. e. the image his production company had built for him, this

is one film in which he displayed his untethered talent; a talent which is awesome when fully considered. When watching this film one is completely caught with concern for the character he portrays, completely forgetting that this is an actor you have seen countless times before as everything from a doughboy to a cowboy (but invariably a boy in a man's body). In this film you are watching a man face the problems of a man. And you are watching an act of heroism in the true meaning of that word. This man is risking his life for his own self-respect... The second consideration in judging this film is the production itself. Everything is stripped to essentials. The timing of Fred Zinneman is not just superb, but seemingly perfect. That timing of each scene and the dialogue, connected with the timing of Cooper in his portrayal and the natural suspense of the story and its development as all the facts which brought this man to the moment of truth are revealed, leave the viewer breathless. This is the film so many other cowboys have copied, and never touched.

THE HUNCHBACK OF NOTRE DAME--This is another one of the select few greatest films ever made. It could stand alone on the perfection of Charles Laughton as Quasimodo, but beautiful direction is added and the performances of a half dozen other actors who play their roles to perfection. It is one of the few films ever made of a great story which did justice to the story's theme. No story will ever be retold in film just as it was written. The differences of the two mediums are too great. But there is no reason why the theme cannot be carried over properly. In this film it is. The final scene, with the hunchback crouched amidst the gargoyles on the cathedral's face, wishing he too were stone, is the greatest I have seen.

I WAS A FUGITIVE--Paul Muni, a most unappreciated Hollywood great, despite his two Academy Awards, superbly portrays a man unjustly accused of a crime and imprisoned in a labor camp in Louisiana. The de-humanization of the prison, and the Hero's longing and eventual gaining of freedom make a strong statement.

LONELY ARE THE BRAVE--This film weathers several flaws, one being the timing given it by its director, with the superb acting of Kirk Douglas and a story which is made for libertarians. The hero can be only described as an anarchist--a freedom-loving individualist, who is hunted down by a society which cannot allow his kind any longer.

LOVE LETTERS--The screenplay of this film was written by Ayn Rand. One wonders how much she really had to do with the finished product. I suspect that many changes were made. Even so, some of the familiar Randian dialogue comes through... It is a charming

story, a partial take-off on Cyrano De Bergerac, which is marred by slow direction and dead acting on the part of Joseph Cotton and Jennifer Jones.

THE SEARCHERS, HONDO, RED RIVER, THE QUIET MAN--What all these films have in common besides good storytelling, direction, and acting, is John Wayne. In each of these films he portrays a hero of no mean standing--an individualist who prizes his freedom, and has no lack of pride in himself. Wayne plays this kind of character better than almost anyone, and when he is given a good story and a good director, the film is always worth seeing.

SPARTACUS--With a story based on the actual revolt of slaves against Rome in the 1st century BC, a cast of some of the finest actors available at the time, a score that is one of the most beautiful ever written, this film has been unjustly passed over by many as just another spectacular. It is that--SPECTACULAR. One of the most unbelievable true stories, with a markedly libertarian theme.

THIS LAND IS MINE--This is a film totally dependent on its lead--in this case, Charles Laughton, as a cowardly school teacher in Nazi occupied France, who discovers his self.

ZULU--This is a film few would want to see under normal circumstances. It is an account of a small garrison of British troops faced with death at the hands of thousands of Zulu warriors. It is quite bloody. But in the midst of the long struggle, this story becomes more than a picture of war. It becomes a statement of values in the midst of a tragedy. Acting and direction are excellent.

Noam Chomsky in the September/October, 1970, Humanist, makes a good point about tactics.

"Confrontation tactics as they actually evolve are frequently rather manipulative and coercive and really the proper kinds of tactics only for a movement that, inadvertently or not, is aiming toward an elitist, authoritarian structure of a sort that we have had far too much of on the left in the last half century, and that in fact has destroyed what there was of a living and vital left in the Western World....

"Tactics are neither radical nor conservative, nor do they lie anywhere else on the political spectrum. They are successful or unsuccessful in achieving certain goals that may be discussed in terms of their political character."

Records



Unfortunately we have been unable to cover the area of music to an even adequate degree in this year's edition of the HANDBOOK. We will be looking for people to write articles and reviews for the 1973 edition, so if this is your field, drop us a line.

It has been suggested that we step lightly in this area, or not at all. Timidity suggests that if we go so far as to make value judgments concerning certain musical forms, considering their widespread popularity and emotional impact, we will bring such wrath down upon ourselves that no one will buy our product.... Music, like love, is looked upon by many as a subject which cannot be examined in the light of reason. One cannot make value judgments with the hope of being right or wrong. What is good music to me is not necessarily, and does not have to be, good music to someone else... To the last statement I answer true. To the one before it, I say false... No subject can be held in a preserve beyond the bounds of reason. If you are afraid to rationally examine your reasons for liking or disliking a given form of music, I suggest you look to yourself... I for one, find it impossible to keep from wanting to know why I like, dislike, or have no opinion, of anything... And Music, though its reaction on the individual is highly emotional, like love, is fully open to the prime question of the human mind "WHY?"

The editors do not pretend to be musicologists. We will in the future have articles by persons who are. However, in the meantime we are listing a number of recordings of the music of composers who, in our own opinions, are well beyond any argument in the vein of 'good or bad', but are more likely to be the subject of arguments on 'how good'.

One last note on the subject. Question: "Why list the area of music in a HANDBOOK for Libertarians?" Answer: "Because it is the product of some of the greatest and freest minds in human history, and because the listening of it today can give a few brief moments of exal-tant happiness in the midst of this very unfree world, giving one a taste of the future possible to us, and fueling the spirit for the work ahead."

- CLASSICAL -

You will note that a great number of the recordings chosen are on the Deutsche Grammophon (German) label. The reason for this is twofold. Firstly the technical quality of that label is consistently so far above that of other companies as to be in a class to itself, and yet the prices are generally competitive. Secondly that label is almost a guarantee that the performance recorded is of very high quality... It is such a pity to buy a record, for instance, Van Cliburn's rendition of Rachmaninov's Concerto #2 on RCA, and have such a splendid performance hurt by poor technical qualities on the part of RCA. Columbia is no better. We recommend, when in doubt, to buy the one on Deutsche Grammophon.

Listing Method -

by composer, music form, instrumental artist, conductor, orchestra, recording company and company #, in that order.

Recording company abbreviations - DGG=Deutsche Grammophon, VIC=RCA, LON=London, COL=Columbia, ANG=Angel.

(Listings will be expanded and reviewed in our 1973 edition.)

BEETHOVEN, Ludwig Van
--Concertos for piano
All five in one set. Kempff, Leitner, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG #138774
--Concerto #1 in C
Eschenbach, Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG #139023
--Concerto #3 in C
Richter, Sanderling, Vienna Symphony, DGG #138848
or Rubinstein, Leinsdorf, Boston Symphony, VIC LSC-2947
--Concerto #4 in G
Cliburn, Reiner, Chicago Symphony, VIC LSC-2680
--Concerto #5 in E flat
Cliburn, Reiner, Chicago Symphony, VIC LSC-2562
--Concerto in D for Violin
Heifetz, Munch, Boston Symphony, VIC LSC-1992
or Menuhin, Klemperer, New Philharmonia, ANG S-36369
or Ferras, Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 139021
--Concerto in C for Violin, Cello + Piano
Stern, Rose, Istomin, Ormandy, Philadelphia Symphony (+ Brahms Trio #2 for Violin and Cello) 2-Col. D2S-726(\$9.98)
--Fidello (opera)
Jones, Mathis, King, Schreier, Talvela, Adam, Crass, Bohm, Dresden State

Opera House, 3-DG 139288/90
--Missa Solemnis in D
Janowitz, Ludwig, Wunderlich, Berry, Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, Vienna Singverein chorus, 2-DGG 139208/9
--Sonatas-piano (complete)
Kempff, II-DGG 138935/45
Sonatas-piano and violin (complete)
Heifetz, Bay, S-VIC LM-6707
--Symphonies (complete)
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic 8-DGG SKL-101/8
or Klemperer, Philharmonia Orchestra, ANG. S-3619
or Leinsdorf, Boston Symphony, 8-VIC LSC-3098

BELLINI, Vincenzo
--Concerto in E flat for oboe and orchestra
Holliger, Maas, Bamberg Symphony, DGG 139152
--Norma (opera)
Sutherland, Horne, Alexander, Cross, Bonyng, London Symphony, 3-LON 1384
--I Puritani (opera)
Sutherland, Duval, Capecchi, Bonyng, Maggio, Musicale Fiorentino 3-LON 1373

BIZET, Georges
--Carmen (opera)
Price, Corelli, Merrill, Freni, Karajan, Vienna Philharmonic, 3-VIC LDS-6164
or Callas, Gedda, Massard, Gulot, Pretre, Paris Opera Orchestra, 3-ANG S-3650x

BORODIN, Alexander
- Prince Igor (opera)
Wiener, Todorov, Dulguero, Chekrelitski, Christoff, Milkovsky, Semkow, Sofia National Opera Theatre
3- ANG S-3714

BRAHMS, Johannes
--Academic Festival Overture + Serenade #2, Abbado, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 139371
--Concerto #1 in d for piano
Cliburn, Leinsdorf, Boston Symphony, VIC LSC-2724
--Concerto #2 in B flat for piano
Anda, Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic DGG 139034
or Cliburn, Reiner, Chicago Symphony, VIC LSC-2581
--Concerto in D for violin
Heifetz, Reiner, Chicago Symphony VIC LSC-1903
--Concerto in A for violin + cello
Heifetz, Piatigorsky, Wallenstein Orchestra, VIC LDS-2513
or Oistrakh, Rostropovich, Szell, Cleveland Orchestra, ANG S-36032
--Symphonies (4) complete
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic 4-DGG SKL-133/6 or Leinsdorf, Boston Symphony 3-VIC LSC-6186

CHOPIN, Frederic

- Concerto #1 in e for piano
Rubinstein, Skrowaczewski, New Symphony
London, VIC LSC-2575
or Argerich, Abbado, London Symphony
(+Liszt Concerto #1) DGG 139383
- Concerto #2 in f for piano
Vasary, Kulka, Berlin Philharmonic
(+Adante Splanato & Grande Polonaise)
DGG 136452
- Etudes
Vasary, DGG 136454
- Fantaisie in f (see piano music)
- Nocturnes (20)
Vasary, 2-DGG 136486/7
or Rubinstein, 2-VIC LSC 7050
- Piano Music (opus #)
Cliburn (11-61) VIC LSC-2576
Rubinstein (6-66) VIC LSC-2889,
- Polonaises (see piano music)
- Scherzos (see piano)
- Sonata #2 in b flat for piano and Sonata
#3 in b for piano
Cliburn, VIC LSC-3053
Rubinstein, VIC LDS-2554
- Waltzes
Vasary, DGG 136485

DVORAK, Antonin

- Carnival Overture
Reiner, Chicago Symphony (+ Mendelssohn:
Overture; Smetana: Bartered, Overture;
Strauss: Salome, VIC VICS-1424
- Concerto in b for cello
Fournier, Szell, Berlin Philharmonic
DGG 138755
or Rostropovich, Karajan, Berlin Philhar-
monic (+Tchaikovsky: Variations)
DGG 139044
- Slavonic Dances
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic (+Brahms:
Hungarian Dances), DGG 138080
or Reiner, Vienna Philharmonic (+Brahms:
Hungarian Dances), LON STS-15009
- Symphony #6 in D
Leinsdorf, Boston Symphony (+Slavonic
Dances), VIC LSC-3017
- Symphony #7 in d
Bernstein, New York Philharmonic
COL MS-6828
- Symphony #8 in G
Karajan, Vienna Philharmonic, LON-6443
or Kubelik, Berlin Philharmonic,
DGG 139181
- Symphony #9
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 138922
or Reiner, Chicago Symphony,
VIC LSC 2214

GRIEG, Edvard

- Concerto in A for piano
Anda, Kubelik, Berlin Philharmonic
(+Schumann: Concerto) DGG 138888
or Pennario, Leinsdorf, Los Angeles
Philharmonic (+Rachmaninoff: Rhapsody),

CAP SP-8441

- Peer Gynt Suites Nos. 1&2
Fiedler, Boston Pops (+Lyrics Suite),
VIC LSC-2125

LISZT, Franz

- Concerto #1 in E flat for piano
Pennario, Leibowitz, London Symphony
(+Chopin: Concerto #2), VIC VICS-1426
or Argerich, Abbado, London Symphony
(+Chopin Concerto #1) DGG 139383
- Concerto #2 in A for piano
Richter, Kondrashin (+Concerto #1)
Phi. 900000
or Cziffra, Vandernoot, Philharmonia
Orchestra (+Grieg Concerto), ANG
S-35738
- Hungarian Fantasia for piano
Cherkassky, Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic
(+Hungarian Rhapsody; Mazeppa)
DGG 138692
- Hungarian Rhapsodies (29) for piano
Cziffra (#2, 6, 12, 15) ANG 35429
- Hungarian Rhapsodies (6) Orchestra
Dorati, London Symphony (#1, 4, 5, 6)
MER 90371
- Les Preludes, Symphonic Poem #3
Fiedler, Boston Pops (+Hungarian Rhap-
sody; Mazeppa), VIC LSC-2442

MENDELSSOHN, Felix

- Concerto #1 in g for piano
R. Serkin, Ormandy, Philharmonia
Orchestra (+Concerto #2 in d) COL MS-6128
- Concerto in e for violin
Heifetz, Munch, Boston Symphony
(+Brahms Concerto; Tchaikovsky: Concerto)
2-VIC VCS-7058
- Midsummer Night's Dream, Incidental
Music
Szell, Cleveland Orchestra (+Schubert:
Rosamunde), COL MS-7002
- Symphony #3 in a, "Scotch"
Munch, Boston Symphony, VIC LSC-2520
- Symphony #4 in A, "Italian"
Maazel, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 138684
- Symphony #5 in d, "Reformation"
Maazel, Berlin Philharmonic, (+Sym-
phony #4), DGG 138684

MOZART, Wolfgang Amadeus

- The Symphonies #21 thru #41
Bohm, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 138---

MUSSORGSKY, Modest

- Night on Bald Mountain
Maazel, Berlin Philharmonic, (+Respighi:
Pines; Rimsky-Korsakov: Capriccio)
DGG 138033
- Pictures at an Exhibition
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic (+Ravel:
Bolero), DGG 139010
or Reiner, Chicago Symphony VIC
LSC-2201

OFFENBACH, Jacques
--Gaité Parisienne
Fiedler, Boston Pops, VIC VICS-1012

PAGANINI, Niccolò
--Concerto #1 in D for violin
Ashkenasi, Esser, Vienna Symphony
(+Concerto #2 in b) DGG 139424

PUCCINI, Giacomo
--La Bohème
Freni, Gedda, Adani, Sereni, Schippers,
Rome Opera, ANG S-3643

* SPECIAL REVIEW *

Anyone who has not been introduced, or properly introduced to opera, might begin with La Bohème. The melodies are among the most hauntingly beautiful. The synthesis of the libretto with the melodies is chillingly exciting, and yet it is light enough to serve as the perfect introduction to one of the greatest art forms.

--Madama Butterfly
Callas, Gedda, Karajan, La Scala,
ANG 3523
or Price, Tucker, Leinsdorf, RCA Italian
Opera Orchestra, LSC-6160
--Tosca
Callas, Bergonzi, Gobbi, Pretre, Paris
Conservatory Orchestra, ANG S-3655

RACHMANINOFF, Sergei
--All four Concertos plus Rhapsody,
Rachmaninoff, Ormandy, Philadelphia
Orchestra, 3-VIC LM-6123
--Concerto #1 in f sharp for piano
Pennino, Previn, Royal Philharmonic
(+Concerto #4 in g), VIC LSC-2788
--Concerto #2 in c for piano
Cliburn, Reiner, Chicago Symphony
VIC LSC-2601
--Concerto #3 in d for piano
Cliburn, Kondrashin, Symphony of the
Air, VIC LSC-2355
--Rhapsody of a Theme of Paganini
Rubinstein, Reiner, Chicago Symphony
(+Fallas: Nights), VIC LSC-2430
--Suites for 2 pianos
Vronsky & Babin, VIC LSC-2648
--Symphonic Dances
Ormandy, Philadelphia Orchestra
(+Casella: Paganiniana), COL CMS-6205
--Symphonies (3) Complete
Ormandy, Philadelphia Orchestra
(+Vocalise), COL DCS-813
--Symphony #1 in d
Ormandy, Philadelphia Orchestra, COL
MS-6986
--Symphony #2 in e
Previn, London Symphony, VIC LSC-2899

--Symphony #3 in a
Previn, London Symphony (+Rock), VIC
LSC-2990

RIMSKY-KORSAKOV, Nikolai
--Antar (Symphony #2)
Gould, Chicago Symphony, VIC LSC-3022
--Capriccio espagnol
Maazel, Berlin Philharmonic (+Mussorgsky:
Night; Respighi: Pines), DGG 138033
or Kondrashin, RCA VIC Symphony
(+Tchaikovsky: Capriccio), VIC LSC-2323
--Coq d'or: Suite
Ormandy, Philadelphia Orchestra (+Rus-
sian Easter Overture; Glinka: Russian)
COL MS-6092
--Scheherazade
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 139022
or Reiner, Chicago Symphony, VIC
LSC-2446

ROSSINI, Gioacchino
--The Barber of Seville (opera)
Merrill, Peters, Corena, Valletti, Tozzi,
Leinsdorf, VIC LSC-6143
--Overtures
Reiner, Chicago Symphony (William Tell;
Scala di seta; Signor Bruschino; Barber;
Gazza ladra; Cenerentola), VIC LSC-2318
or Serafin, Rome Opera Orchestra (Gazza
ladra; Scala di seta; William Tell; Barber
of Seville; Semiramide), DGG 136395
--Sonatas for strings
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic (#1, 2, 3, & 6)
DGG 139041

SCHUBERT, Franz
--Symphony #4 in c, "Tragic"
Menuhin Orchestra (+Symphony #5)
ANG S-36592
--Symphony #5 in B flat
Reiner, Chicago Symphony (+Symphony #8)
VIC LSC-2516
--Symphony #6 in C, "Little"
Menuhin, Bath Festival Orchestra (+Sym-
phony #2) ANG S-36453
--Symphony #8 in b, "Unfinished"
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, (+Beethoven:
Overture), DGG 139001
--Symphony #9 in C, "The Great"
Bohm, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 138877
or Munch, Boston Symphony, VIC LSC-
2344

SCHUMANN, Robert
--Concerto in a for cello & orchestra
Rostropovich, Rozhdestvensky, Lenin-
grad Philharmonic (+Tchaikovsky: Rococo)
DGG 138674
--Concerto in a for piano & orchestra
Cliburn, Reiner, Chicago Symphony
VIC LSC-2455
--Concerto in d for violin
Szeryng, Dorati, London Symphony (+Men-
delsohn: Concerto #1), MER 90406

--Symphonies (4) Complete
Kubelik, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 138860
955-908 (+Manfred Overture: Genoveva)
--Symphony #1 in B flat
Munch, Boston Symphony (+Schubert: Symphony #2), VIC VICS-1436
--Symphony #2 in C
Klemperer, New Philharmonia (+Genoveva Overture), ANG S-36606
--Symphony #3 in E flat
Solti, Vienna Philharmonic (+Symphony #4), LON 6582
--Symphony #4 in d
Klemperer, Philharmonia Orchestra
(+Mendelssohn: Symphony #4) ANG S-15019

TCHAIKOVSKY, Peter Ilyitch
--Capriccio Italien
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic (+Violin Concerto), DGG 139028
--Concerto #1 in b flat for piano & orchestra
Cliburn, Kondrashin, Symphony, VIC LSC-2252
or Richter, Karajan, Vienna Symphony
DGG 138822
or Rubinstein, Leinsdorf, Boston Symphony, VIC LSC-2681
--Concerto #2 in G for piano & orchestra
Graffman, Ormandy, Philadelphia Orchestra, (+Concerto #3), COL MS-6755
--Concerto in D for violin
Helfetz, Reiner, Chicago Symphony
VIC LSC-2129
--Francesca da Rimini
Munch, Boston Symphony (+Romeo & Juliet), VIC VICS-1197
--Marche Slave
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic (+Overture or 1812 and Romeo & Juliet), DGG 139029

--Nutcracker (excerpts)
Reiner, Chicago Symphony, VIC LSC-2328
or Karajan, Vienna Symphony (+Grieg: Peer Gynt), LON 6420
--Overture 1812
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic (+Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody; Preludes; Sibelius: Finlandia) DGG 643212
--Sleeping Beauty (excerpts - Ballet)
Karajan, Vienna Philharmonic (+Swan Lake), LON 6452
--Swan Lake
Ormandy, Philadelphia Orchestra, COL MS-6437
--Symphonies
Svetlanov, USSR Symphony, Melodia/ANG S-40043-55-57/60
--Symphony #1 in g, "Winter Dreams"
Swarowsky, Vienna Philharmonic
Urania 58008
--Symphony #2 in c, "Little Russian"
Previn, London Symphony, (+Liadov)
VIC LSC-2884
or Abbado, New Philharmonia, DGG 139381
--Symphony #3 in D, "Polish"
Swarowsky, Vienna State Opera Orchestra
Urania 5126
--Symphony #4 in f
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 139017
or Monteux, Boston Symphony, VIC LSC-2369
--Symphony #5 in e
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 139018
or Monteux, Boston Symphony, LSC-2239
--Symphony #6 in b, "Pathetique"
Karajan, Berlin Philharmonic, DGG 138921
or Munch, Boston Symphony, VIC LSC-2683

(non-libertarian)

Periodicals of Interest

ALTERNATIVE - monthly newsprint, high circulation, articles, essays, reviews, conservative bias, from: Rural Route 11, Box 360, Bloomington, Indiana 47401

CANADA MONTH - monthly, quality commentary magazine, strongly conservative bias, from: 4920 de Maisonneuve Blvd., West Montreal, 215 Quebec, Canada

CAPITALIST REPORTER - newsprint, monthly, professionally done articles on how to make money, conservative, from: 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y., 10011

FREEDOM MAGAZINE - organ of Liberty Amendment Committee, articles, current events, conservative, from: 6413 Franklin Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90028

HUMAN EVENTS - weekly, newsprint, well established, news and articles, conservative, from: 422 First St. S.E., Washington D.C. 20003

INTERCOLLEGIATE REVIEW - Quarterly, established, conservative, essays and articles, from: 14 South Bryn Mawr Ave., Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010

RAMPARTS - national monthly magazine, strongly leftist, good muckraking articles, from: 2054 University Ave., Berkeley, Ca. 94704

NATIONAL REVIEW - national monthly magazine, strongly conservative, articles and news, edited by William Buckley, from:

vival and happiness in the face of the law held as a justification for itself. One of the greatest novels ever written, by the author Ayn Rand considers to be the greatest who ever lived. Hugo's plots are fantastic, his characterization beautiful, his themes powerful, his backgrounds exciting and detailed. Anyone who wants a brief introduction to Hugo's work should read chapters four, five, and six, book two, of Ninety-Three. Greater writing than that is seldom found.

HAWTHORNE, Nathaniel, The Scarlet Letter, a in-depth, and beautifully written account of social guilt. Hendricks House, H. C. \$3.00
Celestial Railroad And Other Stories, NAL, P. B. \$.75

Blithedale Romance, Norton, P. B. \$1.65

HAZLITT, Henry, Time Will Run Back, not the best novel you'll ever read from an artistic standpoint, but a fascinating idea none-the-less, the rediscovery of capitalism in a future world of socialism. Arlington House, H. C. \$6.00

HEINLEIN, Robert, The Moon Is A Harsh Mistress, the TANSTAAFL book, a lunny revolution against a world dictatorship. Should only be read by the light of a full Earth. Berkley, P. B. \$.95

Stranger In A Strange Land, a comic and intriguing parody of the JC figure in a not too distant future. A total explosion of conservative blind faith and morality. Berkley, P. B. \$1.25

Orphans Of The Sky, a future Columbus on a World five miles long. Berkley, P. B. \$.75

I Will Fear No Evil, a fascinating idea carried too far, or not far enough. Berkley, P. B. \$1.25

KAFKA, Franz, The Trial, the horror of a man accused of an unnamed crime by a state which places itself above moral justification. Schocken, P. B. \$1.95

KOESTLER, Arthur, Darkness At Noon, a picture of the collectivist state, and a man who has helped to create it, and then becomes its victim. Mod. Lib., H. C. \$2.95

KUZNETSOV (A. Anatoli) a chilling novel beautifully written by a Russian author who recently escaped. Farrar, Straus, Giroux, H. C. \$10.00

LEVIN, Ira, This Perfect Day, an ideal collectivist state, and the man who destroys it. Random House, H. C., Fawcett, P. B. \$1.25
A Kiss Before Dying, a finely hewn mystery. Simon and Schuster, H. C., Pyramid, P. B. \$.75

LONDON, Jack, Best Short Stories, Doubleday, H. C. \$4.95

Call Of The Wild, NAL, P. B. \$.50

Sea Wolf & Selected Stories, NAL, P. B. \$.60
All by a master storyteller.

MILTON, John, The Complete Poems Of, And Selected Prose, Mod. Lib. \$2.95
Random House, H. C. \$12.50

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* SPECIAL REVIEW *

Frank Lloyd Wright

Wright is an enigma. The greatest American architect, he revolutionized his field. A genius of both engineering and aesthetic beauty, his name automatically comes to most minds with just the mention of the word architecture. He lived an uncompromising and individualistic life based on his own values--but those values he publicly avowed were in direct contradiction to his own lifestyle. He agreed with the basic tenets of socialism and said he quested for an egalitarian architecture, while building structures of incomparable uniqueness. Unlike many men of accomplishment in a specific field, he did not hide himself in that field from the challenges of a full life. He wrote, lectured, taught, and attempted to come to a philosophical understanding of himself and his world. Much of his thought reveals the same genius which he applied to his work. His errors of logic are obvious and can easily be seen to stem from a faith in Christianity which he never came to question. His faults are many, but his accomplishments tower above them.

BIOGRAPHY

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The First Circle, Harper & Row, \$10.00

Works Of, Bantam, P. B. \$4.95

WEBSTER, Merwin, Calumet "K", the novel Ayn Rand has called her favorite. NBI Press, available from Academic Associates, P. B. \$2.95

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Periodicals

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A IS A: DIRECTORY - is an annual guide to libertarian periodicals, past and present 9730 Hyne Rd., Brighton, Michigan 48116

A IS A: NEWSLETTER - is a digest of current libertarian news with articles, both very well done, from: MEGA, 9730 Hyne Road, Brighton, Mich. 48116

ARK - Objectivist, written for non-libertarians as well as libertarians, bi-monthly, from P.O. Box 4103, Longview Branch P.O., Hickory, North Carolina 28601

ABOLITIONIST - monthly magazine, organ of the Radical Libertarian Alliance, varied viewpoint, basically anarchist, well done, from: P.O. Box 14, Verona, N.J. 07044

AYN RAND LETTER - bi-monthly monograph from the developer of Objectivism, expensively produced and costly to buy, write: 201 East 34th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

BOOK NEWS - quarterly, excellent reviews of books of interest to libertarians, an organ of Academic Associates book service, 8560 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif., 90069

CATALYST - semi annual, professionally done, laissez faire viewpoint, from 315 Blantyre Ave., Scarborough, Ontario, Ca.

DOLLARS AND SENSE - monthly, excellent articles and news, organ of the National Taxpayers Union (see listings) 319 5th St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

EFFICACY - quarterly, well done, essays, short stories, objectivist viewpoint, from: P.O. Box 1747, Harlingen, Texas

ERGO - weekly, newsprint, well done, high circulation in MIT area, essays, articles, news, reviews, from: Box 117, 3 Ames St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139

FICTION - monthly, quality, romantic-realist, prose, poetry, drama, reviews, from: Avenue Victor Hugo, P.O. Box 322 Manchester, Vermont 05254

* SPECIAL REVIEW *

FICTION

This monthly magazine, which will begin publication in June, has been conceived by the company which brings you this HANDBOOK, Avenue Victor Hugo, to fill an utter vacuum in the media, and a strong demand among lovers of Prose, Poetry, and Drama for a publication devoted to those art forms in their finest development, Romantic-Realism. FICTION will first be offered to libertarians, and then advertised on the national market. If you love the art of writing, and you are satisfied with your purchase of this HANDBOOK, you will want FICTION.

FIREBRINGER - monthly, art, articles, photo-essays, Objectivist, anarcho-capitalist, from: P.O. Box 4749, Colorado Springs, Col. 80909

FOCUS - bi-weekly, newsletter, objectivist viewpoint, from: P.O. Box 38537, Hollywood, Calif. 90038

FREEMAN - monthly, organ of the Foundation For Economic Education, conservative, excellent articles, from: FEE, 30 South Broadway, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y., 10533

FREE MARKET - every six weeks, mimeo, advertising organ of L.C. (see LIBERTARIAN CONNECTIONS)

INDIVIDUALIST - monthly, journal of the SIL, well done, articles, reviews, essays, prose, from: 400 Bonifant Rd., Silver Spring, Md. 20904

INDEPENDENT LIBERTARIAN COMMENTARY - mimeo, objectivist viewpoint, from: R. Cassella, 60 Broad St., Staten Island, New York, N.Y. 10304

INVICTUS - monthly organ of Calif. State College at L.A. Students of Objectivism, articles, reviews, from: CSCLA Students of Objectivism, Trident Bldg, 5151 State College Drive, Los Angeles, Calif. 90032

INTEGRITY - monthly, mimeo, prose, poetry, essays, from: P.O. Box 305 Garfield, N.J. 07026

LIBERTARIAN - monthly, good articles, essays, reviews, from: Box 36, Wenonah, N. J. 08090

LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS - well done, quarterly, essays, articles, anarchist viewpoint, from: Box 210, Village Sta., New York, N. Y., 10014

LIBERTARIAN CONNECTION - every six weeks, dependable mimeo, subscriber written, from: Lisa Dawn, 90913 Worldway Postal Center, Los Angeles, Cal 90009

* SPECIAL REVIEW *

LIBERTARIAN CONNECTION

This is the greatest buy since penny bubble gum. Mimeographed and cheaply produced, it is subscriber written. It carries everything from the banal and idiotic to the inspirational. An open forum. A nutty candy bar of thought, ideas, offers, and suggestions. One of the only profit making ventures in the libertarian marketplace. It has the most dependable record of all the periodicals. If you're not getting it, considering the price of \$3.50 3rd class, \$4.50 1st class, you'll just have to miss all the fun.

LIBERTARIAN FORUM - fortnightly, edited by Murray Rothbard, newsletter, articles, from: Box 341, Madison Square Sta, N. Y., N. Y. 10010

LIFE AND LIBERTY - bi-monthly, essays, articles, anarcho-capitalist, associated with N.J. Libertarian Alliance, from: Collin Claxon, 59 Duer St., North Plainfield, N.J. 07060

MATCH - monthly, newsprint, articles, essays, photographs, anarchist, from: P.O. Box 3684, Tucson, Ariz. 85720

MOTHER EARTH NEWS - fortnightly, articles on alternative life styles and methods, from: P.O. Box 38, Madison, Ohio 44057

THE NEW BANNER - monthly, newsprint, articles, reviews, photographs, current news events, well done, from: P.O. Box 1972, Columbia, S.C. 29202

NEW CAPITALIST DIGEST - monthly, objectivist, essays and articles, from: P.O. Box 2463-D Pasadena, Calif. 91105

OUTLOOK - monthly, excellent articles and humor, anarcho-capitalist, from: Box 1027, Newark, New Jersey 07101

SPECIAL REVIEW

OUTLOOK -

An excellent buy. This brand-new magazine offers a staff of stars: Murray Rothbard, Karl Hess, Jerome Tuccille and Roy Childs, Jr., all write for this impressively attractive journal. Monthly, \$5.00 per year.

RAMPART COLLEGE NEWSLETTER - free, autarchist monthly, news and events, from: Rampart College, 104 W. Fourth St., Santa Ana, Calif. 92701

REASON - monthly, excellent articles and essays, reviews, from: P.O. Box 6151 Santa Barbara, Cal. 93105

SPECIAL REVIEW

REASON -

Easily the finest of the many libertarian periodicals. By using a professional format and concentrating on one major theme per issue, it has become a coherent voice of good scholarship and general interest, a seldom found combination. Recommended without reservation as the one magazine every rational (and therefore serious) libertarian should subscribe to. A bargain at the price of \$7.50 per year.

SELF RELIANCE - newsletter, organ of Libertarian Enterprises, excellent book reviews, from: LE, 1700-D Clarkson Rd. Richmond, Virginia 23224

SIL NEWS - monthly, newsletter, articles, commentary, current events, organ of Society for Individual Liberty, P.O. Box 304 Empire Bldg., Philadelphia, Penn. 19107

SOL III - monthly, well done magazine, essays, articles, poems, from 1909 Green St. Phil. Pa, 19130

STARBOARD - monthly newsletter, objectivist viewpoint, from Box 1069 Southgate, Michigan, 48231

UNBOUND - monthly, newsletter, articles, essays, current events, organ of New Right Coalition, 330 Dartmouth St., Boston, Ma. 02116

VOLITION - mimeo monthly, subscriber written, varied opinion, from: West Thayer, Bismark, N.D. 58501

VONU LIFE - bi-monthly, varied opinion, nomad, retreatist oriented articles, from: Box 458 ZN Cave Junction, Or. 97523

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For periodicals which are not specifically libertarian, but may be of interest, refer to further listings on page .

Are You a STARVING READER?

YOU LIKE A GOOD STORY--but you seldom finish the stuff you see in print

these days. Almost everything you like was written before you were born.

FINE POETRY SETS YOU DREAMING--but the poetry you've read lately wasn't
so fine...or even poetry.

DRAMA EXCITES YOU--there is a bit of Cyrano in your soul, but a good play is
as rare as a gold bar in the hands of a U.S. citizen.

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Associations



Over twenty national organizations, adapted to almost every variant of libertarian ideas and strategies, make up what is known as "the Libertarian movement." They vary tremendously in size, specialization, and effectiveness. The institutes, foundations, and political groups which follow are among the most important.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE ABOLITION OF INVOLUNTARY MENTAL HOSPITALIZATION is a libertarian-run group seeking to end state powers of locking up people who are "mentally unhealthy". Further information: Dr. Thomas Szasz, AAIMH, 116 Bradford Parkway, Syracuse, New York 13224.

THE CAPITALIST COUNTRY is another project to establish a libertarian enclave on an island. The head of the group, Michael Oliver, recently bought 8,500 acres on the New Hebrides and has announced plans to establish a libertarian community there. Future enclaves are projected.

Additional information: The Capitalist Country, P.O. Box 485, Carson City, Nevada.

THE CENTER FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LIBERTARIAN LAW consists of a group of libertarian lawyers, organized to challenge coercive state regulations and laws. CALL intends to assist in the defense of libertarians brought to court, and publishes a regular journal.

Information: The Center for the Advancement of Libertarian Law, Box 14, Verona, New Jersey 07044.

THE CENTER FOR INDEPENDENT EDUCATION is an established and well-funded institute offering a large number of very inexpensive pamphlets on education. The CIE holds seminars for teachers and administrators of non-governmental schools, and supports the dismantlement of state-funded schools. These are examples of some of the excellent publications offered in the area of education: Education in America by George Roche - \$1.50, Toward a Competitive School System by David Friedman - \$.10, Another Look at Education Vouchers by George H. Pearson - \$.10, Education, Free and Compulsory by Dr. Murray N. Rothbard - \$1.00.

For additional information, write: The Center for Independent Education, 9115 E, Thirteenth St., Wichita, Kansas 67206.

CENTER FOR LIBERTARIAN STUDIES is an activist anarcho-capitalist group involved in various methods of getting information about libertarianism out to the public, including radio, free university courses, and printed material. Open to new people and new ideas. write: Box 66321, Houston, Texas 77006

THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION (FEE) is a handsomely endowed educational institution in New York which seeks to further understanding of the free market and free society. Principle activities include publications of a (free) monthly magazine, The Freeman, a prompt book service, and seminars. FEE is decidedly limited -statist in stance.

More information may be acquired by writing FEE, 830 South Broadway, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York 10533.

* SPECIAL REPORT *

NOTES ON F.E.E.

F.E.E. is located in a pre-Depression mansion overlooking the Hudson, built when George M. Cohan ruled Broadway with songs about the red, white and blue. F.E.E. too is ruled by one man. He raises the most of its funds, he writes the most of its literature, and dictates its policy. To understand what F.E.E. is, one must look at Leonard E. Read.

When not traveling around the country and the world, playing tennis, or curling, Mr. Read resides in an office large enough to comfortably stand fifty people before his desk. Momenta and Quteso decorate the walls, shelves and the desk. The desk seems too large for the medium size man of seventy or so who sits behind it. He is lean and healthy looking, but unimpressive. Then he moves and speaks. His voice is authoritative and controlled; a speaker's voice. His gestures seem calculated, and well practiced. His eyes are sharp and steady, fixing on your own, then wandering the open spaces of the room, or the width and breadth of the desk and all the things which are stacked and positioned there. It soon occurs to you that he does not really see what he is looking at. The movement of the eyes is also a calculated gesture.

He speaks in analogies, parables and stories. There is no attempt at logical analysis in his answers or statements. All that he says has the feeling of having been used before; all seems pointed toward using you. Manipulation in conversation by the use of the familiar is

commonplace in the Orient: draw the listener into sympathy by revealing the common bond of common experience. In ten minutes you know that Mr. Read is a high class used car salesman. (Note: this is not to disparage all used car salesmen.) For the next twenty minutes you watch and listen in interest at his technique. After the first half hour it begins to rub you raw. You long to hear a clean logical statement.

Mr. Read is a conservative. One need only read a few of his "Notes from FEE", or any one of his books, to know he is not a Libertarian, despite his statements that he is responsible more than any other man for the popularization of the word. A few Quotes from his most recent book will suffice.

In a chapter entitled 'A Confession of Faith': ".....the truly civilized person is a devotee of freedom; he opposes all man-concocted restraints against the release of creative human energy." But, "In order to achieve this ideal, it is necessary that there be an agency of society -- representative of the social side of man -- which codifies the thou-shalt-nots, the taboos, the destructive actions and enforces their observation.....The fact that society's agency -- government -- has an historical record of getting out of hand, of becoming destructive itself, only testifies to how far from civilization we are. It does not warrant discarding the idea of the ideal; it does not justify anarchy." (1)

Much like Ayn Rand, he never tackles the idea of anarchy with any reasoned analysis. He dismisses it out of hand with a slur that reveals his own lack of thought on the subject. In another respect their approach to their philosophies are similar, albeit for reasons based on different premises. He makes a great deal out of not 'propagandizing', proselytizing, or becoming involved with overt political action. 'The Truth Will Out' by eduction, not education. One must concentrate on self-realization alone But similarity between Rand and Read ends there. You will find no originality (or very little) in reading Read. Excepting a few issues, he espouses what sounds like a completely Libertarian line. But the concepts are stolen. Almost any statement he makes sounds like a bad paraphrase of Mises, Bastiat, or the Bible.

A few more Quotes may serve to round out the picture of the man. On integrity: "The accurate reflection in word and deed of whatever one's highest conscience dictates as truth. Such dictates of conscience may not in fact be truth, but they are the nearest approximation possible for any human being -- the closest he can ever come the The Kingdom."

On pragmatism: "'I must be practical' is among the most forbidding

obstacles to Righteousness" and then, "I, for one, am as firmly resolved to abide by those man-made laws obnoxious to me as the man-discovered and moral laws attractive to me -- 'so long as I am free to speak my piece and write about it.' And hear this: not as a means of prolonging the laws I abhor is this position taken but as my only practical way to be rid of them!"

On values: "...what is man's earthly purpose? The answer hinges on three fundamental assumptions." The first is too much: "...man did not create himself, for it is easily demonstrable that man knows practically nothing whatsoever about himself. Thus, my first assumption is the primacy and supremacy of an Infinite Consciousness."

On the derivation of mores (and for that matter, right and wrong): man should be "realistic enough to know that these rules are not made up by individuals on the spur of the moment; they develop by permission of the consensus -- the ruling force.

"The consensus, in brief, is the residual legatee of mankind's history; it consists of what is handed down to us plus what we, who live on the growing edge, put into it -- good, bad or indifferent." "We who desire change for the better must look to a higher grade consensus -- nothing less."

Enough said. But do not totally forget the existence of F.E.E. They publish the works of some of the greatest minds the world has known, as well as the works of Mr. Read.

1. The Truth Will Out, Leonard E. Read, The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., 1971.

FREE EARTH INTERNATIONAL is a tightly-knit group of libertarians which believe that establishing efficient, profitable services to replace current state institutions will be the best avenue for change. The group is headed by Nicholas Raeder, publisher of SOL III.

Information: Free Earth International, 1909 Green St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19130.

THE INSTITUTE FOR BIO-CENTRIC PSYCHOLOGY is a California-based organization operated by Nathaniel Branden which promotes Branden's psychological theories and principles. The Institute offers a large selection of libertarian - oriented books.

For further details write: The Institute for Bio-Centric Psychology
8380 Melrose Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90069

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEMS is a laissez-faire capitalist think-tank which hopes to further alternatives to state-licensed monopolies.

Write: The Institute for the Study of Economic Systems, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

THE INSTITUTE FOR HUMANE STUDIES is an international association of libertarian scholars, based in California. It offers fellowships and scholarships to qualified college and graduate students and distributes books.

For additional information, write: IHS, 1134 Crane Street, Menlo Park, California 94025.

THE KOCH FOUNDATION has lent financial support to a number of libertarian organizations and projects. Wholly or partly backed libertarian groups receiving Koch Foundation support include Rampart College, the Center for Independent Education, and The Centitute for for Humane Studies.

Information: The Koch Foundation, Box 22356, Wichita, Kansas 67206.

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNITY, USA is a project intended to show how a community could function entirely on voluntarist principles. The community would serve both as a refuge for libertarians and as an advertisement for the workability of laissez-faire communities.

Information: Libertarian Community, USA, P.O. Box 836, Lansing, Michigan 48904.

THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY is a new, fast-growing national effort to put libertarian candidates on the ballot. Organizers of the Libertarian Party believe that the Democratic, Republican, and Conservative Parties are hopeless as advocates of libertarianism, and intend to capitalize on the publicity fall out from political campaigns to disseminate libertarian ideas. Members have adopted a temporary platform (see page 92) calling for an end to U.S. intervention in the economy, elimination of "crimes without victims", U.S. withdrawal from Indochina, improvement of the court system, and the right to secede. A final platform will be adopted when the first Libertarian Party convention is held in Colorado this June; also voted on at that time will be LP candidates for national office. The Party publishes a newsletter each month, available for \$3. per year to non-members and free to members. Membership dues are \$4. per year for students and \$6. for non-students.

Further information may be requested from: Libertarian Party, 7748 Lowell Boulevard, Westminster, Colorado 80030.

THE MIDWEST SOCIETY OF NEW INTELLECTUALS is an Objectivist oriented group which sponsors occasional conferences and seeks to

further libertarianism through educational means. MSNI publishes a monthly newsletter.
Further information: MSNI, 2800 Lakeshore Drive, Apt. 4208, Chicago, Illinois.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO LEGALIZE GOLD is a recently formed group designed to lobby and educate for legal private ownership of gold. The group publishes a newsletter and bumper stickers are free with membership.

For further information, write: The National Committee to Legalize Gold, 143 Wren St., New Orleans, Louisiana 70124.

THE NATIONAL TAXPAYERS UNION is the best organized anti-tax group on a national level, and is run by libertarians. Activities include lobbying, coordination of local anti-tax groups, publication of a monthly newsletter and various brochures. A recent NTU sponsored conference in Washington was attended by over 100 people. Write: The National Taxpayers Union, 319 Fifth St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

THE NEW RIGHT COALITION is the third, and most recent, offshoot of YAF. Formed in July 1970 by a handful of individuals in the Boston area, it has since grown phenomenally, to the point where it now has chapters in twenty states and three foreign countries. Organizers of the group have shown exceptional grasp for publicity-gaining techniques, capably running demonstrations and poster campaigns. Most members of NRC advocate a limited-state and vigorously support Ayn Rand, taking a less radical view of American foreign policy and history than do SIL or RLA. The group offers a variety of issue papers and posters, plus a monthly newsletter.
Further information: The New Right Coalition, 330 Dartmouth Street, Boston, Mass. 02116

THE OCEAN LIFE RESEARCH FOUNDATION is an organization seeking to explore ways of establishing communities on and under the sea. The group is laissez-faire capitalist in orientation.
For information, write: The Ocean Life Research Foundation, Box 165, Carson City, Nevada 89701.

OPERATION ATLANTIS is an ambitious attempt by a New York libertarian group to buy or create an island in the Atlantic. The group has already established its own money system, based on sterling silver "atcops", and publishes a fortnightly newsletter. A complete blueprint of the groups' plans is available for \$1.00.
Information: Operation Atlantis, RD 5, Box 22, Saugerties, New York, 12477.

THE PORTOLA INSTITUTE is run by the publisher of the Whole Earth Catalog, a libertarian. The Institute can give advice about dropping out and self-survival, though the Whole Earth Catalog will probably have all the information you need.

For information, write: The Portola Institute, 558 Santa Cruz, Menlo Park, California 94025.

THE RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE is a group of anarcho-capitalists and anarcho-socialists which has explored a variety of approaches: cooperation with the New Left, the Ripon Society, and the Presidential campaign of Senator William Proxmire. Formed like SIL, after the 1969 split in YAF, RLA takes a hard line against American foreign involvement and views conservatives as being at least as dangerous to domestic liberties as liberals. Most RLA members have been significantly influenced by Karl Hess, Murray Rothbard, and Gabriel Kolko. Many, while admiring the writings of Ayn Rand, vehemently disagree with the stances she has taken on some political issues. The group offers a book service and a monthly publication.

For further information, write: Radical Libertarian Alliance, c/o LABS, GPO Box 2487, New York, New York 10001.

THE SOCIETY FOR INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY (SIL) is the largest explicitly libertarian organization in the United States. Formed in 1969 after a libertarian revolt from Young Americans for Freedom, SIL now has approximately 3,000 members and chapters in 30 states. The group emphasizes educational activities; as of the beginning of this year it published an offset-printed magazine (The Individualist), a newsletter, and a wide number of issue papers. The organization also provides a book service and a speakers bureau, and has sponsored or co-sponsored a number of libertarian conventions. Past speakers at SIL conferences have included Murray N. Rothbard, Milton Friedman, Jeffrey St. John, and Robert LeFevre. Nearly all of SIL's staff is anarcho-capitalist; all have been heavily influenced by Ayn Rand and Murray N. Rothbard. The same goes for SIL's general membership. For further information, write: SIL, Empire Building Room 304, 13 and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, Penn. 19107. Membership cost - \$3 per year - includes a subscription to the newsletter. A complete listing of SIL chapters is available.

THE STUDENT LIBERTARIAN ACTION MOVEMENT (SLAM) is a militant anarchist group based in Arizona, which maintains that both capitalism and socialism are tenable within an anarchist society. The group occasionally publishes a newspaper called "The Match." Information: SLAM, Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona

THE VERITAS FUND is another libertarian foundation which has supported a variety of educational endeavors in the past.

Additional information: The Veritas Fund, Box 782, Quincy, Illinois 62301.

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The following organizations, while not explicitly libertarian in nature, may be of value to libertarians for some purposes.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS is a California group seeking to do what its name says, through education and demonstrations.

Write: Abolish All Abortion Laws, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles, California

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION is great on civil liberties, terrible on economic. An increasing number of libertarians are joining this influential organization, however.

Write for additional information:

ACLU, 1410 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C.

THE RIPON SOCIETY began in the early sixties as a haven for liberal Republicans, but has since shown some libertarian tendencies. The former president of the Society, Josiah Lee Auspitz, considers himself a libertarian and is familiar with Ludwig von Mises.

For further information: The Ripon Society, 14a Eliot Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

THE WAR RESISTOR'S LEAGUE is a New York-based group which is strongly pacifist in orientation. The group's publication, WIN, ran a very favorable series of articles on libertarianism a year ago.

Information: The War Resistor's League, 339 Lafayette, New York, New York 10012.

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM is the largest conservative youth organization in the country. YAF maintains a fairly laissez-faire economic stance.

Additional information may be obtained by writing:

1221 Mass. Ave. NW, Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen may cry peace, peace -- but there is no peace... Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

Patrick Henry

Individuals (past)

There is far too little room here to do justice to the many persons who have fought for freedom in this country -- Susan B. Anthony, Dorothea Lynde Dix, James Russell Lowell, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Lucy Stone, the Tappan brothers, Theodore Dwight Weld, and John Greenleaf Whittier are but a few. The following are among the better known and perhaps most influential.

Ralph Waldo Emerson began as a pastor in the Unitarian Church, which he left at the age of twenty nine to devote his energies to writing and lecturing. In and around him was born the Transcendentalist movement in America, a belief in the integrity of human nature and man's ability to grasp the truth. His ideas concerning individualism, the abolition of slavery, and freedom were profoundly felt by the public through his poetry, and his voice was often heard from the wings during any important event of the times. He was the mentor of the second age of American intellectual thought.

William Lloyd Garrison, an incisive and uncompromising foe of slavery, demanded and got people's attention focused on the issue of ownership of human beings after building the abolitionist movement from scratch. Beginning with The Liberator in 1831, and despite frequent physical danger (he was carried around Boston with a rope around his neck in 1835) Garrison vowed "I will not compromise, I will not equivocate, I will not surrender a single inch, and I will be heard." Heard he was, and with the assistance of philosophical anarchists such as Stephen Pearl Andrews, the abolitionists made opposition to slavery respectable. His name was the most hated in the South because of his position of immediate, complete, and uncompensated abolition.

Thomas Jefferson, astronomer, architect, inventor, farmer, lawyer; author of numerous pamphlets, a history, geography, and social study called Notes On Virginia, the Kentucky Resolves against the alien and sedition acts, and The Declaration Of Independence; representative at the Second Continental Congress, Governor of Virginia, Minister to France, Secretary of State, Party leader, Vice-President, President, and philosopher, was more than any other man, the physical and ideological architect of this nation at its birth. Despite a fondness for majority rule and public education, he maintained throughout his career that individual liberty and initiative were paramount values in society. Jefferson mistrusted all governments--he

knew their proclivity to tyranny--and accepted Federalism only with the proviso that the Constitution command absolute respect, and that an expansive Bill Of Rights accompany it. When the Federal government under John Adams implemented the notoriously repressive Alien and Sedition Acts, Jefferson lead the outcry against them. Later, while President, Jefferson vigorously upheld freedom of the press in the face of vicious and sometimes personally slanderous press criticism. "I am not a friend to a very energetic government. It is always oppressive," he wrote in 1787, and by and large kept to it. Jefferson was a slave holder, and he did go beyond constitutional mandates in approving the Louisiana Purchase, but his contribution to American intellectual life nonetheless was overwhelmingly libertarian.

H. L. Mencken, "The bad boy of Baltimore," carved himself a world-wide reputation for iconoclasm and individualism in the 20's and 30's. While Mencken did not publicly admit to abstract philosophical issues, he consistently defended freedom of speech, the natural aristocracy of wealth, and foreign isolationism. His monthly magazine the American Mercury, enjoyed huge success throught the 20's, offering pungent, witty, and often cynical social commentary. Mencken himself became the focus of controversy on many ocassions. One of the best known incidents took place when the Mercury published an article the State of Massachusetts considered obscene, and Mencken traveled to Boston Common to sell copies of the banned issue. The Massachusetts censorship commissioner came to personally purchase an issue from Mencken in the hopes of jailing him for selling obscene material. Mencken, with great showmanship, bit the commissioners coin to test its metal. He was subsequently arrested and acquitted of all charges several days later. Mencken's audience diminished as the Depression embraced the nation, but he continued to attack state attempts to constrict market functions and limit individual liberty. He was not overly sanguine about America by the end of his career, for he saw The New Deal as affirmation of de Tocqueville's fears that majority rule would crush individualism.

Albert Jay Nock was a respected, but not widely read, social critic and Jeffersonian. As editor of the Nation during World War I, his strongly anti-interventionist articles saw his magazine banned from U.S. mails twice. Several years later Nock left to found the Freeman, a publication which drew respectful notice from other 'intellectual' journals, but which failed a few years after its founding. In his two best books, OUR ENEMY THE STATE and MEMOIRS OF A SUPERFLUOUS MAN, Nock revealed his profound pessimism about the future of liberty: "The American people once had their liberties, had them all; but apparently they could not rest o'nights until they had turned them over to a prehensile crew of professional politicians." But thro-

ughout his life he upheld a belief in "intellectual selfishness, intelligent egoism, and intelligent hedonism", fought the debasement of classical academic study, and wrote in the hopes of giving encouragement to the "remnant" of libertarians in a growingly collectivist age.

Herbert Spencer, an Englishman, relatively unknown in his homeland, is historically the most influential economist and social thinker to ever further the cause of libertarianism in America. From the eighteen-sixties until the early part of this century his two best known works, SOCIAL STATICS and PRINCIPLES OF BIOLOGY were the foundation for popular argument for laissez faire and social Darwinism. In fact a close friend of Charles Darwin, he too was one of the most radical thinkers of the 19th century being an uncompromising advocate of a state limited to police and military only, and against public education and any form of government interference with business. Agreement with his thought by the leading minds in law can be held to be directly responsible for 171 decisions by the Supreme Court between 1905 and 1932 against state interference in economic life. His teachings were the last bastion against the statists and collectivists of Progressivism and The New Deal.

Lysander Spooner, the least popularly known libertarian thinker, developed the first consistent individualist-anarchist analysis of society in the middle of the 19th century. Spooner found the state getting in his way wherever he turned. His desire to become a lawyer was thwarted by a statute requiring three years of college, until he successfully mustered enough support for its repeal. Later, when he began a company to compete with the U.S. Postal Department, offering better delivery for a fraction of the price, Congress passed the "Spooner" Act, outlawing private competition in mail service. This law he was not able to repeal. Spooner eventually found his best weapon against the state to be pamphleteering. He attacked slavery, the validity of the Constitution for those who had not signed it, laws giving government the right to make and declare "legal tender", and the institution of majority rule. Spooner firmly upheld the view that society was no more than a collection of individuals, and that only "individual rights" existed. His best known work was NO TREASON.

William Graham Sumner, a Yale economist, was probably the most respected libertarian thinker of his time. In his book SOCIAL DARWINISM he maintained that progress could only come when individuals were free to compete on the open market--"Whenever we try to get paternalized, we only succeed in getting policed". Sumner championed the "forgotten man", the industrious laborer, as being the one who suffered most from attempts to "do good" and regulate capitalism. Whenever one contributed to charity, or allowed the market to be restricted, capital accumulation diminished--and capital accumulation rested at

the heart of men's successful struggle with nature. Sumner's views differed from those of previous individualists only in one basic way: he believed that the doctrine of 'natural rights' was a dangerous two edged sword. He feared justly that the idea of 'natural rights' would lead to acceptance of a 'right' to equality of condition, instead of equality of liberty. Social Darwinism, he believed--the survival of the fit in peaceful competition--was a much better guardian of liberty and progress.

Henry David Thoreau, only slightly known in his own time and country for such works as WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS and CAPE COD was a disciple of Emerson's transcendentalism who achieved world wide fame for his ESSAY ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE and his stand for individual integrity. Mahatma Gandhi was inspired by this work as well as many other revolutionaries of the last one hundred years. A recluse who delighted in the privacy of Walden Pond in Concord, Massachusetts, his lyrical praise of nature combined with a strong hatred for coercion to produce some of the most moving libertarian literature in history. His observation that "that government which governs best, governs least" is perhaps the most quoted by lovers of liberty. A respected classical scholar, he was known as one of the "three Concordians" along with Emerson and Hawthorne. Not content with speaking out against slavery, he actively participated in the "underground railroad" to help blacks escape to Canada. It is only now, in the Twentieth century, that he has been proclaimed in America for his life's work.

Benjamin R. Tucker is the best known 19th century advocate of individualist anarchism. On his 21st birthday, Tucker repeated Thoreau's refusal to pay a poll tax. He went to jail, and for the rest of his life remained an active libertarian. Tucker's career did not begin entirely auspiciously, however. He thoroughly condemned the practice of money lending at interest, maintaining that it was theft and deprived the producers of their surplus value. But he did not favor the use of force to end it, believing if laws buttressing the financial interests ended, alternative methods of capitalization would arise. Tucker took a very dim view of all social 'rights'; "Society is not a person or a thing, but a relation, and a relation can have no rights" he wrote. He took an equally strong view of government: "The anarchist defines government as invasion, nothing more or less." Tucker did not believe that the ballot box or armed rebellion would free society--rather, he stated that only non-cooperation with the state would succeed. He upheld enlightened selfishness and egoism as essential concomitants to liberty: "Altruism is out of the question," he wrote. Eventually, Tucker came to conclude that "natural rights" were social conventions and therefore non-existent, or at least as arbitrary as any other. But he maintained that the "purely egoistic desire of each man for the preservation of

his own individuality" would ensure that aggression would not exist in an anarchist society. He lived well into old age, obscurity, and the Twentieth century.

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Martin Anderson is an Objectivist professor at Columbia who specializes in urban affairs. In the early Sixties he raised a furor with his book THE FEDERAL BULLDOZER in which he revealed that Urban Renewal programs ostensibly "helping" the poor in fact made life many times worse, wasted huge sums of the taxpayers money on needless or poorly conceived projects, and flagrantly violated individual rights with the power of "eminent domain". The result was widespread revolt in communities across the country that stymied the federal authorities for years. Anderson lectures often and has had several articles appear in national publications. He may be reached by writing the Economics Department, Columbia University, 605 W. 115th st., N.Y., N.Y.

Poul Anderson, a writer of science fiction, is probably the second most popular among libertarians in that genre. Wildly imaginative, deeply philosophical, lighthearted and hopeful, his works also manage to be coherent while his plots develop. Swedish by birth, he is a self-proclaimed libertarian and has discribed many possibilities for free-enterprise in the future. Among his most popular works are TRADER TO THE STARS and TAU ZERO. He may be contacted by writing his publisher Doubleday & Company Inc.

Paul Avrich, professor of History at Queens College in New York is a libertarian of the Left. He is one of the more outspoken anarchists and has written several articles for major magazines. His two books THE RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS and KRONSTADT 1921 are important volumes in libertarian history. He may be contacted at his College.

Nathaniel Branden is one of the two most prominent psychologists of libertarian persuasion. Formerly Ayn Rand's closest associate and apparent successor, the two split in 1968 over a still poorly-understood issue. Branden moved to the West Coast at that time and has since established a very successful private practice as well as the INSTITUTE FOR BIO-CENTRIC PSYCHOLOGY which is concerned with the study and use of the theories he has developed.

Branden's theories are detailed at length in his three books, THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SELF ESTEEM, BREAKING FREE, and THE DISOWNED SELF. The thesis he builds is a simple one: individuals must understand their emotions in order to function effectively in an intellectual sphere.

A great deal of harm, he maintains, is caused by people who "cut off" their intellect from their feelings. Self-esteem follows from an awareness and acceptance of one's likes, and dislikes, and the decision to actively pursue self-fulfillment. Branden has also made extensive analysis of the causes of psychologically dependent relationships, the role self-esteem plays in human motivations, and the biological basis of volition. He may be contacted at the Institute For Bio-Centric Psychology. (see listings)

Dr. Clarence B. Carson, chairman of the Social Science Department at Okaloosa-Walton College, is a conservative-libertarian who specializes in History and especially Economic History. He is a frequent contributor to The Freeman. His book THROTTLING THE RAILROADS is one of the two best books on the subject. His next book THE FOUNDING OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC will be appearing soon and should be a major contribution to the history of that period.

Roy A. Childs Jr has been instrumental in the conversion of many limited-state Randists to an anarchist position. A former divinity student, he dropped out of school after reading ATLAS SHRUGGED to become a student of Objectivism. Eventually, persuaded that the principles of individual sovereignty were incompatible with the idea of a state, he began writing articles several years ago advocating anarcho-capitalism. So many libertarians became acquainted with his arguments which appeared in several magazines and were copied and passed from hand to hand that a majority of the activists in the movement today regard themselves free market anarchists or "Anarcho-Capitalists."

Childs is one of the youngest and most original libertarian theoreticians around, and one of the best speakers. He often lectures and may be reached by writing the INDIVIDUALIST of which he is an associate editor. His two best known works are AN OPEN LETTER TO AYN RAND: OBJECTIVISM AND THE STATE, and THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL BASIS OF ANARCHISM: AN OPEN LETTER TO OBJECTIVISTS AND LIBERTARIANS, both of which deal with the inconsistencies of Ayn Rand's stated position on government.

Noam Chomsky, professor of Linguistics at M.I.T., is a leading libertarian theorist of the left. His books LANGUAGE AND THE MIND and AMERICAN POWER AND THE NEW MANDARINS, have been powerful and effective statements in the fields of philosophy and political science respectively. As one of the most popular teachers at M.I.T. he has managed to influence a considerable number of the generation presently coming of age. Long a critic of the war, he has often prompted student activism, and he was a key figure in the battle to disengage M.I.T. from its government projects and dependence. Those interested may write him through his University. He lectures frequently and is a member of the National Taxpayers Union.

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Edwin G. Dolan is an economist who has lately specialized in ecological problems. In a recent book, TANSTAAFL (There Ain't No Such Thing As A Free Lunch--taken from Heinlein's novel THE MOON IS A HARSH MISTRESS) Dolan outlines a unique approach to the problems of pollution through economic measures, such as taxes. Dolan may be reached through the Economics Dept. at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, where he teaches. His articles have appeared in the National Review.

Edith Efron is a libertarian journalist who recently received national publicity for her careful study of bias in television network news programs. The study, which appeared in her book THE NEWS TWISTERS, drew praise from Allen Drury, Sydney Hook, and a number of commentators from the Right and Left. Efron thoroughly examined techniques of reporting used and the amount of air time given to spokesmen as well as general news coverage of the different sides of various issues during the weeks before the 1968 Presidential election, and found them to be grossly unbalanced. She recommends that the airwaves be sold rather than considered a "public" vehicle, and suggested that in the interim the FCC's "equal time" proviso should be fully observed. Efron is a staff writer along with Susan Ludel for TV Guide. Both have written articles for the Objectivist.

A. Ernest Fitzgerald used to work for the Pentagon as a cost-analyst for the C5-A transport plane project. He discovered a two billion dollar cost overrun two years ago, reported it to Senator William Proxmire because no one else would listen, and was quickly fired. Since that time he has been making speeches around the country and working with the National Tax Payer's Union, (see listings) where he may be contacted.

Milton Friedman is a widely known "Chicago School" economist who believes in laissez faire and has pioneered a number of proposals for gradually changing the make-up of our present society toward more libertarian ideals. Among the best known of these are recommendations to stabilize the rate of money growth, to "iron out" business cycles, and to scrap the state monopoly on schooling through the "voucher system". Under the voucher system, tax money is spent by parents to send their children to the school of their choice. This proposal has proved only slightly less controversial than his "negative income tax" plan-- a system which provides a guaranteed income to the poor under the premise that if we must have welfare, it should be a system which encourages the poor to work while they receive state assistance. This proposal in particular, coupled with his belief that a gold standard is not necessary per se for economic health, has made him unpopular with a number of libertarians, most recently sparking a confusing feud between himself, his son, David Friedman and Murray Rothbard.

He has been the "conservative" economic advisor to several Presidents and is often called upon for opinion and analysis in the news media. He has written many articles and lectures frequently. He has written a number of technical books and articles on the effects of changes in money supply on business cycles in addition to a good, but somewhat elementary book on general economy called CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM which is a current best seller in the field. He may be contacted through the economics department of the University of Chicago, 1307 East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Alan Greenspan is a leading Objectivist economist who serves as consultant both to President Nixon and Time magazine, neither of whom seems to pay much heed to his counsel. Nevertheless, Greenspan is a highly respected economist and has a thriving private practice in New York (Greenspan & Townsend financial consultants). He is a frequent contributor to BARRON'S a well known financial weekly and wrote several articles for the OBJECTIVIST. He may be reached through Time, Economics Bureau, Rockefeller Center, N. Y., N. Y.

Henry Hazlitt is well known as an economics advisor and writer, once having a regular newspaper column. He presently writes frequent articles for The Freeman. His books ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON, THE FAILURE OF THE "NEW ECONOMICS", and MAN VERSUS THE WELFARE STATE have long been favorites of applied theory in libertarian circles. He may be reached by writing F.E.E (see listings)

Robert Heinlein is a popular science fiction writer of strongly libertarian inclination who has influenced the movement chiefly through the individualistic theme which runs through his work. Though not his best seller, his most popular work among libertarians is THE MOON IS A HARSH MISTRESS. In it, Heinlein eloquently records a fight by colonists on the Moon for independence and laissez-faire. Aside from being a strongly pro-freedom work, the book presents an innovative approach to sexual and familial roles, and the problems encountered in freeing societies. Other equally exciting but less explicitly libertarian novels include STRANGER IN A STRANGE LAND, GLORY ROAD, and ORPHANS OF THE SKY. Often called "The dean of science fiction writers" because he was among the first of the modern school in that genre, Heinlein presents portraits of anarchist or near-anarchist societies in many of his stories, though in fact he is a Goldwater Republican. Inquiries should be addressed to his publisher G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Karl Hess, former Goldwater speech-writer turned revolutionary New Left anarchist, has been something of an enigma in libertarian circles the past four years. Prominently associated with conservatives and then libertarians throughout the Sixties, Hess began moving to an accord with the left in 1969. Since then, living on a houseboat on the

Potomac with a gun above his door, he has stated both that John Galt represents the ideal human being, and that Communist China is the most libertarian society on Earth. He presently is affiliated with the Institute For Policy Studies, a left/anarchist think-tank in Washington D. C., and makes frequent speeches around the country. He has appeared on several television shows and has co-authored a book, THE END OF THE DRAFT.

Many libertarians view as Hess's high point a long article which appeared in the April, 1968 issue of Playboy magazine entitled THE DEATH OF POLITICS. In that work Hess very competently defended the anarcho-capitalist point of view, and offered an excellent introduction to libertarianism. (reprints available from LABS, see listings) Hess is a frequent lecturer and may be reached at the Institute For Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Ave NW, Washington, D. C.

John Hospers is a recent convert to libertarianism, having previously been a liberal. He presently heads the School of Philosophy at the University of Southern California. His recent book LIBERTARIANISM is the best general coverage of the movement in print and is an excellent introduction to the subject. Hospers can be reached through his university.

Robert LeFevre is founder of RAMPART COLLEGE in California and the originator of the 'AUTARCHIST' variant of Libertarianism. Believing that force is never justified, even in defense against force, he does not subscribe to the idea of government, but rather to "protection agencies" which deter aggression through non-violent means. The concept of autarchy--self-rule--differs from anarchism, he says, in that anarchism implies chaos and violence. (anarchists, at least the pro-capitalist sort, reject the out-of-hand association of that word with chaos and violence). LeFevre has written numerous pamphlets and has recently released a set of taped lectures on various subjects including libertarianism. He may be reached through Rampart College. (see listings)

Leonard Liggio is a libertarian radical (could that be redundant?) who teaches History at the City College of New York and has been closely associated with the anti-war movement. A former aide of Senator Robert Taft's, Liggio was an early opponent of the Buckley-forged "fusion" of libertarian and traditionalist elements in the right. He has consistently opposed a militant U.S. posture in foreign policy and was an active participant in the creation of the 1967 war crimes tribunal held in Sweden by Bertrend Russell. He is an associate of Murray Rothbard and contributes to the Libertarian Forum through which he may be contacted.

Frank S. Meyer, an editor of National Review, is a leading libertarian-conservative. He supports and end to public schooling, the legalization of heroin, and an end to all controls over the economy, but favors a

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strong military and has reservations about the legalization of pornography. Meyer supports Ashbrook's challenge to Nixon because of the President's handling of the economy and his visit to China. A former Communist, he believes that the U.S. Constitution is by far the closest and most workable approach to the libertarian ideal. He also places strong emphasis on "social norms" as a guide to individual behavior. He may be contacted through the National Review, 150 E. 35th st., New York, N. Y.

Ludwig von Mises is considered by many to be the greatest of economists, and the true father of Capitalism. A student of the "Austrian School" where he was exposed to the work of Carl Menger and Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk, he took their disjointed and sometimes contradictory theories and developed a whole and comprehensive general theory of economics in his magnum opus HUMAN ACTION. His books SOCIALISM and BUREAUCRACY are classics. Throughout a long life he has been an inexhaustible thinker, teacher, and writer. His ideas have been a major influence on Ayn Rand, Murray Rothbard and countless others. Three generations of free enterprise economists have been nursed on his works.

Joseph R. Peden, professor of History at Baruch College is the publisher of Libertarian Forum and an associate of Murray Rothbard.

Paul L. Poirot is editor of The Freeman and a frequent contributor to its pages.

Ayn Rand - novelist and philosopher - is the most successful spokesmen of our time for libertarianism. Born in Russia and educated under the Soviets, she escaped to the United States in the early 1920's. For many years she worked in Hollywood within the movie industry, beginning in a wardrobe department and eventually writing screenplays for such movies as LOVE LETTERS and THE FOUNTAINHEAD, the latter being the film version of her first full-length novel to be published. In the late forties she left Hollywood to work full time at her writing. ATLAS SHRUGGED and THE FOUNTAINHEAD, her best known works, have become classic philosophic, artistic, and psychological manifestos of liberty. Rand upholds in them a philosophy of rational self-interest she has labeled 'OBJECTIVISM' which maintains that altruism is the inevitable trigger of collectivism and tyranny. Each individual's moral purpose in life is their own happiness and a laissez faire society is the only one which allows all to pursue their ends peacefully and to the fullest of their ability. The name 'OBJECTIVISM' reflects her conviction that an objective reality exists and that human minds are capable of understanding and dealing with it.

Rand's other works include two novels, ANTHEM and WE THE LIVING, a drama, THE NIGHT OF JANUARY 16TH which in an altered version

became a successful Broadway play, and several non-fiction works. (see the HANDBOOK listings). Throughout most of the past decade she published a monthly magazine in partnership with Nathaniel Branden called THE OBJECTIVIST. Recently she has replaced that publication with a fortnightly bulletin called THE AYN RAND LETTER which deals with current events and the issues behind them.

She has been reluctant to make public appearances in the past--virtually her only public activity in the past several years has been an annual speech at the FORD HALL FORUM in Boston(the FORUM sells out each time). She lives in New York and keeps to a select group of friends and associates. She does not answer letters but those who may wish to try to contact her can write in care of THE AYN RAND LETTER(see listings).

Politically, Rand has refused to align OBJECTIVISM with any current party or movement. She has in the past tended to support conservatives and Republicans in elections as the lesser evils(Nixon in '68, Buckley for the Senate in '70). She sees the left, conspicuously the NEW LEFT, as bereft of redeeming values. She has advocated American withdrawal from Vietnam for several years on the grounds that Vietnam's strategic importance to the United States is not worth the cost of defending it. Rand has repeatedly warned that the danger to liberty in America comes not from domestic socialism, but from fascism cloaked in socialist rhetoric. Nixon's NEP, she said last fall, was a harbinger of such fasism.

Philosophically her work has been singly important. Drawing from the work of the few great minds before her (Aristotle, Aquinas, Mill) she has developed a complete and coherent epistemology and from it evolved a philosophy which, though some note certain logical flaws, is probably the single greatest accomplishment in that area since Aristotle. It has allowed present day libertarians to draw together certain logically correct theories in the fields of economy, politics, psychology and even art, into complete plans for living. To use an unoriginal but good analogy,...Aristotle cut the stone and laid the foundation, many others felled the trees and hewn the boards, and Rand supplied the nails and built the frame. We've still to cover the house and furnish it....

Leonard Read is one of the most prominent spokesmen for limited-state libertarianism in America. As head of THE FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION, he is a widely demanded speaker. As dean of the older generation Jeffersonian libertarians, he has probably met more people, traveled more miles, and given more talks than any one else associated with the movement, despite his stated dislike for proselytizing. Most of his published work may be obtained from F.E.E.. For further information see the listings and the special review.

Dr. Murry N. Rothbard is a leading libertarian economist and activist. His extensive defenses of anarcho-capitalism on utilitarian grounds

have earned him numerous supporters. His best known works include POWER AND MARKET, MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE, THE PANIC OF 1819, and AMERICA'S GREAT DEPRESSION. He is the editor of a monthly journal, the LIBERTARIAN FORUM as well as a professor of economics Brooklyn Polytechnical Institute. Rothbard sees much more potential in the New Left than Rand and was, in fact, one of the co-founders of the Radical Libertarian Alliance, a coalition of "leftists" and "rightists" who consider themselves libertarians. His political analysis of foreign policy and domestic interventionism shows strains frequently associated with the left--Rothbard views the U.S., not the U.S.S.R., as bearing prime responsibility for the Cold War, and believes that much domestic legislation has come at the behest rather than in opposition to Big Business. He associates himself with the "Austrian School" of economics which upholds the role of gold as the basis for all currency. He also specializes in American economic history and the native American individualist tradition. He may be contacted through THE LIBERTARIAN FORUM. He is a frequent lecturer and contributes articles to many magazines and newspapers. He has recently had articles in the New York Times and arranged for the re-publishing of 17 libertarian classics through ARNO PRESS which he selected along with Jerome Tuccille.

Jeffrey St. John is a columnist and commentator for WABC, and a strong admirer of Ayn Rand. A limited-statist, he argued for the abolition of the 4th of July celebrations several years ago on the grounds that the United States in no way represents the ideals fought for in 1776. Following the Democratic convention of 1968, St. John wrote a book called COUNTDOWN TO CHAOS which laid out a scenario for the coming collapse of the United States. He has recently become a guest commentator on the ABC television network and may be reached by writing WABC, 1330, Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Thomas S. Szasz is probably the most imaginative and radical thinker in the field of psychiatry today. For years he waged a lonely battle against the injustices of mental health laws and the power of the State over the individual in this realm. Only recently has his work become noticed. His books are suddenly best sellers in the field in college book stores. A nucleus of like minded professionals and students have formed around him at the State University of New York at Syracuse, and they have begun to wage active battle. A recent case they are involved with in court concerns an elderly woman who refused to move from her home under pressure of Federal authorities who wanted her land for "the public good". In order to get rid of her, they (the government) committed her to a State mental institution. Szasz warns that it is not only in Russia where the State may use its power in such a way.

He has written many books, among them IDEOLOGY AND INSANITY, THE MYTH OF MENTAL ILLNESS, LAW, LIBERTY, AND PSYCHIATRY, and THE ETHICS OF PSYCHOANALYSIS. His articles have appeared in countless periodicals. He may be written at the University.

Jerome Tuccille is an author and self professed "middle of the road anarchist". Active in the 1969 split of libertarians from the Young Americans for Freedom, Tuccille subsequently wrote a book about it and the ways in which libertarians differ from conservatives. That book, RADICAL LIBERTARIANISM, was followed in late 1971 by IT USUALLY BEGINS WITH AYN RAND, a humorous, semi-fictionalized account of the recent growth of the libertarian movement. Tuccille has been guest columnist in the New York Times and is presently editor of the ABOLITIONIST, a radical monthly. He may be contacted through that magazine.

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An Approach To Libertarian Jurisprudence

by Robert P. Baker

Living as we are today in a world that tacitly assumes the omniscient state, we are somewhat in the position of fish struggling through a sea of Jello, encumbered by but seldom noticing those social institutions that permeate our lives and form the cultural matrix in which we move. It is the aim of this necessarily brief analysis to direct the reader's attention generally toward that institution, law, which more than any other has been employed to shackle us, and by examining the particular areas of criminal and commercial law, to suggest an attitude and approach to the law which may in a happier future help to make of it an instrument of liberation.

I could not describe here -- even if I knew -- what precise structure a Libertarian society will have. Whether our present governmental institutions will undergo some fundamental and far-reaching reformation, or whether the advent of an anarchic millenium will smash this sorry scheme of things entire, is beyond my ability to predict. Nor, perhaps, will it finally matter. Differences of degree, pushed far enough, become differences of kind, and in a more rational future, free men may will look back upon those exquisite doctrinal disputes that now divide us and wonder what all the fuss was about. But I do know this -- that when a more rational future is achieved, then will law be needed, for neither a Libertarian nor any other kind of society can endure without it.

This need arises out of the fact that human beings are neither omniscient nor omnipotent. They are capable of error, and no matter what vast changes the future may bring, we can be confident that people will continue to make vague contracts, go bankrupt, smash up their vehicles, and overestimate their capacity for liquor. It is this propensity for error, and more specifically the fact that some-

thing must usually be done about the social consequences of such error, that makes law necessary. The blood feud, the wergeld, private vengeance -- these practices that we associate with primitive societies -- can serve to some degree to check the more obvious forms of criminal aggression, but only an integrated legal system concerned at least as much with mistake as with malice can hope to lend that stability to men's dealings with each other that is the prerequisite for a commercial civilization.

Jurisprudence in the generic sense, the philosophy of law in the abstract, explains and justifies a legal system in terms of the immanent moral values of the society in which it functions. A Libertarian jurisprudence, then, is primarily concerned with the fundamental value that underlies a Libertarian society -- the transcendent sanctity of the individual and his rights. It is the purpose of a Libertarian legal system to protect rights, and every particular law must in the first instance be weighed according to this criterion.

In the most general sense, there is but one way to violate a man's rights -- by involving him, directly or indirectly, in some form of social interaction against his will. Whether this violation is deliberate and malicious (the thug who holds you up at gunpoint), negligent (the careless driver who collides with your car), or the result of an error of judgment (the banker who unwisely invests your funds), the principle remains the same -- the function of law is to prevent or to rectify any violation of rights. Let us examine this principle and a few of its corollaries as they apply to crime and to trade.

Since no man can have an unchosen obligation toward another, the criminal law must be directed to the prohibition of acts that would violate rights. It is essentially negative, commanding "thou shalt not..." For every rule of the criminal law, there must be a corresponding right whose protection is the function of the rule. Since in a Libertarian society all men are held to be equally endowed with rights, and since the law is concerned with the protection of all rights, it must be universal in scope, it must read in effect "No person shall..." If the acts forbidden are not clearly spelled out, however, no one could hope to go about his business secure from the danger of committing crime, as later determined by a capricious exegesis of a fuzzy law. The law must be knowable with certainty. Moreover, the law must be knowable before a man acts, and an act that was lawful when done must not later subject the actor to a charge of crime.

In summary, the criminal law of a Libertarian society is (1) right-

related, (2) prohibitory in form and effect, (3) universal in its application, (4) certain in its content, and (5) prospective in effect. The reader's response to this analysis might well be "How obvious!" Let us hope that the day will come when this reaction is universal, but let us also note that it is the ignoring of these criteria that has helped to impose the yoke of tyranny upon millions of human beings throughout the world.

There are subtleties unmentioned in this overview of the criminal law, subtleties requiring volumes of careful reasoning. Malice, for example, the mens rea of legal terminology, is a vital consideration, since, in Holmes' cogent phrase, "even a dog can distinguish between being stumbled over and being kicked," and it has ever been a powerful defense to a charge of crime that the act complained of was done without malice. Moreover, there is the question of what consequences the law should visit upon the criminal. Mere restitution, appropriate to non-criminal violations of right, appears absurd and destructive of the ends of law, since a confirmed thief, for example, need only go unapprehended once in order to show a "profit" from his crimes (the laws of economics apply even to criminal activities). Such issues as these remain topics of debate among Libertarians, but their deeper consideration here would take us beyond purely jurisprudential considerations into the realms of legal procedure and penology.

Being primarily concerned with willful and malicious violations of rights, the criminal law is conceptually simpler than the civil law. The latter is concerned with the more complex tasks of restitution for non-criminal wrongs and the fixing or apportioning of the incidence of harm when restitution is impossible. Consider the famous hypothetical case which, if the metaphor can be forgiven, Libertarians have ridden into the ground -- the stolen horse, bought in good faith by B, who did not know that it was stolen. A, the original owner and victim of the horsethief, sees it in B's possession and naturally enough demands the return of "his" property. B, an honest fellow, naturally enough declines to give up "his" horse. The disputants appeal to a judge, arbiter, cadí, or some other appropriate tribunal, each demanding justice. Now the jurisprudential point I am here concerned with is not that of to whom the horse should belong under some theoretically perfect concept of civil justice.

Perfect justice is in most instances impossible, if only because of the fallibility of even the most learned and honest human beings who would have to determine and apply it. In any event, a legal system of "perfect" justice would be subject to re-evaluation every day,

as ever abler legal philosophers achieved ever deeper insights, introducing such uncertainty into men's everyday dealings with each other as to render commerce impossible. Rational men do not demand an impractical perfection from the civil law, but they do demand what they must have in order to live in an advanced society -- the utmost certainty that any social institution is capable of. With regard to its substantive rules, the civil law may contain a considerable degree of apparent injustice, yet serve its purposes. Those who depend upon it will grumble, but, within limits, they will adjust their dealings to the law rather than destroy it, and with it the stability that even imperfect law provides. But if the law is uncertain, if men can never know what new and unprecedented rule may be applied to their normal activities, if predictability is undermined by daily revelations as to the "perfectly just" rule to be applied in any of the potentially infinite disputes that may arise -- civilization crumbles. In the area of civil law, it is generally more important that the law be settled than that it be settled "right". (Such a proposition, of course, is utterly unacceptable in criminal law. There we demand the closest possible approach to perfect justice, and convenience be damned. This is one of the major distinctions between the civil and criminal law.)

How does all this apply to the stolen horse case? I do not know -- and I doubt that anyone else knows -- what is perfect justice here. The thief having long since disappeared, some innocent person, either the thief's original victim or the buyer of the horse, is going to suffer an unrectifiable injustice. Under the Angloamerican-Commonwealth legal system's traditions, it will no doubt be the unwary buyer who suffers the loss, while under the Roman-Continental system, it is more likely the original owner who is out of luck. In legal terminology, the question is whether the thief "can pass good title", and the two systems give diametrically opposed answers. I do not know which rule a Libertarian society would adopt, nor do I think that it matters very much. If the former rule, then title insurance companies will continue to grow rich insuring their customers against buying stolen property, while if the latter is adopted, theft insurance companies are going to expand their business. What is vital, however, is that one rule be firmly established and adhered to.

Societies change, however. New technologies, new ways of doing business evolve constantly, and a rule of once debatable justice may under changed circumstances be universally condemned, or an acknowledged injustice that was once a mere annoyance may at a later time become intolerable. If the primary consideration of the civil law is that the rules must not be changed in the middle of the game, how is the law ever to be adapted to a changing world?

Consider the fact that most consumer goods are purchases not from individuals in their individual capacities, but rather from merchant firms. Today, one would most likely buy a horse for personal use from an established dealer, regularly engaged in such business. While it might be possible for the prospective buyer to investigate a dealer's rights in a particular horse, it would be commercially unfeasible. Suppose then that an ever-increasing proportion of the members of our society become convinced that it is intolerably unjust to continue the rule that the good-faith buyer of a stolen horse gets stuck. Is there any cure that would not be worse than the disease? Could the rule be changed? It could be and has been changed.

In the United States, the Uniform Commercial Code provides that he who buys an article of commerce -- like a horse-- for his own use, in the regular course of trade, from a dealer in articles of the type bought, is able to get a good title even if it later is found that the article was stolen. This change came about without hardship because the U.C.C. was widely publicized prior to its adoption and is applied only to those dealings entered into after its effective date. It has proved very effective in resolving the stolen horse type of difficulty insofar as retail trade is concerned, and has obviated the problems that would have disrupted our commercial life by retaining the "buyer beware" rule in an age for which it was no longer appropriate. Today, it is the dealer in horses who must watch out, who must take steps to protect himself against buying stolen goods, but, of course, he is in a much better position to do so.

The U.C.C., of course, was enacted by the legislatures of the several states, and it is very unlikely that legislatures, at least as we know them, will exist in a Libertarian society. But adapting the law by promulgating new rules with prospective effect, in response to new problems, can be done by any tribunal, and even in the present context, such institutions of voluntary justice as the American Arbitration Society have done so.

While the particulars of an analysis such as this are subject to revision and improvement by those having a greater wisdom and more space at their disposal, it is nevertheless submitted that the attitude and approach implicit in it represent the only path to a legal system consonant with the principles of a Libertarian society.

...the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God.

Jefferson

The Libertarian Challenge

by Jerome Tuccille

Certain principles are so fundamental to the entire human condition that no serious person, regardless of his politics, will take exception to them. For example, it is hard to visualize anyone in his right mind maintaining that non-aggressive people do not have a right to basic human freedoms: freedom of speech, of assembly, of picketing and dissent, of association, of economic trade. Anyone who openly advocated that some men have the moral right to enslave others would be roundly denounced as a "fascist", a "communist", a "racist", a "sexist", and a no good son of a bitch. Anyone maintaining that some individuals have a right to dictate reading matter, sexual habits and general lifestyle to others invariably means that he would be among those doing the dictating. Many of us may harbor these ambitions secretly, but hardly anyone stands up at a public podium expressing these secret ambitions in abstract terms.

As we look at the world around us, we see that most political regimes are based on singularly non-libertarian principles, though whenever political leaders are interviewed they always claim that their prime interests are the "freedom and prosperity" of their constituents. The Greek colonels, Generalissimo Franco, Mao, Brezhnev and Spiro Agnew are all in power to further the principles of human liberty, even as they do everything in their power to suppress the civil liberties mentioned above,

So, it seems, the human race does not practice what it preaches. We have a unique way of translating universal truisms -- always based on the axiom that man has a right to his freedom -- into the most grotesque political forms imaginable. For if man truly desired his freedom, he would rise up en masse and seize it from those who withhold it from him. Revolution would be a spontaneous outcry heard around the globe. Instead, sadly enough, our rulers rule with the tacit approval of the masses while the human race continues to delude itself with verbal devotion to the abstract principles of liberty. We get, apparently, the kind of society that the majority secretly desires.

Yet, man does have a natural right to conduct his affairs without interference from others so long as he does so in a non-aggressive manner. The great challenge for libertarians is, first, to recognize this glaring contradiction between human principle and human action, and, second, to publicize this contradiction with every available opportunity. Only by calling attention to the gap between abstract theory and performance can we hope to change the actions of others and alter the shape of the society we live in.

The Idea of a Libertarian Party

--by Michael Holmes

Libertarians, with their basic commitment to voluntary social interaction, by nature find politics and the political process unpalatable at best and dangerous at worst. Sincerely caring about living in a world with greater human freedom, they are also faced with the enormous problem of radically changing the present collectivistic and anti-human socio-intellectual climate.

As one of the ways in which to bring about a libertarian society, there are now various groups of libertarians working in the traditionally accepted area of social change - politics. The Libertarian Party and the New Jersey-based Citizens for a Restructured Republic are perhaps the best known of these groups. However, all of them face several problems. Among the most important is the fact that since libertarianism is fundamentally anti-political, its political activity will have to be limited to what may be called "the politics of the anti-political." Additionally, many libertarians have come to their present position after leaving the sterile contemporary political arena and pseudo-political groups such as YAF which served merely to stifle their initiative and blunt their libertarian sentiments.

Criticism of libertarian political activity has come from many quarters, most recently from Don Ernsberger, director of the Society for Individual Liberty (see SIL NEWS, Dec. '71.) Some of the arguments he advanced were a) the fact that political changes stem from socio-intellectual change, not vice-versa, b) political activities attract only superficial supporters, c) education via party politics doesn't work, and d) the basic premises of party politics - compromise and consensus - are repugnant to libertarian principles.

While such objections have some validity, the emergence of a Libertarian Party and libertarian political influence is nevertheless desirable as part of a multi-level strategy for rational education and change. These methods can readily be used to affect social change without basically abandoning libertarian values.

It should be made quite clear at the outset that the political front should be merely one of several areas of libertarian activity and education. The importance of direct action, resistance, avoidance, education, interest-groups orientation, alternative institutions, and self-liberation need not be de-emphasized nor neglected. In addition to such activities, however, it is virtually inevitable that libertarians take the

initial concrete steps, both to de-politicize and liberate the individual, by travelling the historically and socially acceptable route of political action.

Almost all the areas of immediate practical interest to individuals, such as tax reform and repeal; civil liberties reform; the elimination of "crimes" without victims; conscription; putting the economy back into the hands of a free market; isolationism; the loosening of control over public education, et al - involves the legal and political process to a very high degree. While many are working hard for such changes, some fail to realize that, in the end, it will be the statesmen, the judges, the lawyers, and to some extent the participants in the electoral process, who will actually make the reforms and repeals that libertarians desire. Without some kind of direct representation in the political sphere, libertarians will be compelled to rely on reluctant conservatives, e.g. Goldwater, or issue-oriented liberals, e.g. Hatfield.

The idea is not that in the reasonably near future we will have libertarians in Congress, rather, that we can have an adequately vocal political party which is consistently pushing and publicizing libertarian ideology and programs. Politicians are noted for accomodating groups who pose significant threats to their continued place at the public trough, and the existence of a consistent party of principle might prove quite effective at presenting the libertarian alternatives in workable and acceptable forms to the public. Furthermore, the educational value of even having a "Libertarian Party" label on the ballot would probably evoke more curiosity as to what it stands for than would a thousand tables on a thousand campuses.

In addition to the general strategic advantages, working in the political sphere would serve as a tangible magnet for both energy and financial resources which could then be channelled in a socially acceptable manner and with some means of assessing the feedback. As perverted as it seems, it is far more palatable to hand the citizen some campaign literature about candidate Blatz with platform XYZ than to hand someone a pamphlet which explains the evils and perils of government. Because it is an institution of sorts, a political party can serve as an acceptable outlet for activism and an effective inlet for money. People feel more secure about donating time and money to a political party than to a free-floating philosophical group with erudite goals, esoteric ambitions that nobody understands, and radically new methods for attaining social change. A political party, with frequent local and national elections and publicity, can serve as a tolerable and effective tool for activism.

It should be stressed at this point that the primary purpose of a libertarian political party would not be to have libertarians elected into office, although that would be the ostensible goal. The present likelihood of such an occurrence on even a local level is fairly small. While actual political success should be welcomed when it does come about, however, the initial results of libertarian political activity would be primarily educational. With opportunity for "equal time" and public debate, the dissemination of a consistent set of libertarian proposals (such as is currently embodied in the temporary Libertarian Party platform) and the interaction with large numbers of people, the educational effect of such a major undertaking would be enormous. This point has not been lost on parties on the left, such as CPUSA, Peace & Freedom, or the Socialist Workers Party. These factions, particularly the latter, have successfully used this approach for their own educational purposes. While they have generally been unsuccessful at electing their candidates, they have nevertheless been able to put their messages across by using the political forum.

Worries about organizational bureaucracy and political opportunism are indeed areas of concern, especially in light of past experiences by many libertarians. However, since in the case of the Libertarian Party, all state and local parties will be completely autonomous, both organizationally and financially, the likelihood of bureaucratic misuse will be minimized. Also to be considered is the fact that initial efforts will be centered around such things as qualifying the party for the state ballot and raising filing fees and will probably involve fairly small groups of libertarians. It should also be stressed that libertarians who bear antagonisms against voluntary types of organizations such as political parties, are in effect contradicting their own principles since, after all, it is voluntary organization that libertarians are trying to extend to all facets of society. If individualists cannot even trust their own voluntary organizational structures, the arguments in favor of voluntary societal organization will certainly seem hollow. In the final analysis, the virtue of voluntary organization lies ultimately in the fact that, should misuse occur, the individual can always quit and form new organizational forms. Many libertarians have already had this experience and it should function as an effective safeguard against any kind of libertarian political mismanagement.

The idea, then, is not to "sweep the world" toward a libertarian philosophy; the idea is to focus enough attention on that philosophy so as to generate popular acceptance and public tolerance, and thereby realizing the merits of laissez-faire. Politics is an effective tool at bringing about this idea. As a feminist associate of mine put it, "The success of the 'new' feminist movement (as opposed to 'old' suffragettes) lies in having attracted attention to and generated acceptance

for their ideals. Those legal changes which have come about (equal rights amendment, repeal of abortion laws, etc.) are far overshadowed by the changes in women's view of themselves, of their roles in society, and of their relationship with men and other women. However much the traditional roles of housewife and mother may be defended by those women happy in them, their very defense brings about changes. In order to defend, you must examine; and examination itself modifies the situation. The virtue of feminist politicking has manifested itself in stimulating examination and questioning of roles and behavior previously accepted as inevitable. The role of housewife is no more inevitable than taxation. Obeying a man is no more acceptable than obeying a government. The effects of focusing on that which is taken for granted are far-reaching." If politics does nothing else, it at least serves to focus attention on human inequity and injustice, aids understanding, and, insofar as libertarians are concerned, helps to bring about such a "hands off" attitude on the part of society.

Ernsberger's arguments against libertarian political activity seem unconvincing. The fact that political change reflects socio-intellectual change overlooks the very important fact that the socio-intellectual climate has changed to the extent that there is a small but growing segment of society which does accept basic libertarian principles and premises, but who nevertheless have no socially acceptable outlet through which to act. Since political change succeeds socio-intellectual change, a well-planned initial political organization with consistent premises will be a major asset in channelling the changing socio-intellectual values into positive and practical action. To those who feel that it is "too early" to initiate a political front, it is tempting to ask, just when will the "correct time" be? A million? If it is the individual that matters, why should the question be quantitative? Neither is the assumption that libertarian ideas are just beginning to permeate the intellectual strata of society a reason to delay building sound channels for positive change. The sooner working and established channels for political changes are ready, the easier it will be to begin practical reform and repeal when the intellectual tide has tangibly turned. Let's get ready for that tide now.

If current political activity often attracts superficial followers it is only a reflection of the kind of intellectual foundations most of this country's political parties rest on. To prematurely condemn political activity as being intellectually meaningless is to miss the point of initiating libertarian political activity. Is it not libertarians of the "educationalist" school who maintain that sound ideas are the best weapons against authoritarianism? If this is true then a vocal combat in the political arena by means of campaign activities should accomplish nothing less than the complete intellectual destruction of the present rah-rah party politics.

To maintain that the political arena is an ineffective place to conduct educational efforts is to misjudge both the nature of the political process and the intelligence of the authoritarian left. Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have long maintained small political parties primarily as convenient vehicles for their educational activities. Given the generally limited resources of these radical groups, one would be seriously underestimating the intelligence of these groups to maintain that they have been wasting their time by pushing their views through political activism. As sad as it is, it is true that for most Americans the major part of their political education with respect to social issues is obtained during the frequent political campaigns, both local and national.

There seems to be a natural distaste in general for politics and political issues, and with the exception of the very small number of people who actively engage in politics, most Americans never think about political issues except when they are assaulted with the rhetoric of campaign oratory and media bombardment of campaign promises and platforms. To neglect this significant opportunity to reach large numbers of intelligent people at a time when they become most conscious of social and political issues would be a serious and unnecessary mistake. As a part of a multi-level effort to put forth the libertarian message, let's not a priori neglect any important chances to do so.

Finally, to reject political activism on the basis that libertarian principles are incompatible with the basic nature of political activity is to admit ignorance about the purpose of libertarian political activism. The power politics of the major parties necessarily involves compromise and consensus because the object of these groups is to maximize their influence over U.S. and local governments and, hence, the people of the U.S. On the other hand, the explicit goals of libertarian political activity are anti-political in nature. It is an attempt to use the political process to minimize the effects of that process. It may well be the case that the most effective means of limiting the scope of governmental interference with individual liberties will be the tactic of destruction from within the political process itself.

If one contends that libertarian political involvement will ultimately be anti-libertarian in practice, it can only be said that such a position precludes the existence of any kind of libertarian society; i.e., no libertarian society is possible if libertarians cannot be trusted to stick by their principles. And if this view is taken, only some kind of external process - revolution or a mysterious "withering away" of the State - is possible to bring about libertarian change. But if one views change as a process of working within the generally accepted societal structures, as is likely to be the case in at least the near future, the choice

becomes one of either building libertarian "political forces" or relying on the sympathies of other political forces. The former alternative seems to be clearly preferable.

The method of moving society toward a more rational direction will have to occur on many levels and by many different means. The road to a free society is not a narrow one. To maintain that any particular way is the only way and that all other approaches are worthless is to maintain a rigid, dogmatic, and ultimately an anti-libertarian attitude. While the use of the political process carries its own particular set of advantages, this method does not preclude or de-emphasize the importance of any of the other methods of change. In fact, the intended result of libertarian political activity will be to emphasize the fundamental problem of any kind of political activity - the rule of men by men. Libertarians should work for the day when the political means of conducting the relationship among men living in society will be reduced to its ultimate minimum level. But by any future projections the Era of Libertarianism remains a distant goal. As one who is interested in improving the present social climate, I propose that political activity of some kind seems to be the most promising method of attaining meaningful change.

The basic fact that individual human effort does determine the course of future social direction must never be neglected. The important thing for any libertarian to realize is that without some kind of effective individual effort, the kind of society libertarians visualize will never become real. Political activity can be one means of attaining that goal. Rather than condemning that method out of hand as ineffective, libertarians should allow experience and reality to be the ultimate judges of successful pro-life activity.

Gun control is a specific issue with wide-ranging implications. The idea of 'gun control' in a free society is an absurdity. The ONLY reason for the disarming of the populace is the control of the populace, not arms.....Those 'humanitarians' who express their concern for the unfortunate victims of the coercive use of fire arms by criminals have no concept of 'liberty' other than something granted for the 'common good' as THEY see it....The responsibility of liberty cannot be faced by these men--the very concept of 'responsibility' is repugnant to them, witness the fact that these are invariably the same men who blame 'society' for the acts of criminals. Their theme is common guilt. Their pupose is common slavery.

Libertarians should support the National Rifle Association and other groups attempting to stop this take-over.

The Mercenary 'Menace'

—by Robert P. Baker

Many people who have become convinced, in general, of the wisdom of returning to our traditional American method of recruiting military manpower, are reluctant to endorse completely the concept of an all-volunteer army because of what they imagine is a possible threat: "Such an establishment, motivated not by the concept of service, but by the lure of greater reward than the members' skills could command elsewhere, could easily--it is feared--become a mercenary force unrepresentative of the nation." (1) There is the villain--the mercenary, the war lover, a rampaging military monster, driven by dreams of riches to be looted no doubt from conquered provinces. He may bear a vague resemblance to the kid who used to live next door, but once he enlists he is immediately consumed by a lust for gold and power--or so at least those who have conjured up this bogeyman would have us believe.

Let us examine the facts, not flee from phantoms. "MERCENARY: one who serves or acts solely for motives of personal gain, particularly a soldier who offers himself for service in any army that will hire him." (2) No one has suggested that the United States Army hire adventurers, domestic or foreign. Rather, Libertarians have urged that Americans be induced to take the job of soldier--just as they are induced to take the job of salesman or Senator--through a reward great enough to compete with other employment alternatives, taking into account opportunities for advancement, education, travel, and retirement benefits. In this way, we can obtain a military force of skilled, dedicated, efficient professionals, men who perform the task of safeguarding our peace and security because they want to, not because they have to.

What of the supposed danger that such skilled professionals might attempt to force their will upon the people they are sworn to defend? In the United States, there has never been any factual foundation whatsoever for apprehension in this regard. In the first place, the conscripts we now rely upon, the privates and corporals, have utterly no political influence or opportunity to gain it, as is demonstrated by the grotesque wages for which they labor. The military influence over civil affairs that does exist in our country is exercised by high ranking officers, who of course are always volunteers. If conscription really could minimize such influence, we would expect it to be practiced at the top of the military hierarchy, not the bottom. Those who view conscription as a preventative against further growth of the

"military-industrial complex" should logically advocate forcing the president of, say, American Airlines to become operations officer of Maxwell Air Force Base, while F. Lee Bailey is putting in a few years undesired service as Judge Advocate General.

Secondly, our tradition of civilian supremacy over the military rests not upon the existence of conscripts--who are just so many ciphers in this regard--but rather upon the Constitutional authority of the President of the United States. When General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, a professional soldier of unquestioned dedication and integrity, disagreed with the strategy aims of his civilian superiors and--no doubt unwisely--made that disagreement public, he was dismissed by his Commander-in-Chief, President Truman. Was there ever any doubt in anyones mind, regardless of the merits of the disputants' respective positions, as to whose will would prevail? Would it have made any conceivable difference in the outcome of the quarrel, had most American privates been volunteers rather than draftees? The Seven Days In May type of putsch plot may make for absorbing melodrama, but it bears no resemblance to American military reality.

If the alleged menace of voluntary, professional military service had any basis, we would expect to see some reflection of it in those nations which depend today upon volunteers for their defense. Consider the United Kingdom, Canada, India, and New Zealand, each of which have armed forces considered adequate to their security requirements, and each of which depends solely on volunteers. Are these the countries wherein military leaders have undue influence? Consider further Greece, Cuba, Spain, and Albania. Each is under the thumb of a military-backed Communist or Fascist dictatorship. Each practices conscription. Have their coercive recruitment policies had any ameliorative effect upon military domination of their governments? It is not the presence or absence of conscription that makes the difference between the garrison state and the free society, since examples can be found either way. Rather, it is the settled determination of free men to preserve their free institutions.

The psychological consequences of the mercenary myth are hard to assess, but nonetheless real. If there were in fact any militarist danger, from whom would it come? Consider--and beware--the conscript who's girl couldn't wait, who was forced to postpone, perhaps forever, his plans for education, his dreams of his own career, because his neighbors said, "I think a fellow should be compelled to become better and not let him use his own discretion whether he wants to get smarter, more healthy, or more honest." (3) What attitude toward the rights of his fellow men will be held by the man whose own rights were so blatantly violated? Will he not be more

than willing to see force used against others, as force was used against him? Will he not prove receptive to the man on horseback, who proposes to remold others according to his own concept of "better"? If anyone is to be feared, it is the grudge-bearing ex-conscript, not the volunteer whose dignity and free will were respected, who was offered and accepted a job rather than a yoke.

And finally, what is the effect of the mercenary myth upon those who already volunteer? There are at this moment hundreds of thousands of decent, hardworking men who freely chose military service. To them, the advocates of the mercenary myth say, "You are not to be trusted." Because you have freely taken on the task of defending your country's peace and security, you represent a threat to the nation. No matter how much you have demonstrated your loyalty at the risk of your lives, we know that you are less faithful to the ideals of freedom than those who are forced to serve." These men who are so casually slandered, who freely dedicated themselves to a dangerous and often thankless task, surely deserve better than this at the hands of those they defend.

Notes:

- 1) Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense, Hearings Before The Committee On Armed Services, House of Representatives, 89th Congree, 2nd session 22-30 June, 1966, p. 9923
 - 2) Encyclopedia Britannica, ed 1969, vol. 15, p. 177
 - 3) Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, Hearings Before The Committee On Armed Service, loc. cit., p. 9705
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Mind your own business is the only moral law.

Benjamin Tucker

Don't worry about pollution, I'm an air-conditioned gypsy, That's my solution, goin' mobile...Watch the policemen and the taxmen miss me, I'm goin' mobile. .

The Who, "Going Mobile"

Liberty is the mother not the daughter of order...

Proudhon

Democracy in America is doomed when the people learn to vote themselves money from the public trough...

Alexis de Tocqueville

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	DATE: today	THIS TICKET ENTITLES BEARER TO A ONE YEAR MEMBERSHIP IN SIL, CLIP OUT AND MAIL TODAY.	
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Quotes

Whosoever desires liberty should understand these vital facts, viz.:

1. That every man who puts money in the hands of a "government" (so called), puts into its hands a sword which will be used against himself, to extort more money from him, and also to keep him in subjection to its arbitrary will. 2. That those who will take his money, without his consent, in the first place, will use it for his further robbery and enslavement, if he presumes to resist their demands in the future...

Lysander Spooner

Absolute power corrupts absolutely.

Lord Acton

The state is the great fiction by which everyone tries to live at the expense of everyone else.

Frederic Bastiat

The request of industry to government is as modest as that of Diogenes to Alexander: "get out of my light."

Jeremy Bentham

No bird flies too high, if he flies with his own wings.

William Blake

Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the government's purposes are most beneficent.

Louis Brandeis

The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion.

Edmund Burke

The true danger is, when liberty is nibbled away, for expedients, and by parts.

Edmund Burke

The office of government is not to confer happiness, but to give men the opportunity to work out happiness for themselves.

William E. Channing

It is a socialist idea that making profits is a vice. I consider the real vice is making losses.

Winston S. Churchill

The capitalist system of production is an economic democracy in which every penny gives a right to vote.

Ludwig von Mises

A man can ethically tap only his own resources. A thin veil called democracy cannot conceal plunder. Coercion by a majority is no less reprehensible than that perpetrated by a tyrant, even if its application is less bold and bloody and bright.

James W. Muller

The voice of the majority is no proof of justice.

Schiller

If we are made in some degree for others, yet, in a greater degree, are we made for ourselves. It were contrary to feeling, and indeed ridiculous to suppose that a man had less rights in himself than one of his neighbors, or indeed all of them put together. This would be slavery, and not that liberty which the bill of rights has made inviolable, and for the preservation of which our government has been charged. Nothing could so completely divest us of that liberty as the establishment of the opinion, that the State has a perpetual right to the services of all its members...

Jefferson

Government IS organized crime.

Anonymous

I was born in a welfare state, ruled by bureaucracy, reared by civil servants and people dressed in grey/ Got no privacy, got no liberty, the 20th century people took it all away from me.

Kinks, "20th Century Man"

Five year plans and new deals, wrapped in golden chains -- and still I wonder, still I wonder, who's going to stop the rain.

Credence Clearwater Revival

The way to get rid of communists in government jobs is to abolish the jobs.

Frank Chodorov

Capitalism -- system on the point of collapse owing to its creation of mass poverty; also reprehensible on the grounds of corrupting the masses with too many consumer goods.

Kingley Amis and Robert Conquest

Let him that would move the world, first move himself.

Socrates

If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music he hears, however measured or far away.

H. D. Thoreau

If you would convince a man that he does wrong, do right.

H. D. Thoreau

The public be damned!

William H. Vanderbilt

Once fully enslaved, no nation, state, city of this earth, ever afterward resumes its liberty.

Walt Whitman

What do you suppose will satisfy the soul, except to walk free and own no superior.

Walt Whitman

Il faut cultiver notre jardin.

Voltaire

Government, in its last analysis, is organized force.

Woodrow Wilson

The primary and sole foundation of virtue, or of the proper conduct of life, is to seek our own profit.

Baruch Spinoza

No one ever did, or can do, anything for society. Altruism is utterly devoid of meaning.

Albert Jay Nock

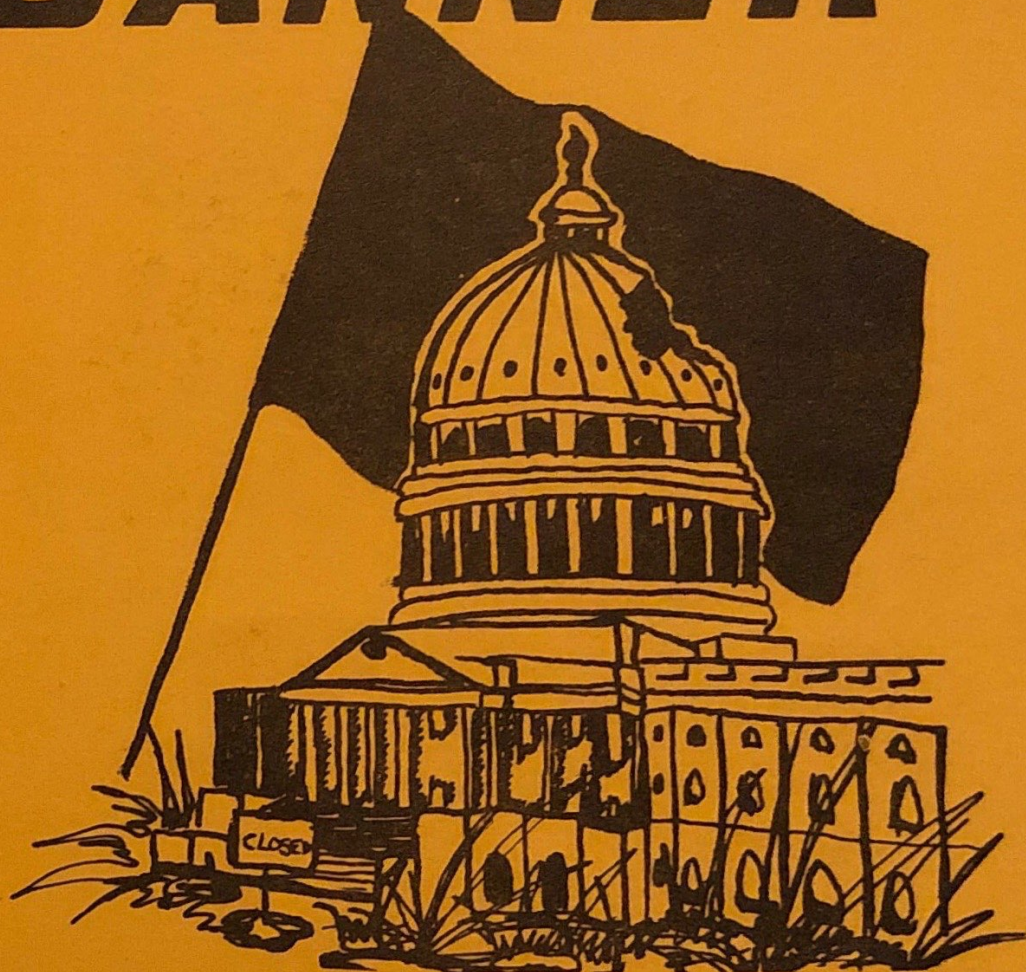
American people once had their liberties, had them all; but apparently they could not rest o' nights until they had turned them over to a prehensile crew of professional politicians.

Herbert Spencer

Be it or be it not true that Man is shapen in inequity and conceived in sin, it is unquestionably true that Government is begotten of aggression, and by aggression.

Herbert Spencer

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