

# Liberty

November 2001

\$4.00

Christopher  
Hitchens  
Talks Sense

# Terror!

Living with it, Learning from it

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## The Mystery of Fascism

*by David Ramsay Steele*

## Marriage, Polish Style

*by Stephen Browne*

## Turncoat in the War Against Men

*by Michael Drew*

Also: R. W. Bradford looks at the scandal in the Libertarian Party, William Merritt uncovers new evidence in the scandal in Oregon, Stephen Cox looks at what remains of the radical left . . . plus other articles, reviews, and humor.



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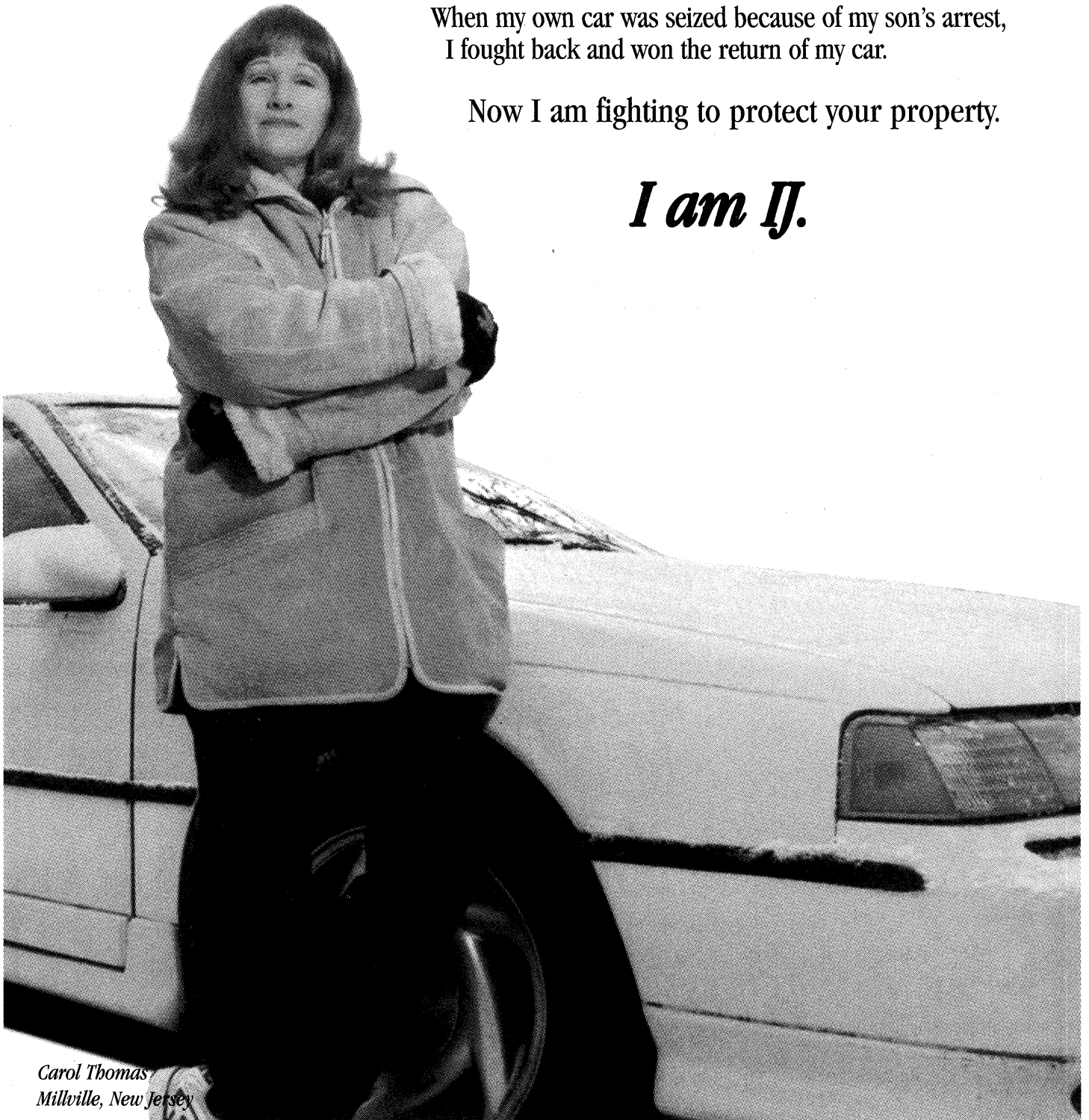
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*Carol Thomas  
Millville, New Jersey*

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# Inside Liberty

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## Letters

### Count Me Out!

While I agree that Mr. Willis and his friends have behaved badly ("Reclaiming the Party of Principle," September) and, at the very least, should be reprimanded, my main concern is the future of fundraising for political candidates. It is obvious that there are some very good fundraisers in the Libertarian Party, but the great majority of the money they raised seems to have gone to them as salaries and to the next round of fundraising with very little left over for the advertising which was crucial to getting votes for their candidates.

Therefore, I will no longer give to the professional fundraisers, but restrict my support to people I know personally or the smaller campaigns where there is no paid campaign staff. For over 15 years I have been active in the Libertarian Party both here in Las Vegas and New York City, and have born all the expenses of going to meetings, twice running for office, and financially supporting other candidates. To think that out of several million dollars only \$120,000 was spent on TV for Harry Browne in 2000 is a disgrace and for one, I am through with supporting him and his cronies.

Dick Geyer  
Las Vegas, Nev.

### The Devil You Know

I still say we are better served with Willis and Browne. Everyone has flaws, and does misdeeds; including libertarians. We need all the help we can get. We need talented, articulate people like Perry Willis and Harry Browne. Can we afford to lose them?

Jeffrey Kradin  
Delray Beach, Fla.

### Those Who Don't Remember History

Why does everybody act so surprised at the dishonesty in the "LP"? Face it, LPers that run for office are politicians. And didn't H.L. Mencken long ago try to inform us that an honest politician is as

unthinkable as an honest burglar?

How is it that each generation fails to appreciate the wisdom gleaned by the past lovers of liberty and justice?

Corn and wheat may grow. Cows come and go. But the bull of politics goes on and on.

Jacob Lapp  
Cassadaga, N.Y.

### What Needs to Be Said

Your articles examining Harry Browne's campaign "strategies" have been a little painful and a little more embarrassing. Please keep investigating. Perhaps Mr. Browne could be invited to defend himself in print.

Chris Siddons  
Charlotte, N.C.

### Building the Cause

Over the years I have supported and worked on many campaigns and efforts to reduce the size and power of government. I have learned from those experiences that there is a certain type of person who uses the good graces of "cause" supporters for personal benefit.

John T. Underwood  
Diamond Bar, Calif.

### Shoddy Coverage

I offer the following comments on your coverage of the "Willis-Browne Conspiracy":

1. You term unidentified information — which you apparently have not even seen — from a "reliable source" to be "evidence." How can you know if it rises to the level of evidence if you have not seen and verified it?

2. You indicate that the source has said that this "evidence would be made public at the 'appropriate' time." LNC Chair Jim Lark called on anyone possessing any relevant information to present it to the LNC for consideration in his investigation of this matter. This information was not provided to the LNC. Thus, your "reliable source" either demonstrates extremely poor judgment in withholding this information, or your source is play-

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ing political games with the information at the expense of the party. Neither behavior is praiseworthy.

3. You fail to provide any reason to believe that Harry Browne was aware that employing Perry Willis was violating LNC policy. If Browne was ignorant of the fact that Willis' behavior was proscribed by LNC policy, then how can you claim he "conspired"? If the government prosecuted someone for unknowingly violating a law in conjunction with someone who was aware that the law was being violated, would you find it fair and reasonable for the government to prosecute the unknowledgeable person as a conspirator?

4. You wrote: "At a regularly scheduled meeting of the LNC, former Secretary John Famularo distributes copies of an invoice from Perry Willis demanding payment from Jack Dean's company for services rendered to the Browne campaign." While factually correct, your statement creates the misleading impression that LNC members were aware of this document during the course of the meeting. In fact, the document was neither presented to LNC members formally nor handed to each personally. In my case, it was simply left on the table in a stack of paperwork that was not examined until after the meeting ended. I have brought this to your attention previously, yet you persist in making statements that potentially mislead your readers.

5. You fail to emphasize that had John Famularo come forward with the information he had promptly, this matter would have been investigated by the LNC years ago. Had this happened, it would have cast serious doubts on the integrity of the Browne organization — likely costing Browne the 2000 nomination and Willis continued employment by a growing Browne organization. To the extent that increased damage to the Libertarian Party resulted from a delay in investigating this matter, the person most responsible for that delay and the resulting damage is John Famularo who freely chose to withhold the information he had for years.

Steven I. Givot  
Evergreen, Colo.

*The editors respond:*

1. We characterized the "information" provided to us by Famularo as "evidence" because it is an authentic electronic document that demonstrates Browne's knowledge of and involvement

in Willis' violation of his LP contract.

2. Famularo's information and documentary evidence was provided to the LNC, as well as to the public, on Aug. 19, in the form of a lengthy time line emailed to all LNC members and other interested parties with hyperlinks to various websites for appropriate documentation. The document in question can be found at <http://lp2000.com/BCI/timeline.htm>

3. There are four good reasons to believe Browne knew that he was conspiring with Willis to violate the terms of Willis' contract with the LP:

a) At the time, Browne was a full-time candidate for the LP nomination. Given the very public controversy that arose over the matter, it is virtually impossible to believe that he did not know about it.

b) Browne personally told the editors about the controversy at the time it was happening, saying that the LP was trying to prevent Willis' working for him. Surely this entails that he was familiar with the National Committee's directive to Willis at its December 1995 meeting, and Willis' agreement to henceforth respect his contract and do no further work for Browne.

c) Browne authorized that payments for Willis' work be made to Jack Dean, with an understanding that Dean would subsequently transfer the funds to Willis. There is no plausible reason for laundering the payments other than the need to get around Willis' contract with the LP.

d) Browne himself admitted that he knew about Willis working secretly on his campaign in his May 15 email to former National Chair Mary Gingell, in which he wrote "I was aware of Perry's actions and agreed to them."

4. It's a bit strange to be criticized for writing something that is "factually correct." But we plead not guilty to the charge of omitting relevant information. In addition to the sentence that Mr. Givot quotes, we wrote that "no one at the meeting paid much attention to them" and "the members [of the LNC] took the documents home with them, and over the next week read them."

*continued on page 20*

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

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# Terror!

*by R. W. Bradford*

*On Tuesday,  
September 11,  
terrorists hijacked jet  
airplanes and crashed  
them into the World  
Trade Center and the  
Pentagon.*

*Over 5,000 people  
were killed and over  
\$10 billion in property  
was destroyed.*

*And that was only  
the start of what  
happened when  
terror came to  
America.*

*What will America  
— and the world —  
be like in the  
aftermath of this  
horror?*

*Liberty's editors sort  
through the rubble,  
trying to find answers.*

## **September 11, 11:00 p.m.**

I went to bed about an hour before the disaster of Sept. 11. My wife, an early riser, happened to have the television on, and saw the horrible events. A few minutes later, a friend who reads this magazine called my home and asked her to awaken me so I could say what I thought of things. For some unfathomable reason, one of the peculiar aspects of writing for a magazine is that people expect you to have intelligent opinions on just about anything that happens. My wife, bless her soul, didn't awaken me.

I got up around noon. It was a lovely day. I made a sandwich and walked to work, where I learned what had happened. I didn't have time to think much about it right then. I had manuscripts to edit, writing to do, email to answer, and arrangements to make for Liberty's upcoming conference. And the phone lines in our office were down; they needed my attention.

Even so, my first thought was that the design of the World Trade Towers must have been seriously flawed, if an ordinary commercial jet could bring them down. It seemed to me that in a world with thousands and thousands of jet planes, any of which could be hijacked or simply stolen, multi-billion dollar buildings ought to be constructed to specs that would not be vulnerable to total destruction by the crash of an airplane.

My second thought was even more obvious: that the reaction from Americans and their government would be an overreaction, both in the immediate aftermath and in the months and years to come. Already, the government had closed down the nation's airports, ordering all planes in the air to land as soon as possible, and the president and congressional leaders had been evacuated to heavily protected bunkers, as if the nation had come under thermonuclear attack.

I learned from a staffer who had driven by the local airport on the way to work, that it had been closed down and surrounded by local police— this local airport handles only small private planes and has only recently had its grass runway paved. The state-owned ferry boats that run back and forth between Port Townsend and Whidbey Island continued to run, but motor vehicles were absurdly barred from transit.

The attacks were a conspiracy, and the bigger a conspiracy is, the harder it is to keep it secret. If the conspiracy had the human and material resources to make further attacks, they'd almost certainly have made those attacks at the same time, since it is patently obvious that airport security would be tightened considerably, making future attacks much more difficult to implement. These two obvious facts suggested that there would be no further attacks for some time.

If closing the nation's airports and putting guys like Dennis Hastert and Tom Daschle in bunkers was an overreaction, the reaction by local authorities was simply silly. How could any rational person believe that having expended considerable resources to hijack four aircraft and use them to attack two major symbolic targets in the nation's eastern megalopolis would then direct their attacks to ferry boats carrying retirees and tourists across a thinly populated waterway or an airport that had only recently paved its single grass airstrip?

Of course, this is only the beginning. In the ensuing months, we can expect two kinds of further responses, neither of which will do a thing to make our infrastructure safe from attacks, but both of which will take a heavy toll in life or liberty.

Domestically, we can expect a huge and expensive increase in airport security: more intrusive searches and more careful screening of passengers. Yet, if we are to believe the press reports, such measures would not have prevented today's terrorist attacks. The press has reported that the attackers used "knife-like objects" to take over the planes. The problem is that just about any piece of metal, glass or plastic can be fashioned into a knife, which means that searching passengers would require preventing their carrying just about anything at all onto the plane and searching their body cavities.

Of course, there are ways to reduce the vulnerability of the U.S. to such attacks to negligible levels. Simply put a radio-controlled bomb on every commercial aircraft, and if it diverges substantially from its destination, blow the aircraft out of the air. That's one way. Or reduce the risk of potential hijackers from getting control of aircraft by having all passengers strip naked in the presence of government agents and be strait-jacketed into hospital gowns prior to entering the aircraft. Of course, this would not be

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*Neither curiosity nor even morbidity could explain why Americans could not leave their televisions. Watching and re-watching the disaster and video-wallowing in its aftermath is a way, in this disjointed modern age, of expressing sympathy and grief.*

---

acceptable to anyone. Or we could train aircraft personnel to prevent takeovers of aircraft at all costs. This would mean arming them, and screening them carefully, both to keep out potential hijackers and to make sure those hired were willing to take whatever action might be necessary to prevent an attack, even if it meant their own deaths and the deaths of passengers.

The problem is that these costs are too high, in terms of their imposition on people's comfort and convenience. So instead, actions will be taken that won't work, but will, at great expense both to our liberty and our pocketbooks, provide a sense of false security.

There's yet another approach that could considerably

reduce our vulnerability, and might very well have prevented the success of three of these four terrorist attacks today: Put heavily armed agents on planes more or less at random and incognito, with instructions to take out hijackers at whatever cost. If one to four agents were on virtually every flight that had this major destructive potential, it would be very difficult for this sort of terrorist act to succeed.

This is the lowest cost method of reducing the risk of attacks, both in terms of treasure and liberty. I suppose

---

*Just as the terrorists surely hoped to disrupt life in America as much as possible, with Americans reacting hysterically, I hoped Americans could keep their intellectual and moral balance and return to our normal lives as quickly as possible.*

---

there's some chance that this method might be used. But I wouldn't bet on it.

By the time I'd gotten my day's work more or less done and the telephones in the office working again, it was time to go home. I watched the sun go down over the Olympic Mountains. It was an absolutely beautiful sunset, the perfect end to a perfect day in a beautiful small town, except for the horror of the terrorist attacks occurring thousands of miles away.

As dusk darkened to night, I finally went into my home and turned on the television. I quickly saw the extent of the terrorist attack, and of the overreaction. I noted that virtually all television stations were carrying wall-to-wall coverage of the story, despite the fact that there were hardly any new developments. Not only were the local Fox, CBS, ABC and NBC stations fully engaged, four non-network stations, including the PBS affiliate, were carrying coverage from the local NBC-affiliate, and another non-network station was carrying CNN's coverage. I was surprised to discover that CNN's and Fox's sports channels also had wall-to-wall coverage. The Fox Movie Channel had stopped showing movies, and even the Trinity channel, which normally has evangelical programming, was running coverage from the Christian Broadcasting Network.

The big news had already been conveyed, many hours before, but most Americans remained glued to their televisions anyway. I watched a few minutes of coverage, but was soon bored by its repetitiveness, and suggested we watch something else, anything else. My wife, who normally has little interest in watching non-news news, seemed upset by this notion. She stayed up after midnight, for the first time in years, watching more and more of the repetitive coverage.

It gradually dawned on me that neither curiosity nor even morbidity could explain why Americans could not leave their televisions. Watching and re-watching the disaster and video-wallowing in its aftermath is a way, in this disjointed modern age, of expressing sympathy and



disjointed modern age, of expressing sympathy and grief. Perhaps that explains why baseball games were cancelled, cars barred from ferry boats, and Jefferson County International Airport's single runway shut down and guarded by local sheriff's deputies: Denying ourselves everyday pleasures and ordinary business helps us express sympathy and solidarity with the victims of terrorism.

But while this is understandable, I am not sure that it is healthy. It is liable to intensify thoughts of irrational revenge. Already there is talk of invading Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran and assassinating Osama bin Laden. Yet there is no evidence linking any of them to the attacks. And there is talk of declaring war, even of waging a long war to the death.

The people who did who performed act were monsters. But that does not mean we should make ourselves into monsters, lashing out at the innocent in response. Nor should we subvert the institutions of civil society in the name of making ourselves invulnerable to terrorism. But I fear that we shall.

I have tried to resist indulging in grief over this tragedy, not because I lack sympathy with the victims or outrage against the terrorists. Just as the terrorists surely wanted to disrupt life in America as much as possible, with Americans reacting hysterically, I want Americans to keep their intellectual and moral balance and return to our normal lives as quickly as possible. So I have resisted, at least a little bit, the temptation to join my fellow citizens in their grief, anger, and hatred. I wonder whether my reaction makes sense, psychologically or morally.

### September 18, 7:00 a.m.

A week has passed since the terrorist attack and almost everything that has happened in response to it has been depressing. Ridiculous measures to prevent future acts of terrorism have been implemented.

I heard one particularly absurd example on the radio this morning: The University of Washington announced that people wishing to attend its home football games would be searched. Among the items that will not be allowed into the stadium are "leaflets that have not been approved in advance by the university." Mind you, it is a university that is doing this.

One small sign of progress: after video stores had record videotape rentals over the weekend, the television networks have abandoned their wall-to-wall pseudo-news and major league baseball teams are again taking to the ball diamonds. As usual, ordinary people have more sense than the

political and media elite.

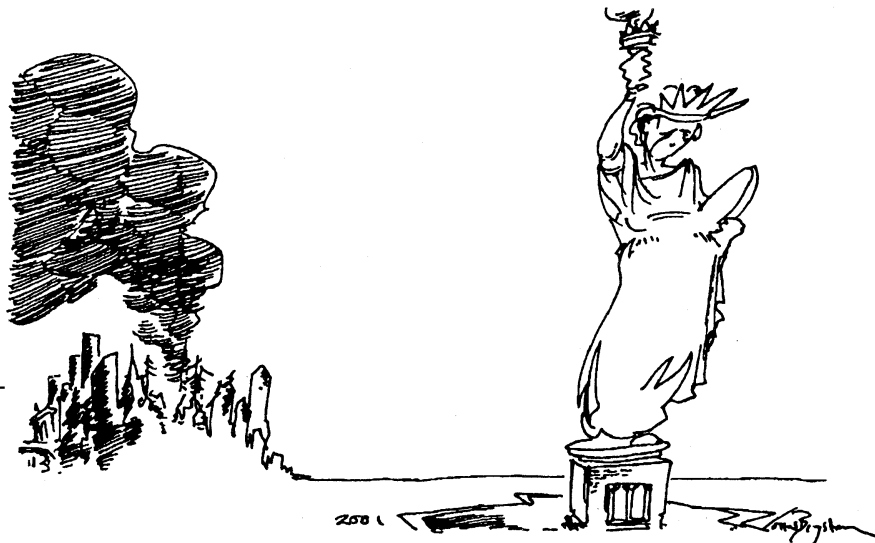
The airlines are operating again, with extreme but impotent security measures. The president has legalized assassination, and is planning for a total war. Last night, he said that Osama bin Laden is wanted "dead or alive." Yet there is still no evidence that he was involved in this horrendous act of terrorism. According to a report in *The Wall Street Journal*, "the two dozen or so groups he inspires exist and work at some distance from Mr. bin Laden personally." Other reports say that bin Laden is more of an inspiring writer and theoretician than a planner or conspirator.

If these reports are right, it may very well be the case that bin Laden himself was involved in the terrorist attacks

only as its inspiration. If that's so, going after him would be contrary to the legal traditions of the West. The writings of Karl Marx inspired untold acts of terrorism, yet England offered him a peaceful refuge, and when countries in which Marxist revolutionaries had committed acts of terrorism tried to have him extradited, England refused. No one threatened to invade the country that harbored Marx.

Legal niceties used to be observed in this country. When the fanatical terrorist Harry Orchard, who had assassinated the former governor of Idaho and murdered masses of strikebreakers and their innocent families, admitted that he had been directed in his actions by Big Bill Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners, Haywood was not incarcerated, because the law required corroborative evidence.

It is time to think rationally and calmly. No one has considered one simple possibility: that the 19 suicide terrorists



*If a handful of men with rudimentary tools can kill 6,000 people and do \$10 billion worth of damage in the nation's largest city, we are far too vulnerable for comfort. So we imagine that their plan is extremely sophisticated and expensive, requiring a large organization and immense resources.*

were acting on their own. It now appears that their attacks were remarkably simple and low-tech. Four or five men bought tickets on cross country flights, armed with razors and box-cutters. At least one man in each team was able to fly the hijacked aircraft. I'm told by pilot friends that the

hard part of flying a plane is landing and taking off and that a few hours of flight simulation can enable a person to do what the terrorists did. They took over the craft and committed suicide. There was nothing very complicated or sophisticated or expensive about their plan. All they really needed was a willingness to die.

I think people don't want to consider this possibility because it suggests that we are much more vulnerable than they feel comfortable being. If a handful of men with rudimentary tools can kill 6,000 people and do \$10 billion worth

of damage in the nation's largest city, then we are very vulnerable indeed. So we imagine that their plan is extremely sophisticated and expensive, requiring a large organization and immense resources.

Or maybe, deep down, we fear that if there is no extensive conspiracy, there will be no one upon whom we can wreak our vengeance.

Today, America is lost in a miasma of hysteria. It's hard to predict exactly what will happen. But it's hard to see anything good coming of this. □

# The Logic of Horror

*by Stephen Cox*

Government is not *always* best when it does nothing. It is not a violation of any libertarian principle for the United States government to bomb a foreign country.

Many people have said that the disaster of Sept. 11 "never seemed real" to them. It did to me, as soon as I turned my dial to Fox News that morning. Nothing appeared more logical, in a horrible way, than the idea that terrorists would hijack an airliner and crash it into the World Trade Center. Hadn't novels already been written about that very thing? And there is nothing so gruesomely real as a bad novel.

My sense of unreality came with the second hit. The second assault was too much like an artistic emphasis of the too-obvious kind, too much like the mindless repetition of images from which one tries to escape in dreams. But the greatest sense of unreality came when the towers collapsed.

Let me explain.

The Empire State Building has a sense of scale. You can tell how tall it is by its clear horizontal lines and pronounced setbacks. The World Trade Center, by contrast, was simply a pair of identical boxes, a pair of abstract, intellectual forms. For all that looks could tell, the boxes might have been either three, or three thousand, feet tall. When they collapsed, it took an effort of the imagination to face the appalling fact that this was not the destruction of a pair of plastic models but the death of thousands of individual human beings. In its effects on individual people, this was, in fact, a disaster too great ever to be *imagined*.

The human scale was lost on Sept. 11, and we must fight to regain it. We must remember that the important thing about this event is that a multitude of innocent men, women, and children were burned and suffocated and crushed to death, their lives destroyed in ways much too horrible to contemplate in detail.

It was politics that ended their lives — and it is politics that now seems to be preventing many otherwise intelligent and moral people from grasping the meaning of those deaths

and deciding what ought to be done about them.

Some among us want to dwell on the "root cause" of the disaster. Was it America's fatal involvement in other people's wars? Or was it other people's envy and resentment of modern civilization, as embodied in capitalist America? But in respect to the individual lives that have been lost, it does not really matter what the "root cause" may have been. The political principle that really matters and applies is the basic libertarian idea of what government is for in the first place. Government is supposed to protect individual life and liberty. On Sept. 11, the United States government signally failed to accomplish that purpose.

Now it has to do something to prevent another sickening repetition of its failure. The lives and liberties of individuals must be protected from terrorism. That is the least that individuals have a right to expect from their government. And

*We will not allow our liberties to be wrenched from us by our countrymen, so that our lives may be secured from foreign terrorists.*

it's individuals that count, not abstract principles of non-involvement (among libertarians) or global humanitarianism (among modern liberals).

If we keep our sense of the individual, human scale of political events, we will not heed the hysterical counsels of those who on Sept. 11 instantly proclaimed that "our whole

way of life" must now be "fundamentally changed." We will not allow our liberties to be wrenched from us by our countrymen, so that our lives may be secured from foreign terrorists.

But if we keep our sense of human scale, we will also resist the counsels of all those friends of liberty who fail to understand what government should be about — usually because they are too wrapped up in mere abstractions, inhuman abstractions, posing as principles.

Government is not *always* best when it does nothing. It is not a violation of any libertarian principle for the United States government to bomb a foreign country, if by doing so it can protect individuals in this country from being burned alive by foreign terrorists. It is not a violation of any libertarian principle for the United States government to guard its borders from people who may endanger the lives of its citizens; indeed, the existence of national borders is justified by precisely that purpose of protection. It is not a violation of

any libertarian principle for young Arab men to be stopped and questioned in airport lobbies, while elderly American women are allowed to go blithely about their business; to subject the latter to such treatment would represent a pointless commitment to an abstract ideal of fairness that has no application whatever to the legitimate purposes of government.

We all know that the individual scale of our social architecture can be destroyed by that greatest and most potent child of political abstractions, the nation state. But the destruction of the World Trade Center showed how easily that scale can be destroyed by other forces, too, forces which can only be counteracted by state action, and that of a drastic kind. To see the necessity of such action, simply ask yourself, If the people who brought down the World Trade Center had possessed an atomic bomb, do you think they would have had any compunction about using it? □

# Prepare to Meet Allah

by Paul Rako

*"I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals."*

— Libertarian Party pledge

But now that some cowards have initiated force on innocent American citizens I wish the wrath of Allah to visit a scourge upon their homes. I know, I know, we should pull out of NATO and leave the Middle East to stew in its own juices and then they won't bother us. But if you think that'll work, you've never seen a high school bully in action.

Again and again on the radio I hear "What can we do to insure that this never happens again?" I heard talk on how Israeli airlines run everyone through the ringer. There was also some comforting talk about how we have to keep this a free country no matter what we do.

It is fairly certain that several terrorists were on each plane and that they used knives to overpower the crew and keep the passengers at bay, no doubt assisted by the sheep-like obedience drummed into them as children by the American public school system. By the time any passenger realized it was a suicide mission, it was too late.

Well, we have tried the prohibition approach — no guns or big knives, and I can assure you the airlines never let me carry my can of mace on board. Perhaps it is time to try the alternate approach. Upon checking in at the gate each passenger will be issued a small caliber revolver to carry with him on the flight. If he needs instruction there will be an area cleared out behind one of the hangers where he can pop off a few caps and familiarize himself with handgun safety. Once every airline arms every single passenger I can assure that this type of incident will never happen again. Maybe as a fig leaf to the wussies, we should also not serve

alcohol on the flights anymore.

In the sad irony category: Donald Rumsfeld was in a missile defense meeting during the hijackings. Is the pathos of this lost on everyone? And then there is that psycho that killed his girlfriend and some coworkers to "feed the media for a week." What was his name again? Man plans. God laughs.

Allah Akbar. Well, prepare to meet him.

**The Invisible Foe** — In the aftermath of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, many Americans will find it frustrating that the largest military force on earth was powerless against a few box-cutting knives and a cause so great that people were willing to die for it.

— Tim Slagle

**Truth in Labeling** — It is apparently *de rigeur* in modern American political rhetoric for American leaders to refer to terrorists as "cowards." It might be accurate in some cases, but in the case of those who destroyed the World Trade Center buildings and damaged the Pentagon it doesn't seem to apply, although one might make a distinction between physical cowards who won't put themselves in danger and moral cowards who don't have what it takes to face life and so might be candidates for suicide. While those who hijacked the airliners might be accurately referred to as ruthless fanatics, people without moral judgment, vicious murderers, or any number of other descriptions, calling them cowards doesn't seem accurate. Maybe our leaders should thumb through the thesaurus for expressions that convey more meaning than simple dislike or contempt.

— Alan Bock

# The World and Us

by Alan Bock

We don't yet know who the enemy really is, we don't know where the enemy is, we don't know how to neutralize or defeat the enemy, but we're going to war.

Well, it looks as if we're going to have a war of some sort. We don't yet know who the enemy really is, we don't know where the enemy is, we don't know how to neutralize or defeat the enemy, but we're going to war. It is probably inevitable and, in light of the horrific terrorist destruction wreaked on New York and the Pentagon, the agonizing loss of American lives, the destruction of American buildings and infrastructure, necessary.

As we move toward war, however, we should have a few questions in mind and at least raise them, even if we don't expect our leaders to deal with them seriously.

The question of who the enemy is will be extremely difficult but is perhaps the most important key to an effective response. I have been extremely critical of the FBI and I trust I will be so again when they target American citizens or venture into areas that are not federal responsibilities. But they seem to be operating fairly intelligently in this case, working on the kind of problem they should be handling, following leads with grinding shoe-leather work and analysis, tracking what they know about the terrorists who hijacked the airliners back to where they were last week, then the week before, then the week before that. With any luck, although it's hardly inevitable given that the Osama bin Laden consortium is known to operate through relatively autonomous and loosely connected cells, the trail will eventually lead to the paymasters and masterminds behind these unspeakable acts. Then will come the perhaps more difficult question of how to take them out.

But the question of who the enemy is will almost certainly turn out to be broader than the question of which particular people were behind this outrage. While it seems likely at this juncture that Osama bin Laden was involved at least to some extent, it also appears that other people from a number of Middle Eastern countries were involved. Were they simply members of dissident groups or terrorist organizations, or did any get help, overt or covert, from governments or what passes for nation-states? If so, what does the United States do about that?

President Bush showed a certain understanding of the problem when he talked about the new kind of warfare of the 21st century. Traditionally, wars have been ways to con-

front and destroy another country's government. But now the largest and most developed country in the world faces an enemy that is not an identifiable country and has no identifiable government; it's a loose, decentralized band of desperate people organized by ruthless and obviously capable leaders. How does a country confront such a shadowy and amorphous foe? I hope the president and his advisers have a better idea than they have let us in on so far, but I doubt it. Expect plenty of mistakes, false starts, and blind alleys.

Most of us are aware, in a vague sort of way, that millions of people around the world hate America with an intensity most of us can barely imagine. How many of those people will be "inspired" by the terror this week to something similar? Is there any way to figure out who these would-be perpetrators are? Is there a way to take action against perpetrators and immediate threats without creating more dangers for the future?

These are hardly idle questions given our recent history. Osama bin Laden earned his spurs during the U.S.-financed Islamic resistance to the Soviet attempt to occupy Afghanistan, then for reasons I don't claim to understand came to believe that the United States had abandoned the

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cause and had become the enemy. There's a CIA term for the phenomenon, "blowback," an unintended (though not necessarily unpredictable) and extremely negative consequence of an aggressive operation. In his 2000 book, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire*, political scientist Chalmers Johnson predicted that the United States' casual imperialism would precipitate terrorist acts chillingly similar to what we have experienced this week. Get it and read it.



After Clinton's "wag the dog" attacks on mostly abandoned camps of bin Laden's in Afghanistan and an aspirin factory in Sudan, bin Laden became a bigger and more respected figure in the Arab world. A number of Arab moderates who oppose what bin Laden stands for and would have a great deal to lose if he were successful began to see him as a romantic, even admirable figure after the U.S. targeted him unsuccessfully. (See more about this at [www.salon.com/news/1998/08/26news.html](http://www.salon.com/news/1998/08/26news.html))

But go beyond Osama bin Laden and the recent attack. The United States has acted, in a rather desultory and even careless fashion, as something of a policeman of the world, but for various reasons this country is unsuited for the role, even beyond the fact that trying to run an empire inevitably means curtailing the freedom that makes this country worth defending. Most Americans care little about foreign affairs and international news, and our leaders, perhaps especially our foreign policy "experts" know or care little about the countries they try to pacify or manipulate. Jon Basil Utley put it very well:

The other reason for silence [about the mysterious and untouchable question of why so many foreigners might want to do us harm] is that American foreign policy is based almost entirely upon domestic political concerns, with little thought or concern for long run consequences. NATO expansion was promised by Clinton during the last election just to gain Midwestern votes from Americans of Central European ancestry. When Madeleine Albright ordered the bombing of Serbia, neither she nor Clinton thought about how Russia would react. In fact knowledgeable Russian experts believe that NATO expansion and the bombing of Serbia were the turning point, after which Russia started arming China with its latest weaponry, helping Iran and Iraq, and moving back to nationalist policies. Russia's military budget has now nearly doubled (to \$8 billion) from what it was before the attack. Similarly, with intervention in Colombia, there is no thought of the new, possibly deadly, combination of Arab terrorists willing to do suicide missions, and Colombian drug smugglers who know how to bribe or blackmail their way into smuggling weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the U.S. The drug war in Colombia is, again, being fought to satisfy another domestic constituency, with no thought about possible wider consequences.

Americans don't like to hear or talk about such things.

After all, Americans are for the most part decent people who do their part to make the country productive and prosperous. Most don't think of themselves or their country as the center of a world empire. They will rally behind a president if something really upsets them, but they still want to conduct whatever military actions might be deemed desirable overseas quickly, cleanly, decisively, "surgically," and get out and come home.

The trouble is that our leaders, or at least a significant portion of them, do think of themselves as the world's policemen, but hardly any of them know enough (or care to know enough) to think about the long-term consequences of their actions. Thus they constantly create enemies among people who would be inclined to hate or envy the United States anyway — and often enough among people who without such meddling would view the United States as an example to be emulated rather than an 800-pound gorilla to be harassed or destroyed. As Utley put it: "Half a million dead

children in Iraq, Palestinian teenagers raging against American-supplied tanks, Serbs without electricity and running water or diseased or ruined and jobless from our bombing, assorted Moslems who blame America for their dictatorships and misery, Colombians with relatives killed by those aided by America. The list of potential enemies grows and grows. Even Basque terrorists now look at America as their enemy after President Bush, during his recent visit, casually promised to aid Spain's government with electronic surveillance. They all now have reason to do us harm, they all want America out of their countries, 'out of their faces,' in street language. It's not rocket science."

To understand this is hardly to condone that hatred, let alone to apologize for the unspeakable brutality with which some ruthless people attacked our country this week. But it is important to begin to understand it in order to minimize the potential for creating more ruthless enemies with what-

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*We have liked to think we were invulnerable to the hatreds of the rest of the world. This week has demonstrated that we are not.*

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ever steps are undertaken in the coming weeks and months. We have liked to think we were invulnerable to the hatreds of the rest of the world. This week has demonstrated that we are not. A few more questions for this week. Is it possible that the strikingly successful terrorist attacks this week amounted to the maximum the terrorist organization behind them is able to pull off? Or is it likely that more attacks will come? If this was meant as something more than a symbolic act of destruction designed to frighten and cow the American people, which it doesn't seem to have accomplished, one would expect some follow-up violence, or at least attempts to perpetrate more outrages.

I wonder whether the strike on the World Trade Center was intended as an angry but largely symbolic gesture against "globalization" or whether the terrorists really thought that destroying or maiming those two buildings would actually cripple the U.S. economy. For those who think in hierarchical, top-down ways, that might have seemed feasible, given that so many corporate headquarters and so many top people work in those buildings.

But I suspect that the largely decentralized market system that we still have in the United States will prove much more resilient than most observers expect. And sure enough, on Thursday, despite the markets having been closed since Tuesday, more than \$2 billion in venture capital was raised for various ventures, while Main Street continued to function remarkably well in the absence of Wall Street. As radio commentator and host Lowell Ponte pointed out in a recent column, decentralization is likely to turn out to be one of our most effective defenses against terrorism. He notes that people used to cluster in castles for defense in the old days, but with the invention of gunpowder and cannon this became counterproductive. Large cities, these days, are similarly tempting targets.

"The modern metaphor we should look to is not the cas-

tle but the Internet," writes Ponte. "Originally created by the military as Darpanet, it was designed to be a decentralized communications system that could not be shut down by military or terrorist attack on any one central point." Thus "sprawl" is not only the way most Americans prefer to live, it is a safety factor. Our best defense against the wars of the 21st century might turn out to be further decentralization of our society, perhaps by using fuel cell technologies to get

more people off the grid and dispersing water supplies. As the war progresses, it is virtually inevitable that we will be asked to give up more and more of our freedoms to a centralized state. It is important that at least some of us continually remind our would-be leaders that decentralization, independence, and freedom are not only what make this country worth fighting for, but a positive form of defense against foreign domination. □

# Time to Fight

by Sarah McCarthy

If this attack is not a reason for war, nothing is.

I write this on Sept. 11, the day of the attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and a commercial airliner near Pittsburgh — the day it appears that an Islamic jihad by international terrorists was unleashed on the United States. All day long, and late into the night, the Presbyterian church across the street from our home is playing patriotic songs with their steeple bells — "The caissons go rolling along," and roll they must. This attack was the worst ever on U.S. soil, an affront that simply cannot be tolerated. If this attack is not a reason for war, nothing is.

It's time to stop pretending that all cultures and religious beliefs are equal and worthy of respect. It's time to forget root causes, who did what to whom, because nothing the United States government has done justifies this mad-dog attack on America. The terrorists and those who harbor them — the governments of Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Afghanistan, Syria, and Libya — the breeding grounds of international terrorism fed and oiled by the hysteria of Islamic religious fanaticism, have proven themselves unworthy of anything but total retaliation. Even our generals are sounding weak, warning that we must not be like them, we must be careful not to kill civilians.

Bin Laden has repeatedly called on Muslims worldwide to join in a jihad, or holy war, and has declared war on the United States in religious edicts faxed to the outside world. All U.S. citizens are legitimate targets, he has said. The United States has called bin Laden the architect of some of the worst acts of terrorism against Americans: the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center, the 1998 bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa and last year's bombing of the *USS Cole*.

The FBI has a \$5 million bounty on bin Laden's head. The State Department calls him "one of the most significant sponsors of Islamic extremist activities in the world today." Stripped of his Saudi citizenship, bin Laden has been hiding

for five years in Afghanistan under Taliban protection. Today we learn that the Taliban is praying that sanity will prevail in the United States, but their chador-covered women, acid-throwing men, and hate-filled children are irrelevant now; they are the carriers of the sickest teachings of Islam, and it's time to play the crazy card.

Last spring, bin Laden instructed activists attending a Muslim convention in Afghanistan to prepare the next generation for the jihad. "Issue a call to the young generation to get ready for the holy war and to prepare for that in Afghanistan because jihad in this time of crisis for Muslims is an obligation of all Muslims," he said in a statement read at the May gathering.

"I'm fighting so I can die a martyr and go to heaven to meet God. Our fight now is against the Americans," bin Laden was once quoted by Al-Quds Al-Arabi as saying.

Meanwhile, the blame-America-first crowd, as Jeanne Kirkpatrick aptly described them in the '80s when she was the tough Reagan-appointed ambassador to the United Nations, are already asking what George Bush did to provoke this kind of attack. They are warning that the

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*Sometimes the most restrained act is the most dangerous one. It's far too late to plead for sanity; it's time to play the madman card.*

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United States' response must be measured, must be reasonable, and that the Palestinians dancing in the streets singing "God is good, God is great" are just teenage kids. Some are saying the terrorists have no real location, and because it will cause the certain death of innocent civilians, we have no right to bomb them. They use our virtues as the

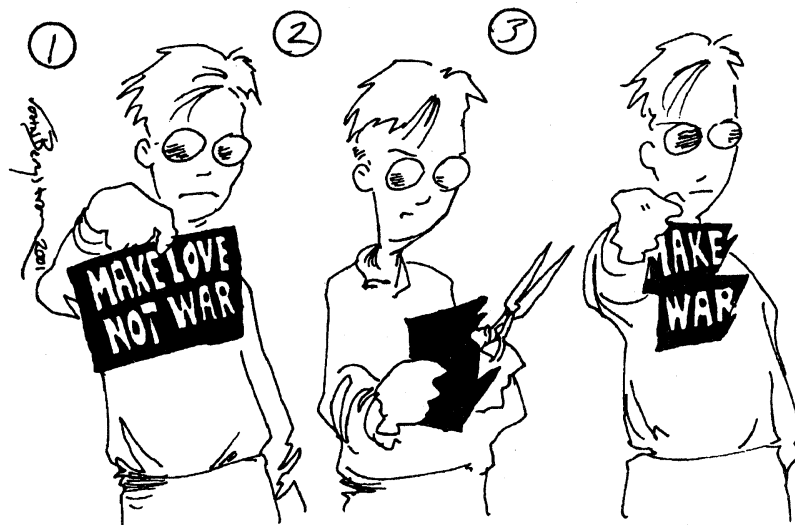
ultimate weapon against us just as they used our own commercial airliners as bombs. We have become like British troops in the Revolutionary War, defeated by rules of war that demanded marching in straight lines in red uniforms while our enemy is hiding behind women and children and using any means necessary to win. Shall we wait until the madmen bring nukes in suitcases and destroy the rest of New York, the rest of America?

The hijacked plane that crashed near Pittsburgh was ten minutes from my home. It circled Pittsburgh, looking for who-knows-what target, rumored to have been a chemical or nuclear plant, but some hero perhaps, caused it to crash in a rural area instead. One police friend of ours was dispatched to the Shippingport nuclear reactor near Pittsburgh. Another had an appointment in the World Trade Center and because his cab

was late, watched the airliner hit the first tower from a vantage point outside rather than from the 32nd floor where he was scheduled to be. Those of us lucky enough to be alive are facing the challenge of our lives. We must make it

frightfully expensive for Arab states to harbor terrorists. The worst thing we can do is merely wound them creating tomorrow's generation of terrorists. The terrorists are counting on winning because they count on anonymity and the nomadic techniques they think ensure that the United States will be restrained and reasonable; but sometimes the most restrained act is the most dangerous one. It's far too late to plead for sanity; it's time to play

the madman card. Mutually Assured Destruction is what kept the cold war cool. Now that we've seen what they are capable of, it's come to this: We have a nuclear arsenal. It's time to use it before they do. □



# America vs. the Middle East

by Tom Jenney

If you ask Pakistani or Moroccan Muslims how long the war had been going on, they will say at least thirty years, maybe longer.

The events of Sept. 11 have, to a large extent, forced the hand of American foreign policy for years to come. At the same time, America has a lot of latitude in designing the kind of policy it will pursue in its attempts to round up and punish the terrorists. Our goal should be to use all the influence we can to see that the coming war will have the smallest possible impact on life and liberty. In order to pursue this war we will have to understand some of the thinking that prevails on the streets of the Middle East.

Before Sept. 11, if you had asked the average American if the United States was at war with the Arab world or with the Islamic Middle East, the answer would have been, "War, what war? Did they just announce something?" However, if you had asked the same question to the average citizen among the 700 million Muslims from Morocco to Pakistan,

the answer would have been, "Yes, of course." If you had asked them how long the war had been going on, they would have told you that it had been going on for at least 30 years, maybe longer.

If you ask the average Middle Easterner for evidence that the United States has been at war there for such a long time, he will point to what he sees as a pattern of persistent U.S. meddling in the region. He will point to the United States' support for Israel, a state which he sees as an anachronistic holdover from the age of European colonialism, inhabited by a fanatical religious element bent on the conquest of a vast territory ("Greater Israel").

This average Middle Easterner will also point to the Persian Gulf War of 1991. Although Saddam Hussein is not exactly a local hero, America was widely perceived by

people in the region as being an imperialist power, ready to go to war over its perceived commercial interest in oil. This war did not end in 1991, as most Americans believe. The continuing embargo, enforcement of no-fly zones, and occasional bombings are, by normal international standards, acts of war. With Saddam Hussein still in power, the main effect of these acts of war has been the deaths — from starvation and disease — of tens of thousands of Iraqi citizens, mostly children and old people.

The typical Middle Easterner does not resent America's culture or wealth or "way of life." Even the most radicalized terrorist does not place these things on the top of his list of gripes. If he does "hate our freedom," it is only incidental to his hatred for the effects of our foreign policy. As Sheldon Richman has suggested, if wealth or Western civilization is really a cause of resentment, it seems odd that terrorists never pick their targets in Switzerland or Sweden, or the Netherlands, or Canada.

It is also important to understand how the average Middle Easterner views the technology of war. When he watches the news on his television, he sees an inconsistency. When the United States uses cruise missiles or smart bombs to destroy a country's dams, bridges, and electrical grids, or when its embargoes cut off medical supplies and vaccines to poor people, this is called "collateral damage," incidental to the judicious exercise of police power. But when Arabs fight back, using some of the very limited means at their disposal — like hijacking and bus bombs — against the most vulnerable (and thus usually civilian) targets, these acts are condemned as "barbarism" and "terrorism." Even more strangely to the Middle Eastern viewer, these acts are labeled as "cowardly" — as if it takes more guts to remote-guide a missile than to row a boat full of explosives up to a U.S. warship, killing yourself in the process.

Americans have now come to see what many Middle Easterners have believed for years, that the United States is

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*These acts are labeled as "cowardly" — as if it takes more guts to remote-guide a missile than to row a boat full of explosives up to a U.S. warship, killing yourself in the process.*

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at war with elements of their world. Now that America knows it is at war, what should its policymakers — and people — know about the people whom we propose to attack to force Osama bin Laden and his allies out of hiding?

First of all, we must realize that our retaliation may do little to change the perceptions of Middle Easterners about the United States and its allies. The people of the Middle Eastern "street" were largely convinced that the United States was at war with them, and our actions in the coming years will probably reinforce, rather than weaken, that belief. We will declare that we are only going after terrorists, but how will the average Middle Easterner react to the presence of U.S. ground troops in Kabul and Lahore? Or when U.S. commandos conduct house-by-house sweeps of neighborhoods in Jordan and Syria? Or when the United

States pressures Algeria into letting us patrol its airports and border crossings?

Middle Easterners are likely to become even more resolute in their belief that U.S. foreign policy is bent on conquering them, whether because of U.S. ties to Israel, Christian beliefs about the fate of Jerusalem, our desire to control the supply of oil, or our efforts to prevent the emergence of a pan-Arab power. This would stimulate even more anti-U.S. resentment, and provoke more terrorist

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*It is very difficult to set up a spy network when your target country is under attack.*

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attacks. In this environment of autocatalytic violence, it will be harder and harder for the United States to carry out its retaliations in a measured and limited fashion. And how will the United States react when it learns that terrorists have used Chinese (or Russian) missiles to sink one of our carriers in the Gulf?

One complication that will come out in the war is the United States' lack of human intelligence. The problem with human intelligence is that it takes a long time — decades, sometimes — to train and plant spies and moles. And it is very difficult to set up a spy network when your target country knows it is under attack.

We can only hope for a policy of limited retribution that allows the United States to punish terrorists without further alienating the Middle East. But for the United States to be able to stay on the narrow path will be nothing short of miraculous. Osama bin Laden is seen as a unique threat and we suspect that much of his activity has actually been financed through contributions from sympathizers across the Middle East. Would it not make sense to hunt down all of these supporters? We may end up casting quite a wide net. The wider the net we cast, the greater our chances of stirring up further resentment.

More difficult still will be keeping U.S. policymakers focused on the task of limited retribution. The United States' recent experiences in Kosovo, Bosnia, Haiti, and Somalia demonstrate that U.S. policymakers seem to have a taste for intervening in the affairs of other countries, even when there is no threat to America's national security. With the United States already at war, these policymakers will find it exceedingly difficult to resist the temptation to topple odious regimes like the Taliban or Hussein's Iraq. It now appears that evidence that justified Clinton's 1998 missile attack on a Sudanese pharmaceutical plant was misinterpreted or even fabricated. It will be very tempting for many in the U.S. government to "discover" evidence implicating such governments in various schemes and plots. After all, no one would miss a regime like the Taliban, which encourages the abuse of women's rights, forces ethnic and religious minorities to wear yellow patches, and destroys world-revered archaeological sites. Any such exercises in "nation-building" will probably serve to further radicalize elements of the Middle East. □



# Invading Afghanistan

*by Martin L. Buchanan*

Because the Taliban are a dispersed militia with considerable support among the population, the allies cannot simply invade, destroy, and then retreat.

To invade will be straightforward, to occupy will be difficult, to exit may be impossible. Yet there is little alternative; the surprise attack on America was planned on Afghan soil by terrorists who have had sanctuary and support from the Afghan Taliban government.

Afghanistan is a landlocked country the size of Texas, a quarter of a million bleak square miles, deserts and mountains reaching to 24,000 feet. Eleven million of Afghanistan's 26 million people are under 15 years old. The Taliban themselves began as young religious students, graduates of the madrassas, Islamic academies that are the major form of education in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is little exaggeration to say that the world's most powerful military alliance is about to go to war with a nation of children, though dangerous and armed children. Afghanistan has 6.4 million males of military age, and most are already familiar with the use of arms. An ongoing occupation that is successful in pacifying the country could require a million troops.

The Taliban government of Afghanistan and those of its people who still sympathize with it are largely a light infantry force, armed with assault rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, mortars, and explosives. They have some armored vehicles and artillery pieces that are obsolete by Western standards. The Taliban have essentially no air force and, of course, no navy. The biggest threats to invading airborne and air-mobile forces are the estimated 500 Stinger missiles in Afghan hands, missiles originally provided by the United States when the Afghans were fighting the Soviets.

An allied invasion will begin as the Soviets did in 1979, with airborne units securing the capital of Kabul and its airport. An initial deployment of several divisions, tens of thousands of troops, will suffice to establish control of the Kabul area and maintain an airborne supply line. Army helicopter and air force fighters and bombers will then be based in Kabul, supported by naval air forces based on carriers in the Indian Ocean. Additional troops and light armored vehicles can be airlifted into Kabul in subsequent days. With luck, U.S. special forces could secure the safety of the American Christians imprisoned in Kabul, currently in danger of execution by the Taliban.

Heavy tanks, artillery pieces, heavy construction equipment, and further large masses of men and material will cross Pakistani territory, provided the Pakistani government allows them. Disembarking at the port of Karachi, they will travel by road and rail through sometimes hostile Pakistani territory, several hundred kilometers to two Pakistani cities near the Afghan border, Quetta in central Pakistan, near the southern Afghan city of Kandahar, and Peshawar, near the Afghan city of Jalalabad and on the road to Kabul.

The invasion forces will face obstacles in both Pakistan and when entering Afghanistan. Pakistan contains as many as two million Afghan refugees in its border areas. Many areas of Pakistan itself have little central government control and many, if not most, of Pakistan's 140 million people sympathize with Osama bin Laden, the Taliban, and radical Islam. The invaders can expect rail lines and perhaps bridges to be blown up along their path through Pakistan. There will also be guerrilla attacks on allied forces. Responding to such attacks will be a delicate matter; Pakistan will likely allow allied troops to cross its territory, but it will probably not participate in the invasion with its own troops. Pakistan will be uncomfortable with allied troops firing on Pakistani citizens or residents, even in self defense.

The Taliban could take actions that would increase Pakistani cooperation with the allies. It has threatened to invade any neighboring country that allows foreign troops and aircraft to cross it to reach Afghanistan. A Taliban invasion of Pakistan likely would not reach far beyond the border area, but could give the Pakistani government and military a *casus belli* of its own to actively join the alliance invading Afghanistan. A desperate Taliban could also threaten the former Soviet republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, all largely Muslim, if the alliance obtains logistical support from those nations.

When the heavy ground forces invade Afghanistan, it will be along narrow mountain roads, through passes and canyons easily interdicted by Afghan forces. The Afghan light infantry can easily be pushed aside, but it will inflict casualties. After capturing Jalalabad, the northern invasion force will join up with allied forces in Kabul.

The two main allied forces, in the southwest based at Kandahar and in the northeast based at Kabul can easily occupy and pacify the dozen major cities and towns in the country.

There are a hundred ways that an occupation of Afghanistan can go wrong, but there are several approaches that might make an occupation more successful. Because the Taliban are a dispersed militia with considerable support among the population, the allies cannot simply invade, destroy, and then retreat; the Taliban would simply return from the hills. To change Afghanistan so that there is not a terrorist threat from a radical Islamist government requires a prolonged occupation and transformation of that country.

First, the invading force must include Muslim troops in the alliance forces. The main contact with the Afghan people may be handled by Turkish, Egyptian, Saudi, or Kuwaiti troops, who will often share a common religion if not a common language with the Afghan people.

Second, the invaders must support the Northern Alliance, Afghans that have already been fighting the Taliban. Of course, they must exercise caution when providing advanced weapons that could fall into the wrong hands.

Third, the invading forces must avoid military methods and tactics that inflict excessive suffering on civilians. Its commanders must restrain the air force's desire to turn every war into a chance to show off its bombing abilities and insist that the army enter towns without first demolishing them with long-range artillery fire. Our soldiers must use non-lethal means when possible, so that the stupid ten-year-old boy who points an assault rifle at allied forces does not necessarily lose his life. Such measures will sometimes increase casualties in the short term. But they will help us win the war.

Fourth, we must rebuild the country. We must rebuild the mosques destroyed by the Soviet-Afghan war, clear the

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*The Taliban began as young religious students, graduates of Islamic academies. It is little exaggeration to say that the world's most powerful military alliance is about to go to war with a nation of children.*

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millions of land mines that still infest the land, provide food, water, and medical care to people that are desperately poor. Food is especially urgent at this point, as the winter nears and many refugees have fled into the countryside. It might be prudent for American planes to be dropping food parcels in the countryside at the same time that they are landing troops in Kabul, even if some of the food goes to our enemies.

Fifth, our forces must respect the people, including their custom of bearing arms. Every Afghan male is effectively a card-carrying member of the National Rifle Association. A Pashtoon tribesman in the countryside cannot dial 911 in an emergency. He relies on his rifle for protection. It will be difficult enough to reduce the quantity of heavier weapons

in civilian and militia hands. For small arms, be content with having them checked at the borders of allied encampments and secure areas, then returned to their owners.

Sixth, we must transform the economy. Opium cultivation, heroin traffic, and arms smuggling are currently major sources of income for the Afghan people. All should be discouraged by the allied forces.

Seventh, avoid unnecessary offenses against Islam. Though preaching Christianity may no longer carry the

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*When the heavy ground forces invade Afghanistan, it will be along narrow mountain roads, through passes and canyons easily interdicted by Afghan forces. The Afghan light infantry can easily be pushed aside, but it will inflict casualties.*

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death penalty, allied forces can gain nothing by encouraging an influx of missionaries. The natural interest of young soldiers in local women and girls should be discouraged.

Eighth, we must reconstitute an Afghan government along democratic and secular lines. History provides a successful model: the U.S. occupation of post-war Japan. Our army of occupation dictated a new constitution, but subsequent democratic self-government was genuinely homegrown. The occupiers would likely need to write the constitution in order for it to include women's suffrage, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and other civil liberties. Even from the earliest days of occupation, the press should be free, with a few obvious exceptions (military deployments, bomb-making instructions). Within a constitutional framework, we must allow all political parties, including Islamist parties, to compete. Much of the political tension in countries like Egypt and Turkey has resulted from government suppression of Islamist movements. Allowing all parties to compete in free elections, even those who sympathize with our enemies, increases the legitimacy of the resulting government, which would otherwise be labeled a quisling creation of the allied forces.

The occupation will be fought by Afghans still taking the name of mujaheddin, considering themselves Afghan and Islamic patriots. If the occupation is successful, the mujaheddin will diminish to a few marginalized bandits. But it is by no means apparent that the occupation will succeed.

If the holy warriors prevail, their suicide attacks will make even the enclaves of the allied forces unsafe, their domination of the countryside will keep local populations from any affiliation or sympathy with the invaders, and their terror attacks will assassinate or discourage those Afghans who would otherwise form the nucleus of a new government. As a guide to their fervor, imagine that the United States had previously been occupied by the Russians for ten years, fought them off, and was about to be occupied by an equally foreign power, an Iraq or an Afghanistan. How hard would we fight?

American casualties in an invasion and occupation of Afghanistan would almost certainly reach into the thousands and perhaps into the tens of thousands of lives, and the monetary cost would reach into the hundreds of billions of dollars. The six months of operations in the Gulf War cost more than \$60 billion. One month of heavy ground combat for an eight-division force, smaller than the force anticipated for Afghanistan, can easily cost more than \$100 billion. To support operations on such a scale will move the U.S. economy at least partially toward wartime rather than peacetime production.

A just war must have just cause, right intention, a

reasonable chance of success, and not inflict harm disproportionate to the wrongs prevented or avenged. If Afghanistan becomes a carpet-bombing and a hundred My Lai massacres; if Afghanistan becomes Vietnam; if hundreds of thousands of Afghan people are killed because five thousand Americans died on Sept. 11, 2001, then such a war would no longer be moral.

If our cause becomes unjust, if we inflict excessive harm on innocents, then the same moral imperative that now impels many of us to advocate war should also cause us to stop it.

Let our motto be: "Only a just war." □

# Hitting Home

*by Richard Kostelanetz*

As I look down West Broadway, where I once saw the twin towers, there is still continuously billowing smoke, now produced by Lord knows what.

As I write, two days after the airplane attack, downtown Manhattan, where I live, is devoid of auto traffic, as auxiliary police have closed all the roads south of Houston Street. Even though radio announcers repeatedly called this the worst disaster in our history, there has been no panic, no looting. Stores are closed. Almost everyone is grim-faced and walking; a few have bicycles. The one friend known to work at the WTC has emailed me to say that she was late getting to her job and thus was spared. So did a neighbor whose law office is across the street from the WTC. As I look down West Broadway, where I once saw the twin towers, there is still continuously billowing smoke, now produced by Lord knows what. Because the winds customarily run off the Hudson River directly toward the east, those of us in SoHo, less than two miles to the north, have been spared the fumes.

The fact that it happened reflects first a failure of international intelligence, not only on our part but upon our allies', beginning with the Israelis, who have traditionally bested us at understanding the Arab world. The disaster also reflects a failure in airport security that apparently allowed some dubious characters with weapons to board not one or two or three but four commercial planes around the same time. (Did other conspirators, likewise prospective suicidal pilots, fail to pass airport security elsewhere?)

Similarly, how could a plane from Boston destined for Los Angeles get to approach New York without generating an alarm? Aren't air controllers required to report any loss of contact, as happened here? Once one plane crashed into the 80th floor of a skyscraper, why wasn't the Air Force mobilized to intercept a possible successor?

New York being an open city, the media have presented numerous press conferences live and unedited. They are instructive, mostly demonstrating vividly that reporters are more vulgar and opportunistic than politicians — painfully so.

When I hear the American military promising an overwhelming response, I shudder. Who? Where? As I've written in these pages before, I have doubts about the existence of Osama bin Laden, who might be a convenient fiction created by our intelligence agencies and their flacks in the press to explain evil that cannot otherwise be identified, much as the epithet "virus" is used to explain illnesses that cannot be specifically diagnosed.

Am I alone in thinking that the current Middle East conflagrations resulted from a provocation by Ariel Sharon,

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*No matter what we do, don't kill innocent people; that's what evil people do.*

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who knew how to win a coming Israeli election — incite Palestinians into violence that, Israelis believe, his opponents cannot suppress. Sure enough they went for it. Once Sharon's mob entered the Old City, some Palestinians reacted with violence, and Sharon eventually won. It seems obvious to me in retrospect that had they not thrown stones, Sharon would have lost the election, the Palestinian economy would not have sunk into its current pits, and Middle

Eastern peace might be more possible.

Likewise with this provocation. Military retaliation will only escalate risk for Americans, not only abroad, as before, but on these shores, as now. Hell, I wanted to see us retaliate massively until I recognized this is not a wise idea. Remember that these guys don't play by "civilized" rules. They come from an economy profligate enough to train young male jet pilots for suicide. Just as this attack was

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*Military retaliation will only escalate risk for Americans, not only abroad, but on these shores.*

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beyond common imagination, so could the next one be. Remember that father Bush established a precedent for opportunistic Middle-East bullying to revive sagging popularity at home. No matter what we do, we don't kill innocent people; that's what evil people do.

Instead of falling for the terrorists' bait, we would do better to keep our enemies anxious, expecting retaliation that does not come, instead focusing more upon airline security at home, not only in the terminals but on the planes. Consider, for instance, locking the door to every airplane cockpit. For the past quarter century, El Al has put on every plane an armed security officer, usually a retired military man. A friend flying first class in El Al once told me that the burly young guy sitting beside him, as he put it, "didn't look first class." As these security guys have shot prospective hijackers dead, granting suicide bombers their final wish before any

damage is done, El Al flights remain secure. With students doing pre-boarding security, rather than low-paid workers, El Al has also developed ways of identifying possibly problematic people before they ever get near a plane. (No one who has ever flown El Al can ever forget the interrogation. Tower Air, owned by Israelis, approached it during its short existence.)

Secondly, and less popularly, may I reluctantly propose that we should consider forbidding all immigrants from Arab countries and all naturalized Arab-Americans from boarding airplanes originating in the U.S. until the perpetrators and their accomplices are found. Quite simply, instead of merely showing "identification," prospective fliers will need to present a passport or other document that incidentally shows place of birth. Consider as well forbidding all immigration here from Arab countries.

Admittedly, this is a kind of "profiling" to which all politicians nowadays are piously pledged to oppose; but it is still privately done by those necessarily concerned with security, such as New York City cabbies. Thanks to relatives and contacts, Arabs here, as well as Arabs who want to come, have access to intelligence and the incentive, apparently unavailable to the U.S. government. I assume that many know someone who knows someone who knows something that should be conveyed to the proper authorities. Consider this move to be the privatizing of international policing. (The wealthier among them might evade the restriction by founding their own airlines, no doubt at some expense.) My wager is that, personally disadvantaged, Arab-Americans are more likely than any over-killing Air Force to swiftly realize WTC justice without causing needless additional damage at home. □

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Letters, from page 6

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5. Mr. Givot is correct that we didn't "emphasize" the fact that if Famularo had brought the information forward earlier, it could have been dealt with earlier. Our reason was simple: We figured this point was obvious. Further, the story we were covering was the actual conspiracy.

### Conflict of Visions?

The last two issues of *Liberty* have presented a confusing contrast I wish to point out. In both issues, lengthy articles review the troubles within the national LP organization, implicating (among others) Michael Cloud. A few pages away, a full-page fundraising ad appears for Cloud's upcoming Senate race. What is the general reader to make of this? I have three theories:

(1) The editorial and advertising sides of your house are totally separate, and decisions made by one do not influence the other's actions. (2) The financial base of *Liberty* is so soft that even though you are running articles implicating Cloud, you have to accept ads from him anyway to keep the magazine afloat. (3) Cloud is

doing this deliberately, figuring a full-page ad with his smiling face will be more memorable than an in-depth article full of intricacies only a political junkie would love.

I've met Cloud on more than one occasion, most recently at a Browne fundraiser I helped organize in Portland, Ore. After that event, I had the opportunity to have drinks with him and others in a hotel bar. He regaled us with stories about his techniques of political and personal manipulation. Remembering that night, therefore, my money is on the third option. I didn't really trust him then, and after everything I've read about him in your publication, I don't trust him now at all.

I urge Libertarians nationwide to refuse to donate to his campaign until he comes clean with his involvement in the Browne campaign. I urge the Massachusetts LP to think twice about endorsing his campaign.

Robert Hansen  
Austin, Texas

*The Editor Responds:* *Liberty* endeavors to keep its editorial department as separate from its business department as it is able, and to run the business end of things on a business-like basis. The fact that some of our writers have argued that the Libertarian Party ought to refrain from doing further business with those implicated in the Willis-Browne conspiracy is not relevant to our decision. To the best of our knowledge, they have not argued that all individuals and firms should refuse to do business with Cloud. But even if they had, it would make little difference because, as I mentioned above, *Liberty* endeavors to keep its editorial department as separate from its business department as it is able. Cloud has not told us why he purchased the advertising, but we assume, as with other advertisers, he purchases advertising in our pages because he wants to communicate with our readers.

*continued on page 42*



# Reflections

**Settling accounts** — As I understand it, the logic of reparations for slavery goes something like this: Because slaves were never reimbursed for what they did, those of us who inherit the benefits of their work also inherit the obligation to pay for it — so we should give money to their descendants. One problem with this reasoning is that it assumes the people in line to get the money never got the benefits. In other words, that black Americans are not Americans.

— William E. Merritt

**Behind the scenes at the Rosie show** — Rosie O'Donnell — the anti-gun activist who has bodyguards pack heat to protect her children — is having her credentials as a civil rights champion brought into question as well. Those same bodyguards are now pointing the "guns" in a different direction: They are suing her for having recorded their conversations without their knowledge or permission.

— Wendy McElroy

**Take my wages, please** — Less than six months after caving to Republican whimsy and passing a minuscule tax cut, House Democrats are seeking an overhaul of the budget to remove the cut. Meanwhile, there is no wave of public outcry and many Americans seem eager for a repeal. You can see from this that totally eliminating the income tax in this country would be a far more difficult battle than most libertarians ever imagine.

— Tim Slagle

**The statist within** — I have been helping a homeless friend for three months, and I am short on patience. He is in his 40s, with no savings and no steady income. He won't work at a menial job and lacks the attention span for a nonmenial job. So he is living on the street. I have helped with about 30 auto rides, storing his personal property, an occasional small loan, lots of encouragement, and advice which has not been taken.

My reaction to his plight has not exactly been libertarian. I have thought of how nice it would be if he were committed to a mental hospital under the Baker Act, or voluntarily admitted to a mental hospital under Medicaid, or arrested for loitering, or if he had a steady income under the Disability Insurance program of Social Security. Any vile statist program to shed my burden!

I have not helped attain any of these outcomes, and I do

not think I shall. I am distancing myself from him, and two other people are now helping him. What surprised me was how willing I — a hard-core libertarian for more than 30 years — was to consider the use of force to rid myself of a modest burden. Apparently the statist within is still alive, at least in some small sense.

— Martin M. Solomon

**Put your refund where your mouth is** —

In an attempt to discredit Bush's tax-refund victory, some prominent Democrats have announced plans to donate their refund checks to charity. This inspired me to come up with a game to play with leftist friends. I've started making little bets with them by asking which agencies they would give to if they ever got a sudden windfall of money from, say, a puny little tax refund or something. I have them secretly write down their top five choices and offer to buy the next

round if I can correctly guess three of them. While they're busy listing Nature Conservancy, the American Cancer Society, Habitat for Humanity, Red Cross, and Amnesty International, I'm writing down these groups' corresponding government agencies: EPA, NIH, HUD, FEMA, and U.N. I'm always shocked, shocked I say, to discover that they opted for the private sector each time.

Since I'm paying for this round, I think I'm entitled

to compliment them on their sophisticated appreciation of the effectiveness of private organizations compared to the waste and corruption of over-bloated government bureaucracies. Cheers!

— Tom Isenberg

**Put up or shut up** — At the Eris Society meeting on Aug. 4 in Aspen, Colo., Harry Browne responded to my criticisms of his campaign with a lengthy personal attack on me. It seems that I had refused to "let on" how much money the Browne campaign had spent on purchasing advertising time and space. Worse, even though I had reported figures taken from the campaign's reports to the Federal Election Commission and verified them with Browne's press secretary, I had "invented" some of what I had said and written, and "imagined" other things. Indeed, I had wanted to "start another Spanish-American War." I publicly challenged Harry to produce so much as "a scintilla of evidence" to support any of the charges he had just made against me, but he refused to provide any. He did say that he would provide on his website "in another couple of weeks . . . a report on the



article you wrote . . . pointing out numerous errors that you made."

Six weeks have passed, and Browne has published no such report on my article, which came more than a year ago.

When Browne donors ask him about his conspiring with Willis to violate LP rules and Willis' employment contract with the LP, he responds in a similar vein. In one letter, he writes that he hasn't responded to "charges" I have made because "it does no good." He goes on to say, "Next week, I will be posting two reports on my website" that will "demonstrate" that "nothing you read in *Liberty* . . . can be trusted" and to characterize the "charges" that *Liberty* had made as "patently ridiculous." Curiously, the person who elicited that response had not mentioned anything about *Liberty*; from all Browne could tell that person had not even read *Liberty*, since the story of Browne's conspiring with Willis has been widely reported and discussed on the Internet — and even, in a bowdlerized form, in the *LP News*.

Apparently he intends to continue substituting personal attacks for evidence, hoping that his supporters will suspend judgment forever. For years before he became a professional politician, I considered Harry a personal friend, and until 1998 I enthusiastically supported his political efforts. It began to be evident at that time that his agenda did not include being open and honest with his supporters; but I continued to support him, though with somewhat less enthusiasm in the 2000 election and right through the release, in April of this year, of clear evidence of his fraud and deceit in seeking the LP's nomination.

It's a sad state to see as eloquent a speaker and writer as Harry Browne resort to such obviously fallacious and, again, quite silly attacks as the ones detailed above. And at some point, his remaining supporters will have to come to grips with the same disheartening reality that I have had to face.

— R. W. Bradford

**Sweet dreams** — *Boston Globe* columnist Ellen Goodman recently announced her "annual Equal Rites Awards to those who did the most over the past 12 months to set back the cause." The "ever-popular Patriarch of the Year Prize" was given to Tom Green, "poster papa for open polygamy. Tom married a quintet of women, fathered 29 children and bragged about it on TV. We would sentence Tom to a 12-step program for overcommitted men, but Utah, which convicted him of bigamy, has another commitment in mind."

I guess it would be beating a dead fish-without-a-bicycle for me to note that our feminist is talking here about *consensual* behavior — or to inquire what her tone might be had the state sentenced a woman to "another commitment" for lesbianism, also a crime in progressive Utah. I won't even comment on her overlooking the fact that the female partners to this crime won't be doing any time, despite the fact that

under Utah law they are every bit as guilty as their husband. No, I'll simply praise Miss Goodman for her own award-worthy achievement: Completing the list of sexual expressions condemned by feminists. Well, not totally. By my count, there remains still one manifestation of male sexuality that has not (as of this date) been denounced by some feminist somewhere: nocturnal emission. And so what Robert Ley said of Nazi Germany is now equally true of Feminist America — the only individual who's still a private person is one who is asleep.

— Barry Loberfeld

## ***Praise the earth and pass the Interferon***

— Well, the West Nile virus has finally made it to Chicago. The virus was first discovered in Uganda in 1938, and has been gradually edging its way west ever since.

Is it possible that the mosquito-borne virus found a friendly environment in the United States thanks to "wetland" restoration and the banning of DDT? There are very good reasons to drain swamps and kill mosquitoes, but after a century of prosperity, a lot of people have forgotten them. It should be apparent to most thinking individuals that the environmentalist desire to turn America into a Third World nirvana will bring the wonderful diseases of the Third World right along with it.

Tim Slagle

## ***Be careful what dreams you catch***

— During the stem-cell debate, one of the proponent's main points was that the embryos to be used for research were already marked for disposal and that it was better to continue research than to fill a medical waste dumpster.

A few years ago, Peg Bargon from Monticello, Ill. gave Hillary Clinton a dream catcher made with eagle feathers she had found on the ground at the zoo. Unbeknownst to her, citizens are forbidden from touching the feathers of wild birds. Hillary passed the dream catcher on to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, which proceeded to set up a sting operation, and busted Bargon when she sold the feathers of a dead blue jay to an undercover agent at a mall craft fair.

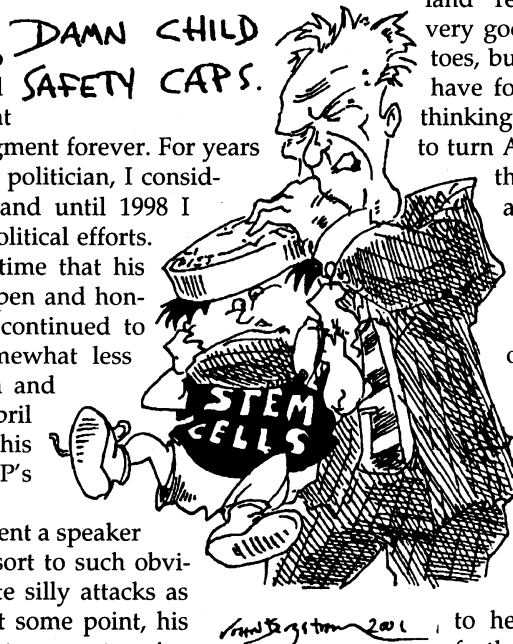
Apparently to most of today's "progressives," the DNA of a blue jay is more sacred than that of a human being.

— Tim Slagle

***Oh, I got this back in 'Nam*** — The *Boston Globe* and *Time* magazine report that Joseph Ellis, a professor at Mt. Holyoke College and a Pulitzer Prize-winning author on American history, has for years enlivened his class on the Vietnam War with false stories about his own warfare in Vietnam, despite the fact that he never served in Vietnam. A great scandal has erupted.

I only hope that the professor's expositions of history are more accurate than his forays into autobiography. And now that the media are getting interested, for once, in the content of classroom instruction, perhaps we will begin seeing scary headlines about more substantive issues:

"Economic Historian" Confesses Belief in Labor Theory of



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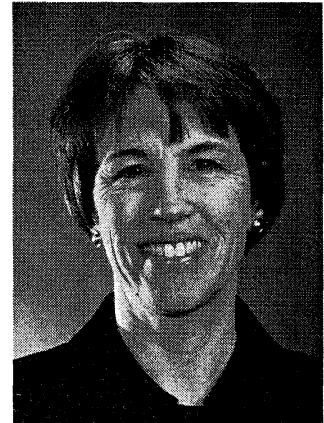
MetroWest Daily News, Front Page. Boston Herald, Front Page. The Pittsfield Gazette. The Woburn Advocate. The Lowell Sun.

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## Value

Lit. Prof. Calls Whitman a "Phallocentric Old Male"

Philosophy Shocker: Professor Admits, "I Denied the Law of Noncontradiction."

Really, I don't care whether an English lit professor tells his class that he's Queen Elizabeth, just so long as he doesn't give 30 lectures about Shakespeare as a tool of the capitalist power structure.

— Stephen Cox

**You want forms? I'll give you forms!** — I read in the paper that, because of a backlog, employees at an IRS processing center hid thousands of tax returns. What a great idea! We should start a campaign to literally bury the IRS under a stack of paperwork. Most taxpayers can get away filing just the E-Z form, but why not encourage *everyone* to file the long form? And include schedules A and B, even if all the lines are zeroes. I don't think there's a law against ensuring that your filing is thorough.

Imagine the tedium of having to go through all those forms line by line. We could make the job of being an IRS agent so unpleasant that nobody would want it, and so understaffing would compound the problem. The IRS would no longer have the ambition or manpower to conduct audits. You can defeat a beast larger than you, if you encourage it to start eating its own tail.

— Tim Slagle

**He don't know much about history** — Democratic politicians are so nauseatingly smug about Republicans' supposed lack of education that I delight in

finding revelations of the Democrats' own ignorance. They aren't hard to find.

On September 16, for example, House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt was interviewed on CNN, where he said that in the World Trade Center disaster "we lost more people on our soil than in any conflict in history." Apparently, the minority leader has never heard of the Revolutionary War or the Civil War.

Gephardt also informed the nation that our involvement in World War II lasted "five years."

Of course, if it weren't for the help of the media, Democrats could never have succeeded in painting themselves as America's exclusive intellectual authorities. So I

thought it interesting that no one contradicted Gephardt's obvious mistakes.

— Stephen Cox

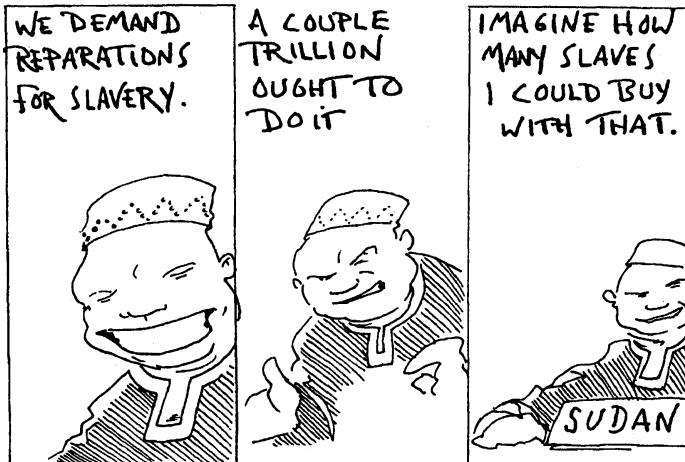
## U.N. Conference Against Reason

The grandiosely titled U.N. Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance "descended into chaos," as the U.K. newspaper the *Telegraph* put it. The public reason for the failure was the insistence by Arab delegations

on a statement calling Israel "an apartheid regime" devoted to "the racist practices of Zionism" which "is based on racial superiority." The chaos is true enough, but the conference's problems go much deeper.

Racism is a form of groupthink or collectivism, characterized by "identity politics" that place the interest of an often-arbitrary group to which people "belong" ahead of individual aspirations and hopes. The obverse of racism is individualism. But the U.N. delegates are devoted to a form of group politics based on scratching old wounds and exacerbating group grievances. Until leaders replace groupism with individualism, expect chaos.

— Alan Bock



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**Better living through chemistry** — On a recent episode of NPR's "Weekend Edition," a segment discussed the Tour de France and its winner, Lance Armstrong. This win marked Armstrong's third in a row, something done only five times before, and never by an American. The segment talked about how Armstrong has been able to turn around people's view of the Tour de France; only three years ago, the Tour faced a low point in both prestige and financial viability, in the aftermath of a scandal over cyclists who used drugs. Armstrong has made everyone forget that.

Isn't that strange? The one thing everyone knows about Lance Armstrong, aside from his Tour de France victories, is that he took drugs. If he hadn't, he would have died of testicular cancer, which five years ago had metastasized to both his liver and brain. Armstrong currently advertises for a company that manufactures drugs, the drugs that saved his life.

Why are steroids scandalous and antineoplastic drugs praiseworthy? Is it because steroids artificially enhance strength? There's nothing artificial about cancer — it's a very natural disease. The drugs that he took artificially enhanced his strength to fight the cancer that threatened his life. Is it because Armstrong's cancer-fighting medication simply returned his strength to a natural baseline whereas steroids enhance strength over that baseline? But improvements in nutrition and sanitation have also had the effect of making people taller, stronger, and much more athletically able than the average person of 100 years ago. Baseball pitchers throw faster balls than pitchers of a century ago. Runners break records not thought possible a few generations past. If time travel allowed the best athletes of the 19th century to compete with the best athletes of today, would those past athletes consider these advances wondrous . . . or scandalous?

Why is it acceptable and praiseworthy to work out for years to bring your body to a physical peak, but not to do so by taking drugs? Is it because taking drugs seems too easy? Would people who find taking steroids before a race scandalous be appeased if they were told the runner was a biochemist who developed the steroids himself?

If people enjoy watching a race and seeing the best the human species has to offer, why would they not want to see the best if the best is achieved through drug enhancement? If drugs made symphony musicians play better, would people not enjoy hearing their performances?

If Lance Armstrong, instead of developing testicular cancer, had developed rhabdomyosarcoma of the quadriceps (a malignant tumor of his thigh muscle), and required radical surgical resection, he would have been unable to compete in the Tour de France. If there were a drug that assisted in regenerating skeletal muscle tissue, and Armstrong took it and could thereby compete, would that be scandalous? If not, why would it be scandalous if I took that drug, without which I — because of my deficient genetic makeup relative to Armstrong regarding bicycling — could not compete?

To me, the real scandal is that Armstrong is praised for his refusing to use artificial means to enhance his performance when a moment's reflection makes it clear that his orchiectomy gives him an unfair advantage against most other men in a long bicycle race.

— Ross Levatter

**None is so blind** — The most important disappointment to emerge from former Arkansas Republican Rep. Asa Hutchinson's first week as head of the Drug Enforcement Administration is not that he vowed that the federal government will devise some method to enforce the federal ban on the use of marijuana for medical purposes. His position is, after all, a law enforcement job and the U.S. Supreme Court recently affirmed (albeit on narrow grounds) the federal laws against sale and use of marijuana, even for medical purposes.

The most disappointing

aspect of Mr. Hutchinson's comments on taking office was, as Kevin Zeese of Common Sense for Drug Policy told us, "not just the implicit disrespect for voters in the nine states that allow medicinal marijuana use, but his continuing peddling of the myth that there is no scientific evidence of marijuana's medical value." He also implied that any slackening of enforcement efforts might "send the wrong message" to teenagers, a rhetorical flourish that should have been discredited long ago.

Mr. Hutchinson told reporters that the scientific and medical communities have determined that there is no legitimate medical use for marijuana but "if they continue to study it we will listen to them." He said it is important to "send the right signal" when dealing with medical marijuana enforcement issues.

Those statements suggest he is completely unfamiliar with the Institute of Medicine report of 1999 commissioned by former "drug czar" Barry McCaffrey after California and Arizona passed initiatives in 1996 authorizing medical use of marijuana. The Institute of Medicine is a division of the National Academy of Sciences convened to provide reasonably reliable information when science and public policy intersect. The IOM report (*Marijuana and Medicine: Assessing the Science Base*) was based on review of all the scientific papers extant on the subject. It summarized its conclusions as follows:

Advances in cannabinoid science of the past 16 years have given rise to a wealth of new opportunities for the development of medically useful cannabinoid-based drugs. The accumulated data suggest a variety of indications, particularly for pain relief, emesis, and appetite stimulation. For patients such as those with AIDS or who are undergoing chemotherapy, and who suffer simultaneously from severe pain, nausea and appetite loss, cannabinoid drugs might offer broad-spectrum relief not found in any other single medication. The data are weaker for muscle spasticity but moderately promising.

While contending that the future of medical marijuana does not lie in the smoked plant, the report acknowledged that "until a nonsmoked rapid-onset cannabinoid drug delivery system becomes available [which the report suggested might be 10 years], we acknowledge that there is no clear alternative for people suffering from chronic conditions that might be relieved by smoking marijuana, such as pain or AIDS wasting." The report recommended that the federal government set up a program to allow such use, under tightly controlled conditions and for severe illnesses only.



The IOM report also addressed the “sending the wrong message” issue. It reported, after analyzing several cases of modest liberalization, including the state-level debate on medical marijuana, that “there is no evidence that the medical marijuana debate has altered adolescents’ perceptions of the risks associated with marijuana use.”

Later, in an interview with Robert Novak and Al Hunt on CNN, Mr. Hutchinson rebuffed a question about whether in a federalist system state law should trump federal law by saying “that’s not consistent with the supremacy clause of the Constitution.” But in the recent Supreme Court case the government did not make a supremacy clause argument, an omission so striking that Justice Ruth Ginsburg asked about it. A government attorney responded that the supremacy clause was not at issue here, that in certain states the federal law and state laws were simply different. Mr. Hutchinson, a skilled and experienced attorney (probably the best member of the House team during the Clinton impeachment trial in the Senate) should check the transcripts.

All this means state officials are bound to enforce state laws and it is up to federal officials to enforce federal law. Mr. Hutchinson has acknowledged that this will be a delicate problem.

Before he addresses it, he would do well to read the Institute of Medicine report (the summary, along with reports on other scientific studies, is available at [www.csdp.org](http://www.csdp.org) and at [www.drugwarfacts.org](http://www.drugwarfacts.org)) and research the legal issues more thoroughly.

— Alan Bock

**Lingua franca** — “Almost everywhere you go in America nowadays, you hear foreign languages . . . on the telephone, at the bank, in the stores, in restaurants and even in our schools.” So begins a new fund-raising letter from U.S. English, Inc. In the interest of full disclosure, I confess to

being one of the culprits. Almost once a week for several years, I conversed with a Spanish friend in his language in one or another of the local restaurants. To compound the offense, we occasionally talked in French or Interlingua. *Nostra culpa!*

The immediate aim of U.S. English is to overturn Bill Clinton’s executive order — how correctly described, I do not know — requiring the waste of taxpayer dollars to provide services in foreign languages. The organization’s longer-run goal is to “make English the official language of the United States” — whatever exactly that means. Laws enacting vague good intentions are dangerous toys to give litigants, lawyers, and judges. U.S. English worries, needlessly, about “the erosion of English in America.” Most immigrants have ample personal reason to learn the country’s dominant language; they need no prodding from the administrators of an official language program. If the “multilingual” programs still persisting in some public schools interfere with children’s learning English, that specific abuse should be remedied, as indeed it would be remedied by greater parental choice in education. As for money wasted on unnecessary or inappropriate translation, that is a budgetary matter for the agencies concerned. Unlike U.S. English, I do not worry that “The Internal Revenue Service is wasting valuable tax dollars” to print and distribute its forms in foreign languages. If that expenditure is cost-efficient for the IRS and makes compliance easier for its involuntary customers, why complain? Language on election ballots should not be a federal matter one way or the other, in my opinion; but I see no real need for foreign languages there. Voters weak in English can learn the meaning of ballot language in advance; and if they are not interested enough to do so, then I worry no more about them than I worry about the millions of other indifferent or ignorant citizens who likewise skip voting.

Many kinds of groups exist between the individual person and the central government — groups of people sharing attachment to innumerable businesses and professions, hobbies, religions, and causes. Some people are attached to the language and culture of the old country. Foreign-language newspapers and radio and television expand the opportunities even of English-speakers. Variety in focuses of interest and personal loyalty makes for a healthy society and serves as a bulwark against totalitarianism. (If totalitarianism seems only a remote threat in the United States, our very diversity counts among the reasons.)

Unlike U.S. English, I do not worry that “in 1999, a town in Texas actually went so far as to reject English and make SPANISH the official language of its city government.” Occasional extremism in resistance to centralization and homogeneity is no vice.

I do not doubt that the entrepreneurs of U.S. English are sincere; I do not suppose that they are in business for the money alone. I have come to realize, though, that quite a few nonprofit organizations help their donors feel good through expressing themselves — in favor of saving the whales or curing some disease or restoring the gold standard or in opposition to torture or some other abuse. No doubt U.S. English will receive some money from donors who want to express resentment at hearing Spanish in the local restaurant.

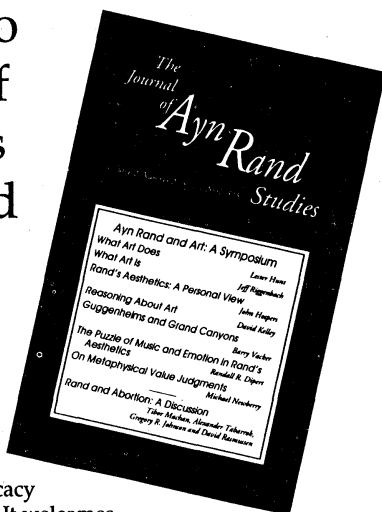
— Leland B. Yeager

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# The Paper Trail

*by William E. Merritt*

After last month's report of corruption surrounding Oregon's Measure 7 battle, damning evidence came to light. It seems corruption always leaves a paper trail.

On Nov. 7, 2000, Oregon voters passed a ballot measure amending Oregon's Constitution to require state and local governments to pay landowners when regulations reduce the value of property. A few weeks later, the measure was challenged in court and declared unconstitutional.

A month ago, I reported the suspicious way that this vote of the people seemed to have been subverted by officials of the state.\* At that time, it was clear from public documents that:

1. Gov. John Kitzhaber had campaigned vigorously against Measure 7 on the grounds that it "would bankrupt the state."

2. Ten days after the measure passed — and before any lawsuit had been filed — the governor attended a two-and-a-half-hour meeting with attorney Tom Christ; after the meeting Christ returned to his office and began drafting the complaint challenging the measure.

3. Deputy Attorney General David Schuman, who defended Measure 7 in court, is an outspoken critic of all ballot measures, believing the entire process should be declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

4. The arguments Schuman relied upon in court were so inept that they raised questions about whether he conducted the defense of Measure 7 in good faith.

5. A few weeks after Measure 7 was declared unconstitutional, Gov. Kitzhaber appointed Schuman to the Court of Appeals.

Whether there was an articulated plan to collaborate on a sham lawsuit to overturn Measure 7 depends upon what

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was actually discussed at the Nov. 17 meeting. Until recently, the only information about what went on at the meeting came from Tom Christ and Chip Lazenby, the governor's staff attorney. Both claim that the sole purpose of the meeting was to determine where matters stood in regard to Measure 7 so that Kitzhaber could plan his new budget.

Even so, the whole thing smelled. As I observed in my article last month, "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the governor and various attorneys conspired to have the measure undone in the courts." At the time, this was only a suspicion.

Now — thanks to Oregon's Open Records Law — Lazenby has been required to produce documents about his involvement in the case, including notes he took during the meeting. And what had been only a reasonable suspicion is beginning to look a lot more like an established fact.

## The Telltale Message Slip

Take a look at the telephone slip dated Nov. 16, 2000. It simply states that Jerry Lidz had called Chip Lazenby and left word that David Schuman, Dick Townsend, and the attorney general's office wanted to meet with Lazenby and Glenn Klein, explaining that the get-together was for the purpose of "coordinating state & local response [to Measure 7]."

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\*see *Liberty* of October 2001.

Lidz and Klein are lawyers with the firm of Harrang Long Gary Rudnick, which represents the city of Eugene, Ore. A few days after the meeting, Eugene became one of the plaintiffs challenging the constitutionality of Measure 7. Townsend is the executive director of the League of Oregon Cities, also soon to become a plaintiff against Measure 7.

That may sound like an innocent bureaucratic confab. But it revealed something very disturbing. Schuman, the person at the attorney general's office responsible for defending Measure 7, had arranged with the executive director of one of the plaintiffs planning to challenge the measure to have the lawyer that was to file the challenge set up a meeting with the governor's staff attorney at which the only agenda item was to coordinate the upcoming challenges to Measure 7.

It was as if Al Capone had gotten together with Elliot Ness to arrange a meeting with J. Edgar Hoover and Bugsy Siegel to coordinate their response to a new racketeering law.

### Mr. Lazenby's Smoking Gun

Schuman did not attend the meeting. If he had, he would have automatically been prevented by the Bar Association's disciplinary rules from playing any personal role in the defense of Measure 7, a situation which may well have been fatal to the scheme. If, as it appears, the propose of the meeting was to set up a sham lawsuit for the governor to lose, then someone in on the plan would have to handle the defense personally. Throwing a case is not the sort of thing that can be handed off to a subordinate.

The meeting was attended by the governor, his staff attorney, and a handful of other people from the governor's office, all of whom were required by law to defend the measure. Also attending were Tom Christ, the attorney challenging the measure, and Robert Liberty, the executive director of 1000 Friends of Oregon, a powerful environmental group which had opposed Measure 7 from the beginning, the League of Oregon Cities, and the head of the Oregon Dept. of Land Conservation and Development, the arm of the state that stood to lose the most money if the measure went into effect.

The notes from the meeting are very revealing. The first thing you notice is that there is no mention of any discussion of budgets, the subject Lazenby and Christ claimed the meeting was about. Instead, the notes reveal that the meeting was about how to make sure Measure 7 never went into effect.

The upper left corner sets out the subject of the meeting: "B[allot] M[easure] 7 Litigation," and the date: "11-17-00." This is eye-catching because, at the time of the meeting, no plans for litigation had been announced. It appears that the plan for the lawsuit to overturn Measure 7 originated at this meeting.

Then, in outline form:

- A) Christ — Pre-lim Injunction
- 1) S[ecretary] O[f] S[tate] / Canvassing votes
- Gov[ernor] / not to proclaim

Translation: Tom Christ, after bringing suit, was to file for a preliminary injunction preventing the secretary of state from canvassing (officially counting) the votes, and Gov. Kitzhaber from proclaiming the results. Since Oregon's constitution requires the governor to proclaim the results, Kitzhaber's participation in such a scheme would constitute an attempt to circumvent his duties as governor.

This maneuver was to be followed by a:

- B) Full Hearing on merits
- [leading to a] Permanent Injunction

Which is exactly what happened.

Next comes a description of the way the governor thought the upcoming legal challenge would unfold:

Process [leading to a] Lawsuit In Marion Co[unty]  
Req[uest] P[reliminary] Inj[unction] following weeks  
Opposition of D[eartment] O[f] J[ustice] Key  
If opposed [leading to] May not get it

You can see where this is heading: If the attorney general opposed the injunction, the whole scheme could unravel. This is where Schuman came in. As deputy AG, he would be in a position to try the case himself and make sure that the preliminary injunction wasn't effectively opposed.

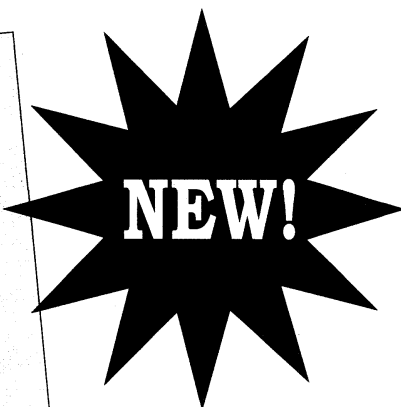
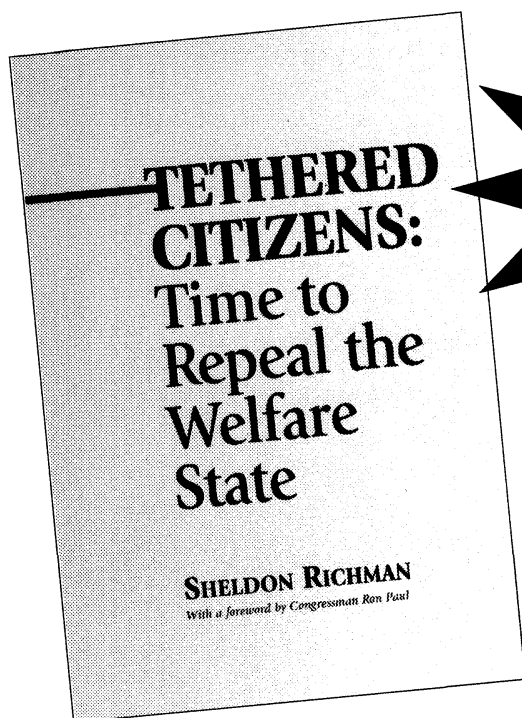
Finally, in the lower left corner, is one of the most provocative entries of all:

Abernethy, Lipscomb +  
Norblad, Barbur -  
Leggert

All of these are names of judges who might be called upon to decide the lawsuit; apparently, this is a rating of the desirability of the judges Litigants speculate about judges all the time, of course. What's unusual here is that both the plaintiff and defense agreed on which judges would be best.

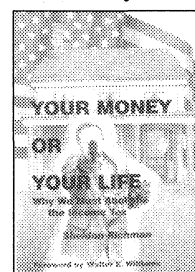
IMPORTANT MESSAGE		
FOR	Chip	
DATE	11/16/00	TIME 9:03 A.M.
FROM	Jerry Lidz	
OF	Eugene	
PHONE	(541) 485-0220	EXTENSION
<input type="checkbox"/> FAX		
<input type="checkbox"/> MOBILE		
AREA CODE	NUMBER	TIME TO CALL
TELEPHONED	PLEASE CALL	
CAME TO SEE YOU	WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU	FAX TO FOLLOW	
RETURNED YOUR CALL	SPECIAL ATTENTION	
Dave Schuman MESSAGE: Townsend 15-20 mins MSGR 17 afternoon AG's off suggested they Glenn Cline & he talk w/ you - coordinating state & local response SIGNED ALW		
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If those present did not agree on what outcome of the case would be desirable, they would not have agreed on the best judge to try the case. If Abernethy and Lipscomb really were more likely to look favorably on a challenge to Measure 7 than Norblad and Barber, then those challenging the measure (Liberty and Christ) would have given them pluses, while the governor or his staffers would have awarded minuses.

Of course, the governor, Christ and everybody else at the meeting had the right to their own opinions about Measure 7 and the right to make their opinions known. They can lobby against Measure 7 in the legislature. They can campaign against it on the airwaves.

But they cannot use their offices to overturn the will of the voters through the pretense of judicial process.

Outside of a signed confession, it's hard to imagine anything more damning than these documents. There's no spin here at all. The documents were prepared with no thought that anyone other than Lazenby would ever see them. In light of the other facts already on public record, it seems almost impossible to make sense of what happened without concluding that:

1) After the citizens of Oregon passed Measure 7, Deputy Attorney General David Schuman got together with Dick Townsend, the executive director of the League of Oregon Cities, and set up a meeting at which the governor joined forces with representatives of the League of Oregon Cities, 1000 Friends of Oregon, and the city of Eugene, to concoct a sham lawsuit to invalidate Measure 7.

2) To make sure the suit succeeded, Schuman put himself in charge of the defense, then bagged the case in court.

3) A few weeks later, Gov. Kitzhaber appointed Schuman to the Court of Appeals.

If the facts add up this way — and it's hard to imagine any other way they could add up — serious consequences could be in store for everybody involved. For the lawyers on both sides, the ethical implications are potentially career-ending. Past that, everybody — lawyer or not — who attended the meeting, or worked on the lawsuits, may well be involved in violations of federal civil rights statutes.

At the very least, the people of Oregon are entitled to a better explanation of what was done in their name than transparent falsehoods about "budget planning." □

3m7  
Litigation  
11-17-00

LIBERTY, CHRIST, WYATT, MARKS, SCHUMAN  
MCA-Phil

Christ - Prelim Injunction  
① SOS/Canvassing with  
Gov/ not to proclaim

② Full hearing - merit → Permanent Injunction

JK political view

Process → Lawsuit in Marion Co  
Reg P Inj, following weeks  
opposition of DOJ lawyer  
If opposed → may act put at  
Can stipulate  
X ant S/J - March - Feb

MID In  
earliest

But case end of session or after

\* Ask LOC/PLC - to cooperate w/ transmission of docs

Winning → 1/10 court → SCOO (27 vs +)

1 x 18 - Computer  
721 lawsuit (from on Sup Ct)  
Actually, Lipscomb +  
No.blad, Barber -  
Leggert =

Shown smaller than actual size

# The Mystery of Fascism

by David Ramsay Steele

You're the top!  
You're the Great Houdini!  
You're the top!  
You are Mussolini!<sup>1</sup>

Soon after he arrived in Switzerland in 1902, 18 years old and looking for work, Benito Mussolini was starving and penniless. All he had in his pockets was a cheap nickel medallion of Karl Marx.

Following a spell of vagrancy, Mussolini found a job as a bricklayer and union organizer in the city of Lausanne. Quickly achieving fame as an agitator among the Italian migratory laborers, he was referred to by a local Italian-language newspaper as "the great *duce* [leader] of the Italian socialists." He read voraciously, learned several foreign languages,<sup>2</sup> and sat in on Pareto's lectures at the university.

The great *duce*'s fame was so far purely parochial. Upon his return to Italy, young Benito was an undistinguished member of the Socialist Party. He began to edit his own little paper, *La Lotta di Classe* (The Class Struggle), ferociously anti-capitalist, anti-militarist, and anti-Catholic. He took seriously Marx's dictum that the working class has no country, and vigorously opposed the Italian military intervention in Libya. Jailed several times for involvement in strikes and anti-war protests, he became something of a leftist hero. Before turning 30, Mussolini was elected to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and made editor of its daily paper, *Avanti!* The paper's circulation and Mussolini's personal popularity grew by leaps and bounds.

Mussolini's election to the Executive was part of the capture of control of the Socialist Party by the hard-line Marxist left, with the expulsion from the party of those deputies (members of parliament) considered too conciliatory to the bourgeoisie. The shift in Socialist Party control was greeted with delight by Lenin and other revolutionaries throughout the world.

From 1912 to 1914, Mussolini was the Che Guevara of his day, a living saint of leftism. Handsome, courageous, charis-

---

matic, an erudite Marxist, a riveting speaker and writer, a dedicated class warrior to the core, he was the peerless *duce* of the Italian Left. He looked like the head of any future Italian socialist government, elected or revolutionary.

In 1913, while still editor of *Avanti!*, he began to publish and edit his own journal, *Utopia*, a forum for controversial discussion among left-wing socialists. Like many such socialist journals founded in hope, it aimed to create a highly educated cadre of revolutionaries, purged of dogmatic illusions, ready to seize the moment. Two of those who collaborated with Mussolini on *Utopia* would go on to help found the Italian Communist Party and one to help found the German Communist Party.<sup>3</sup> Others, with Mussolini, would found the Fascist movement.

The First World War began in August 1914 without Italian involvement. Should Italy join Britain and France against Germany and Austria, or stay out of the war?<sup>4</sup> All the top leaders and intellectuals of the Socialist Party, Mussolini among them, were opposed to Italian participation.

In October and November 1914, Mussolini switched to a pro-war position. He resigned as editor of *Avanti!*, joined with pro-war leftists outside the Socialist Party, and launched a new pro-war socialist paper, *Il Popolo d'Italia* (People of Italy).<sup>5</sup> To the Socialist Party leadership, this was a great betrayal, a sellout to the whoremasters of the bourgeoisie, and Mussolini was expelled from the party. It was as scandalous as though, 50 years later, Guevara had announced that he was off to Vietnam, to help defend the South against North Vietnamese aggression.

Italy entered the war in May 1915, and Mussolini enlisted. In 1917 he was seriously wounded and hospitalized, emerging from the war the most popular of the pro-war socialists, a leader without a movement. Post-war Italy was hagridden by civil strife and political violence. Sensing a revolutionary situation in the wake of Russia's Bolshevik coup, the left organized strikes, factory occupations, riots, and political killings. Socialists often beat up and sometimes killed soldiers returning home, just because they had fought in the war. Assaulting political opponents and wrecking their property became an everyday occurrence.

Mussolini and a group of adherents launched the Fascist movement<sup>6</sup> in 1919. The initiators were mostly men of the left: revolutionary syndicalists and former Marxists.<sup>7</sup> They took with them some non-socialist nationalists and futurists,

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*Italian socialists often beat up and sometimes killed soldiers returning home, just because they had fought in the war.*

---

and recruited heavily among soldiers returning from the war, so that the bulk of rank-and-file Fascists had no left-wing background. The Fascists adopted the black shirts<sup>8</sup> of the anarchists and *Giovinezza* (Youth), the song of the front-line soldiers.

Apart from its ardent nationalism and pro-war foreign policy, the Fascist program was a mixture of radical left, moderate left, democratic, and liberal measures, and for more than a year the new movement was not notably more violent than other socialist groupings.<sup>9</sup> However, Fascists came into conflict with Socialist Party members and in 1920 formed a militia, the *squadre* (squads). Including many patriotic veterans, the squads were more efficient at arson and terror tactics than the violently disposed but bumbling Marxists, and often had the tacit support of the police and army. By 1921 Fascists had the upper hand in physical combat with their rivals of the left.

The democratic and liberal elements in Fascist preaching rapidly diminished and in 1922 Mussolini declared that "The world is turning to the right." The Socialists, who controlled the unions, called a general strike. Marching into some of the major cities, blackshirt squads quickly and forcibly suppressed the strike, and most Italians heaved a sigh of relief. This gave the blackshirts the idea of marching on Rome to seize power. As they publicly gathered for the great march, the government decided to avert possible civil war by bringing Mussolini into office; the King "begged" Mussolini to become Prime Minister, with emergency powers. Instead of a desperate uprising, the March on Rome was the triumphant celebration of a legal transfer of authority.

The youngest prime minister in Italian history, Mussolini was an adroit and indefatigable fixer, a formidable wheeler and dealer in a constitutional monarchy which did not become an outright and permanent dictatorship until December 1925, and even then retained elements of unstable pluralism requiring fancy footwork. He became world-renowned as a political miracle worker. Mussolini made the trains run on time, closed down the Mafia, drained the

Pontine marshes, and solved the tricky Roman Question, finally settling the political status of the Pope.

Mussolini was showered with accolades from sundry quarters. Winston Churchill called him "the greatest living legislator." Cole Porter gave him a terrific plug in a hit song. Sigmund Freud sent him an autographed copy of one of his books, inscribed to "the Hero of Culture."<sup>10</sup> The more taciturn Stalin supplied Mussolini with the plans of the May Day parades in Red Square, to help him polish up his Fascist pageants.

The rest of *il Duce's* career is now more familiar. He conquered Ethiopia, made a Pact of Steel with Germany, introduced anti-Jewish measures in 1938,<sup>11</sup> came into the war as Hitler's very junior partner, tried to strike out on his own by invading the Balkans, had to be bailed out by Hitler, was driven back by the Allies, and then deposed by the Fascist Great Council, rescued from imprisonment by SS troops in one of the most brilliant commando operations of the war, installed as head of a new "Italian Social Republic," and killed by Communist partisans in April 1945.

Given what most people today think they know about Fascism, this bare recital of facts<sup>12</sup> is a mystery story. How can a movement which epitomizes the extreme right be so strongly rooted in the extreme left? What was going on in the minds of dedicated socialist militants to turn them into equally dedicated Fascist militants?

### What They Told Us About Fascism

In the 1930s, the perception of "fascism"<sup>13</sup> in the English-speaking world morphed from an exotic, even chic, Italian novelty<sup>14</sup> into an all-purpose symbol of evil. Under the influence of leftist writers, a view of fascism was disseminated which has remained dominant among intellectuals until today. It goes as follows:

Fascism is capitalism with the mask off. It's a tool of Big Business, which rules through democracy until it feels mortally threatened, then unleashes fascism. Mussolini and Hitler were put into power by Big Business, because Big Business was challenged by the revolutionary working class.<sup>15</sup> We naturally have to explain, then, how fascism can be a mass movement, and one that is neither led nor organized by Big Business. The explanation is that Fascism does it by fiendishly clever use of ritual and symbol. Fascism as an intellectual doctrine is empty of serious content, or alternatively, its content is an incoherent hodgepodge. Fascism's appeal is a matter of emotions rather than ideas. It relies on hymn-singing, flag-waving, and other mummery, which are nothing more than irrational devices employed by the Fascist leaders who have been paid by Big Business to manipulate the masses.

As Marxists used to say, fascism "appeals to the basest instincts," implying that leftists were at a disadvantage because they could appeal only to noble instincts like envy of the rich. Since it is irrational, fascism is sadistic, nationalist, and racist by nature. Leftist regimes are also invariably sadistic, nationalist, and racist, but that's because of regrettable mistakes or pressure of difficult circumstances. Leftists want what's best but keep meeting unexpected setbacks, whereas fascists have chosen to commit evil.

More broadly, fascism may be defined as any totalitarian regime which does not aim at the nationalization of industry



but preserves at least nominal private property. The term can even be extended to any dictatorship that has become unfashionable among intellectuals.<sup>16</sup> When the Soviet Union and People's China had a falling out in the 1960s, they each promptly discovered that the other fraternal socialist country was not merely capitalist but "fascist." At the most vulgar level, "fascist" is a handy swearword for such hated figures as Rush Limbaugh or John Ashcroft who, whatever their faults, are as remote from historical Fascism as anyone in public life today.

The consequence of 70 years of indoctrination with a particular leftist view of fascism is that Fascism is now a puzzle. We know how leftists in the 1920s and 1930s thought because we knew people in college whose thinking was almost identical, and because we have read such writers as Sartre, Hemingway, and Orwell.

But what were Fascists thinking?

### Some Who Became Fascists

Robert Michels was a German Marxist disillusioned with the Social Democrats. He became a revolutionary syndicalist. In 1911 he wrote *Political Parties*, a brilliant analytic work,<sup>17</sup> demonstrating the impossibility of "participatory democracy," a phrase that was not to be coined for half a century, but which accurately captures the early Marxist vision of socialist administration.<sup>18</sup> Later he became an Italian (changing "Robert" to "Roberto") and one of the leading Fascist theoreticians.

Hendrik de Man was the leading Belgian socialist of his day and recognized as one of the two or three most outstanding socialist intellectuals in Europe. Many in the 1930s believed him to be the most important socialist theoretician since Marx. He is the most prominent of the numerous Western European Marxists who wrestled their way from Marxism to Fascism or National Socialism in the inter-war years. In more than a dozen thoughtful books from *The Remaking of a Mind* (1919), via *The Socialist Idea* (1933), to *Après Coup* (1941) de Man left a detailed account of the theoretical odyssey which led him, by 1940, to acclaim the Nazi subjugation of Europe as "a deliverance." His journey began, as such journeys so often did, with the conviction that Marxism needed to be revised along "idealist" and psychological lines.<sup>19</sup>

Two avant-garde artistic movements which contributed to the Fascist worldview were Futurism and Vorticism. Futurism was the brainchild of Filippo Marinetti, who eventually lost his life in the service of Mussolini's regime. You can get some idea of the Futurist pictorial style from the credits for the *Poirot* TV series. Its style of poetry was a defining influence on Mayakovsky. Futurist arts activities were permitted for some years in the Soviet Union. Futurism held

that modern machines were more beautiful than classical sculptures. It lauded the aesthetic value of speed, intensity, modern machinery, and modern war.

Vorticism was a somewhat milder variant of Futurism, associated with Ezra Pound and the painter and novelist Wyndham Lewis, an American and a Canadian who transplanted to London. Pound became a Fascist, moved to Italy, and was later found mentally ill and incarcerated by the occupying Americans. The symptoms of his illness were his Fascist beliefs. He was later released, and chose to move back to Italy in 1958, an unrepentant Fascist.

In 1939 the avowed fascist Wyndham Lewis retracted his earlier praise for Hitler, but never renounced his basically fascist political worldview. Lewis was, like George Bernard Shaw, one of those intellectuals of the 1930s who admired Fascism and Communism about equally, praising them both while insisting on their similarity.

Fascism must have been a set of ideas which inspired educated individuals who thought of themselves as extremely up-to-date. But what were those ideas?

### Five Facts About Fascism

Over the last 30 years, scholarship has gradually begun to bring us a more accurate appreciation of what Fascism was.<sup>20</sup>

The picture that emerges from ongoing research into the origins of Fascism is not yet entirely clear, but it's clear enough to show that the truth cannot be reconciled with the conventional view. We can highlight some of the unsettling conclusions in five facts:

*Fascism was a doctrine well elaborated years before it was named.* The core of the Fascist movement launched officially in the Piazza San Sepolcro on 23rd March 1919 was an

intellectual and organizational tradition called "national syndicalism."

As an intellectual edifice, Fascism was mostly in place by about 1910. Historically, the taproot of Fascism lies in the 1890s in the "Crisis of Marxism" and in the interaction of 19th-century revolutionary socialism with *fin-de-siècle* anti-rationalism and anti-liberalism.

*Fascism changed dramatically between 1919 and 1922, and again changed dramatically after 1922.* This is what we expect of any ideological movement which comes close to power and then attains it. Bolshevism (renamed Communism in 1920) also changed dramatically, several times over.

Many of the older treatments of Fascism are misleading because they cobble together Fascist pronouncements, almost entirely from after 1922, reflecting the pressures on a broad and flexible political movement solidifying its rule by compromises, and suppose that by this method they can iso-



late the character and motivation of Fascist ideology. It is as if we were to reconstruct the ideas of Bolshevism by collecting the pronouncements of the Soviet government in 1943, which would lead us to conclude that Marxism owed a lot to Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great.

*Fascism was a movement with its roots primarily in the left.* Its leaders and initiators were secular-minded, highly progressive intellectuals, hardheaded haters of existing society and especially of its most bourgeois aspects.

There were also non-leftist currents which fed into Fascism; the most prominent was the nationalism of Enrico Corradini. This anti-liberal, anti-democratic movement was preoccupied with building Italy's strength by accelerated industrialization. Though it was considered right wing at the time, Corradini called himself a socialist, and similar move-

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ments in the Third World would later be warmly supported by the left.

*Fascism was intellectually sophisticated.* Fascist theory was more subtle and more carefully thought out than Communist doctrine. As with Communism, there was a distinction between the theory itself and the "line" designed for a broad public. Fascists drew upon such thinkers as Henri Bergson, William James, Gabriel Tarde, Ludwig Gumplowicz, Vilfredo Pareto, Gustave Le Bon, Georges Sorel, Robert Michels, Gaetano Mosca, Giuseppe Prezzolini, Filippo Marinetti, A.O. Olivetti, Sergio Panunzio, and Giovanni Gentile.

Here we should note a difference between Marxism and Fascism. The leader of a Marxist political movement is always considered by his followers to be a master of theory and a theoretical innovator on the scale of Copernicus. Fascists were less prone to any such delusion. Mussolini was more widely read than Lenin and a better writer, but Fascist intellectuals did not consider him a major contributor to the body of Fascist theory, more a leader of genius who could distill theory into action.

*Fascists were radical modernizers.* By temperament they were neither conservative nor reactionary. Fascists despised the status quo and were not attracted by a return to bygone conditions. Even in power, despite all its adaptations to the requirements of the immediate situation, and despite its incorporation of more conservative social elements, Fascism remained a conscious force for modernization.<sup>21</sup>

## Two Revisions of Marxism

Fascism began as a revision of Marxism by Marxists, a revision which developed in successive stages, so that these Marxists gradually stopped thinking of themselves as Marxists, and eventually stopped thinking of themselves as socialists. They never stopped thinking of themselves as anti-liberal revolutionaries.

The crisis of Marxism occurred in the 1890s. Marxist intel-

lectuals could claim to speak for mass socialist movements across continental Europe, yet it became clear in those years that Marxism had survived into a world which Marx had believed could not possibly exist. The workers were becoming richer, the working class was fragmented into sections with different interests, technological advance was accelerating rather than meeting a roadblock, the "rate of profit" was not falling, the number of wealthy investors ("magnates of capital") was not falling but increasing, industrial concentration was not increasing,<sup>22</sup> and in all countries the workers were putting their country above their class.

In high theory, too, the hollowness of Marxism was being exposed. The long-awaited publication of Volume III of Marx's *Capital* in 1894 revealed that Marx simply had no serious solution to the "great contradiction" between Volumes I–II and the real behavior of prices. Böhm-Bawerk's devastating critiques of Marxian economics (1884 and 1896) were widely read and discussed.

The crisis of Marxism gave birth to the Revisionism of Eduard Bernstein, which concluded, in effect, that the goal of revolution should be given up, in favor of piecemeal reforms within capitalism.<sup>23</sup> This held no allure for men of the hard left who rejected existing society, deeming it too loathsome to be reformed. Revisionists also began to attack the fundamental Marxist doctrine of historical materialism, the theory that a society's organization of production decides the character of all other social phenomena, including ideas.

At the beginning of the 20th century, leftists who wanted to be as far left as they could possibly be became syndicalists, preaching the general strike as the way to demonstrate the workers' power and overthrow the bourgeois order. Syndicalist activity erupted across the world, even in Britain and the United States. Promotion of the general strike was a way of defying capitalism and at the same time defying those socialists who wanted to use electoral methods to negotiate reforms of the system.

Syndicalists began as uncompromising Marxists, but like Revisionists, they acknowledged that key tenets of Marxism had been refuted by the development of modern society. Most syndicalists came to accept much of Bernstein's argument against traditional Marxism, but remained committed to the total rejection, rather than democratic reform, of existing society. They therefore called themselves "revolutionary revisionists." They favored the "idealist revision of Marx," meaning that they believed in a more independent role for ideas in social evolution than that allowed by Marxist theory.

## Practical Anti-Rationalism

In setting out to revise Marxism, syndicalists were most strongly motivated by the desire to be effective revolutionaries, not to tilt at windmills but to achieve a realistic understanding of the way the world works. In criticizing and re-evaluating their own Marxist beliefs, however, they naturally drew upon the intellectual fashions of the day, upon ideas that were in the air during this period known as the *fin-de-siècle*. The most important cluster of such ideas is "anti-rationalism."

Many forms of anti-rationalism proliferated throughout the 19th century. The kind of anti-rationalism which most influenced pre-fascists was *not* primarily the view that something other than reason should be employed to decide fac-

tual questions (epistemological anti-rationalism). It was rather the view that, as a matter of sober recognition of reality, humans are not solely or even chiefly motivated by rational calculation but more by intuitive "myths" (practical anti-rationalism). Therefore, if you want to understand and influence people's behavior, you had better acknowledge that they are not primarily self-interested, rational calculators; they are gripped and moved by myths.<sup>24</sup>

Paris was the fashion center of the intellectual world, dictating the rise and fall of ideological hemlines. Here, anti-rationalism was associated with the philosophy of Henri Bergson, William James' pragmatism from across the Atlantic, and the social-psychological arguments of Gustave Le Bon. Such ideas were seen as valuing action more highly than cogitation and as demonstrating that modern society (including the established socialist movement) was too rationalistic and too materialistic. Bergson and James were also read, however, as contending that humans did not work with an objectively existing reality, but created reality by imposing their own will upon the world, a claim that was also gleaned (rightly or wrongly) from Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche. French intellectuals turned against Descartes, the rationalist, and rehabilitated Pascal, the defender of faith. In the same spirit, Italian intellectuals rediscovered Vico.

Practical anti-rationalism entered pre-Fascism through Georges Sorel<sup>25</sup> and his theory of the "myth." This influential socialist writer began as an orthodox Marxist. An extreme leftist, he naturally became a syndicalist, and soon the best-known syndicalist theoretician. Sorel then moved to defend-

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*Mussolini was more widely read than Lenin and a better writer, but Fascist intellectuals did not consider him a major contributor to the body of Fascist theory, more a leader of genius who could distill theory into action.*

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ing Marx's theory of the class struggle in a new way, no longer as a scientific theory, but instead as a "myth," an understanding of the world and the future which moves men to action. When he began to abandon Marxism, both because of its theoretical failures and because of its excessive "materialism," he looked for an alternative myth. Experience of current and recent events showed that workers had little interest in the class struggle but were prone to patriotic sentiment. By degrees, Sorel shifted his position, until at the end of his life he became nationalistic and anti-Semitic.<sup>26</sup> He died in 1922, hopeful about Lenin and more cautiously hopeful about Mussolini.

A general trend throughout revolutionary socialism from 1890 to 1914 was that the most revolutionary elements laid an increasing stress upon leadership, and downplayed the autonomous role of the toiling masses. This elitism was a natural outcome of the revolutionaries' ardent wish to have revolution and the stubborn disinclination of the working class to become revolutionary.<sup>27</sup> Workers were instinctive reformists: They wanted a fair shake within capitalism and nothing more. Since the workers did not look as if they

would ever desire a revolution, the small group of conscious revolutionaries would have to play a more decisive role than Marx had imagined. That was the conclusion of Lenin in 1902.<sup>28</sup> It was the conclusion of Sorel. And it was the conclusion of the syndicalist Giuseppe Prezzolini whose works in the century's first decade Mussolini reviewed admiringly.<sup>29</sup>

The leadership theme was reinforced by the theoretical writings of Mosca, Pareto, and Michels, especially Pareto's theory of the Circulation of Elites. All these arguments emphasized the vital role of active minorities and the futility of expecting that the masses would ever, left to themselves, accomplish anything. Further corroboration came from Le

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*It became widely accepted that the future lay with either Communism or Fascism, and many people chose what they considered the lesser evil.*

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Bon's sensational bestseller of 1895 — it would remain perpetually in print in a dozen languages — *The Psychology of Crowds*, which analyzed the "irrational" behavior of humans in groups and drew attention to the group's proclivity to place itself in the hands of a strong leader, who could control the group as long as he appealed to certain primitive or basic beliefs.<sup>30</sup>

The initiators of Fascism saw anti-rationalism as high-tech. It went with their fast cars and airplanes. Fascist anti-rationalism, like psychoanalysis, conceives of itself as a practical science which can channel elemental human drives in a useful direction.

### A Marxist Heresy?

Some people have reacted to Fascism by saying that it's just the same as socialism. In part, this arises from the fact that "fascism" is a word used loosely to denote all the non-Communist dictatorships of the 1920s and 1930s, and by extension to refer to the most powerful and horrible of these governments, that of German National Socialism.

The Nazis never claimed to be Fascists, but they did continually claim to be socialists, whereas Fascism, after 1921, repudiated socialism by name. Although Fascism had some influence on the National Socialist German Workers' Party, other influences were greater, notably Communism and German nationalism.

A. James Gregor has argued that Fascism is a Marxist heresy,<sup>31</sup> a claim that has to be handled with care. Marxism is a doctrine whose main tenets can be listed precisely: class struggle, historical materialism, surplus-value, nationalization of the means of production, and so forth. Nearly all of those tenets were explicitly repudiated by the founders of Fascism, and these repudiations of Marxism largely define Fascism. Yet however paradoxical it may seem, there is a close ideological relationship between Marxism and Fascism. We may compare this with the relationship between, say, Christianity and Unitarianism. Unitarianism repudiates all the distinctive tenets of Christianity, yet is still clearly an offshoot of Christianity, preserving an affinity with its parental stem.



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**Left to right: Daniel Klein, David Friedman, Laurence Iannaccone, Henry Demmert, and Fred Foldvary.**



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In power, the actual institutions of Fascism and Communism tended to converge. In practice, the Fascist and National Socialist regimes increasingly tended to conform to what Mises calls "the German pattern of Socialism."<sup>32</sup> Intellectually, Fascists differed from Communists in that they had to a large extent thought out what they would do, and they then proceeded to do it, whereas Communists were like hypnotic subjects, doing one thing and rationalizing it in terms of a completely different and altogether impossible thing.

Fascists preached the accelerated development of a backward country. Communists continued to employ the Marxist rhetoric of world socialist revolution in the most advanced countries, but this was all a ritual incantation to consecrate their attempt to accelerate the development of a backward country. Fascists deliberately turned to nationalism as a potent myth. Communists defended Russian nationalism and imperialism while protesting that their sacred motherland was an internationalist workers' state. Fascists proclaimed the end of democracy. Communists abolished

*Pre-Fascists believed that if you want to understand and influence people's behavior, you had better acknowledge that they are not primarily self-interested, rational calculators; they are gripped and moved by myths.*

democracy and called their dictatorship democracy. Fascists argued that equality was impossible and hierarchy ineluctable. Communists imposed a new hierarchy, shot anyone who advocated actual equality, but never ceased to babble on about the equalitarian future they were "building." Fascists did with their eyes open what Communists did with their eyes shut. This is the truth concealed in the conventional formula that Communists were well-intentioned and Fascists evil-intentioned.

### Disappointed Revolutionaries

Though they respected "the irrational" as a reality, the initiators of Fascism were not themselves swayed by willfully irrational considerations.<sup>33</sup> They were not superstitious. Mussolini in 1929, when he met with Cardinal Gasparri at the Lateran Palace, was no more a believing Catholic than the violently anti-Catholic polemicist of his pre-war years,<sup>34</sup> but he had learned that in his chosen career as a radical modernizing politician, it was a waste of time to bang his head against the brick wall of institutionalized faith.

Leftists often imagine that Fascists were afraid of a revolutionary working class. Nothing could be more comically mistaken. Most of the early Fascist leaders had spent years trying to get the workers to become revolutionary. As late as June 1914, Mussolini took part enthusiastically, at risk of his own life and limb, in the violent and confrontational "red week." The initiators of Fascism were mostly seasoned anti-capitalist militants who had time and again given the working class the benefit of the doubt. The working class, by not becoming revolutionary, had let these revolutionaries down.

In the late 1920s, people like Winston Churchill and Ludwig von Mises saw Fascism as a natural and salutary response to Communist violence.<sup>35</sup> They already overlooked the fact that Fascism represented an independent cultural phenomenon which predated the Bolshevik coup. It became widely accepted that the future lay with either Communism or Fascism, and many people chose what they considered the lesser evil. Evelyn Waugh remarked that he would choose Fascism over Marxism if he had to, but he did not think he had to.

It's easy to see that the rise of Communism stimulated the rise of Fascism. But since the existence of the Soviet regime was what chiefly made Communism attractive, and since Fascism was an independent tradition of revolutionary thinking, there would doubtless have been a powerful Fascist movement even in the absence of a Bolshevik regime. At any rate, after 1922, the same kind of influence worked both ways: Many people became Communists because they considered that the most effective way to combat the dreaded Fascism. Two rival gangs of murderous politicians, bent on establishing their own unchecked power, each drummed up support by pointing to the horrors that the other gang would unleash. Whatever the shortcomings of any such appeal, the horrors themselves were all too real.<sup>36</sup>

### From Liberism to the Corporate State

In Fascism's early days it encompassed an element of what was called "liberism," the view that capitalism and the free market ought to be left intact, that it was sheer folly for the state to involve itself in "production."

Marx had left a strange legacy: the conviction that resolute pursuit of the class struggle would automatically take the working class in the direction of communism. Since practical experience offers no corroboration for this surmise, Marxists have had to choose between pursuing the class struggle (making trouble for capitalism and hoping that something will turn up) and trying to seize power to introduce communism (which patently has nothing to do with strikes for higher wages or with such political reforms as factory safety legislation). As a result, Marxists came to worship "struggle" for its own sake. And since Marxists were frequently embarrassed to talk about problems a communist society might face, dismissing any such discussion as "utopian," it became easy for them to argue that we should focus only on the next step in the struggle, and not be distracted by speculation about the remote future.

Traditional Marxists had believed that much government interference, such as protective tariffs, should be opposed, as it would slow down the development of the productive forces (technology) and thereby delay the revolution. For this reason, a Marxist should favor free trade.<sup>37</sup> Confronted by a growing volume of legislative reforms, some revolutionaries saw these as shrewd concessions by the bourgeoisie to take the edge off class antagonism and thus stabilize their rule. The fact that such legislative measures were supported by democratic socialists, who had been co-opted into the established order, provided an additional motive for revolutionaries to take the other side.

All these influences might persuade a Marxist that capitalism should be left intact for the foreseeable future. In Italy, a further motive was that Marxists expected the revolution to

break out in the industrially advanced countries. No Marxist thought that socialism had anything to offer a backward economy like Italy, unless the revolution occurred first in Britain, America, Germany, and France. As the prospect of any such revolution became less credible, the issue of Italian industrial development was all that remained, and that was obviously a task for capitalism.

After 1919, the Fascists developed a theory of the state; until then this was the one element in Fascist political theory which had not been elaborated. Its elaboration, in an extended public debate, gave rise to the "totalitarian" view of the state,<sup>38</sup> notoriously expounded in Mussolini's formula, "Everything in the state, nothing against the state, nothing outside the state." Unlike the later National Socialists of Germany, the Fascists remained averse to outright nationalization of industry. But, after a few years of comparative non-intervention, and some liberalization, the Fascist regime moved towards a highly interventionist policy, and Fascist pronouncements increasingly harped on the "corporate state." All traces of liberism were lost, save only for the insistence that actual nationalization be avoided. Before 1930, Mussolini stated that capitalism had centuries of useful work to do (a formulation that would occur only to a former Marxist); after 1930, because of the world depression, he spoke as if capitalism was finished and the corporate state was to replace it rather than providing its framework.

As the dictatorship matured, Fascist rhetoric increasingly voiced explicit hostility to the individual ego. Fascism had always been strongly communitarian but now this aspect

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*Even in power, despite all its adaptations to the requirements of the immediate situation, and despite its incorporation of more conservative social elements, Fascism remained a conscious force for modernization.*

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became more conspicuous. Fascist anti-individualism is summed up in the assertion that the death of a human being is like the body's loss of a cell. Among the increasingly histrionic blackshirt meetings from 1920 to 1922 were the funeral services. When the name of a comrade recently killed by the Socialists was called out, the whole crowd would roar: "Presente!"

Man is not an atom, man is essentially social. These woolly clichés were as much Fascist as they were socialist. Anti-individualism was especially prominent in the writings of official philosopher Giovanni Gentile, who gave Fascist social theory its finished form in the final years of the regime.<sup>39</sup>

### The Failure of Fascism

Fascist ideology had two goals by which Fascism's performance may reasonably be judged: the creation of a heroically moral human being, in a heroically moral social order, and the accelerated development of industry, especially in backward economies like Italy.

The fascist moral ideal, upheld by writers from Sorel to

Gentile, is something like an inversion of the caricature of a Benthamite liberal. The fascist ideal man is not cautious but brave, not calculating but resolute, not sentimental but ruthless, not preoccupied with personal advantage but fighting for ideals, not seeking comfort but experiencing life intensely. The early Fascists did not know how they would install the social order which would create this "new man," but they were convinced that they had to destroy the bourgeois liberal order which had created his opposite.

Even as late as 1922 it was not clear to Fascists that Fascism, the "third way" between liberalism and socialism,

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*The Nazis never claimed to be Fascists, but they did continually claim to be socialists, whereas Fascism, after 1921, repudiated socialism by name.*

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would set up a bureaucratic police state, but given the circumstances and fundamental Fascist ideas, nothing else was feasible. Fascism introduced a form of state which was claustrophobic in its oppressiveness. The result was a population of decidedly unheroic mediocrities, sly conformists scared of their own shadows, worlds removed from the kind of dynamic human character the Fascists had hoped would inherit the earth.

As for Fascism's economic performance, a purely empirical test of results is inconclusive. In its first few years, the Mussolini government's economic measures were probably more liberalizing than restrictive. The subsequent turn to intrusive corporatism was swiftly followed by the world slump and then the war. But we do know from numerous other examples that if it is left to run its course, corporatist interventionism will cripple any economy.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, economic losses inflicted by the war can be laid at Fascism's door, as Mussolini could easily have kept Italy neutral. Fascism both gave unchecked power to a single individual to commit such a blunder as to take Italy to war in 1940 and made this more likely by extolling the benefits of war.

In the panoramic sweep of history, Fascism, like Communism, like all forms of socialism, and like today's greenism and anti-globalism, is the logical result of specific intellectual errors about human progress. Fascism was an attempt to pluck the material fruits of liberal economics while abolishing liberal culture.<sup>41</sup> The attempt was entirely quixotic: There is no such thing as economic development without free-market capitalism and there is no such thing as free-market capitalism without the recognition of individual rights. The revulsion against liberalism was the outcome of misconceptions, and the futile attempt to supplant liberalism was the application of further misconceptions. By losing the war, Fascism and National Socialism spared themselves the terminal sclerosis which beset Communism.

### "The Man Who Is Seeking"

When Mussolini switched from anti-war to pro-war in November 1914, the other Socialist Party leaders immediately claimed that he had been bought off by the bourgeoisie, and this allegation has since been repeated by many leftists.



But any notion that Mussolini sold out is more far-fetched than the theory that Lenin seized power because he was paid by the German government to take Russia out of the war. As the paramount figure of the Italian left, Mussolini had it made. He was taking a career gamble at very long odds by provoking his own expulsion from the Socialist Party, in addition to risking his life as a front-line soldier.<sup>42</sup>

Like Lenin, Mussolini was a capable revolutionary who took care of finances. Once he had decided to come out as pro-war, he foresaw that he would lose his income from the Socialist Party. He approached wealthy Italian patriots to get support for *Il Popolo d'Italia*, but much of the money that came to Mussolini originated covertly from Allied governments who wanted to bring Italy into the war. Similarly, Lenin's Bolsheviks took aid from wealthy backers and from the German government.<sup>43</sup> In both cases, we see a determined group of revolutionaries using their wits to raise money in pursuit of their goals.

Jasper Ridley argues that Mussolini switched because he always "wanted to be on the winning side," and dare not "swim against the tide of public opinion."<sup>44</sup> This explanation

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*Leftists often imagine that Fascists were afraid of a revolutionary working class. Nothing could be more comically mistaken. Most of the early Fascist leaders had spent years trying to get the workers to become revolutionary.*

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is feeble. Mussolini had spent all his life in an antagonistic position to the majority of Italians, and with the founding of a new party in 1919 he would again deliberately set himself at odds with the majority. Since individuals are usually more influenced by the pressure of their "reference group" than by the opinions of the whole population, we might wonder why Mussolini did not swim with the tide of the Socialist Party leadership and the majority of the party membership, instead of swimming with the tide of those socialists inside and outside the party who had become pro-war.

Although his personality may have influenced the timing, or even the actual decision, the pressure for Mussolini to change his position came from a long-term evolution in his intellectual convictions. From his earliest years as a Marxist revolutionary, Mussolini had been sympathetic to syndicalism, and then an actual syndicalist. Unlike other syndicalists, he remained in the Socialist Party, and as he rose within it, he continued to keep his ears open to those syndicalists who had left it. On many issues, his thinking followed theirs, more cautiously, and often five or ten years behind them.

From 1902 to 1914, Italian revolutionary syndicalism underwent a rapid evolution. Always opposed to parliamentary democracy, Italian syndicalists, under Sorel's influence, became more committed to extra-constitutional violence and the necessity for the revolutionary vanguard to ignite a conflagration. As early as 1908, Mussolini the syndicalist Marxist had come to agree with these elitist notions and began to employ the term *gerarchia* (hierarchy), which would remain a

favorite word of his into the Fascist period.

Many syndicalists lost faith in the revolutionary potential of the working class. Seeking an alternative revolutionary recipe, the most "advanced" of these syndicalists began to ally themselves with the nationalists and to favor war. Mussolini's early reaction to this trend was the disgust we might expect from any self-respecting leftist.<sup>45</sup> But given their premises, the syndicalists' conclusions were persuasive.

The logic underlying their shifting position was that there was unfortunately going to be no working-class revolution, either in the advanced countries, or in less developed countries like Italy. Italy was on its own, and Italy's problem was low industrial output.<sup>46</sup> Italy was an exploited proletarian nation, while the richer countries were bloated bourgeois nations. The nation was the myth which could unite the productive classes behind a drive to expand output. These ideas foreshadowed the Third World propaganda of the 1950s and 1960s, in which aspiring elites in economically backward countries represented their own less than scrupulously humane rule as "progressive" because it would accelerate Third World development. From Nkrumah to Castro, Third World dictators would walk in Mussolini's footsteps.<sup>47</sup> Fascism was a full dress rehearsal for post-war Third Worldism.

Many syndicalists also became "productionists," urging that the workers ought not to strike, but to take over the factories and keep them running without the bosses. While productionism as a tactic of industrial action did not lead anywhere, the productionist idea implied that all who helped to expand output, even a productive segment of the bourgeoisie, should be supported rather than opposed.

From about 1912, those who closely observed Mussolini noted changes in his rhetoric. He began to employ the words "people" and "nation" in preference to "proletariat." (Subsequently such patriotic language would become acceptable among Marxists, but then it was still unusual and somewhat suspect.) Mussolini was gradually becoming convinced, a few years later than the most advanced leaders of the extreme left, that Marxist class analysis was useless, that the proletariat would never become revolutionary, and that the nation had to be the vehicle of development. An elementary implication of this position is that leftist-initiated strikes and violent confrontations are not merely irrelevant pranks but actual hindrances to progress.

When Mussolini founded *Utopia*, it was to provide a forum at which his party comrades could exchange ideas with his friends the revolutionary syndicalists outside the party. He signed his articles at this time "The Man Who Is Seeking." The collapse of the Second International on the outbreak of war, and the lining up of the mass socialist parties of Germany, France, and Austria behind their respective national governments, confirmed once again that the syndicalists had been right: Proletarian internationalism was not a living force. The future, he concluded, lay with productionist national syndicalism, which with some tweaking would become Fascism.

Mussolini believed that Fascism was an international movement. He expected that both decadent bourgeois democracy and dogmatic Marxism-Leninism would everywhere give way to Fascism, that the 20th century would be a century of Fascism. Like his leftist contemporaries, he under-

estimated the resilience of both democracy and free-market liberalism. But in substance Mussolini's prediction was fulfilled: Most of the world's people in the second half of the 20th century were ruled by governments which were closer in practice to Fascism than they were either to liberalism or to Marxism-Leninism.

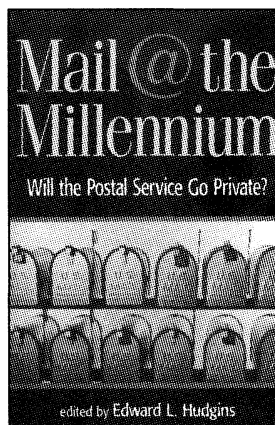
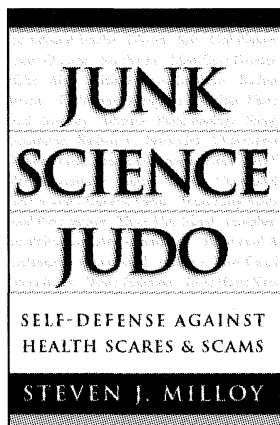
The 20th century was indeed the Fascist century. □

## Notes

1. Original words from the 1934 song by Cole Porter. They were amended later.
2. At the Munich conference in 1938, Mussolini was the only person present who could follow all the discussions in the four languages employed.
3. Amadeo Bordiga, Angelo Tasca, and Karl Liebknecht.
4. Although Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria, support for the Central Powers in Italy was negligible.
5. It remained Mussolini's paper through the Fascist period. At first it was described as a "Socialist Daily." Later this was changed to "The Daily of Fighters and Producers."
6. It was first called the *Fasci Italiani di Combattimento* (Italian Combat Leagues), changing its name in 1921 to the National Fascist Party. *Fasci* is plural of *fascio*, a union or league. The word had been in common use for various local and ad hoc radical groups, mainly of the left.
7. Of the seven who attended the preparatory meeting two days before the launch, five were former Marxists or syndicalists. Zeev Sternhell, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 222. At the launch itself, the majority had a nationalist background.
8. Garibaldi's followers had worn red shirts. Corradini's nationalists, absorbed into the Fascist Party in 1923, wore blue shirts.
9. Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), p. 95.
10. Ernest Jones, *Life and Work of Sigmund Freud* (New York: Basic Books, 1957), vol. 3, p. 180.
11. Prior to 1938 the Fascist Party had substantial Jewish membership and support. There is no agreement among scholars on Mussolini's motives for introducing anti-Jewish legislation. For one well-argued view, see Gregor, *Contemporary Radical Ideologies: Totalitarian Thought in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 149–159.
12. Among numerous sources on the life of Mussolini, see Richard Collier, *Duce! A Biography of Benito Mussolini* (New York: Viking, 1971); Denis Mack Smith, *Mussolini: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1982); Jasper Ridley, *Mussolini: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998). All such works are out of their depth when they touch on Fascist ideas. For a superb account of all the fascist and other non-Communist dictatorial movements of the time, see Payne, *History*. On Mussolini's ideas, see A. James Gregor, *Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Sternhell, *Birth*, Chapter 5.
13. It's now usual to capitalize 'Fascism' when it refers to the Italian movement, and not when the word refers to a broader cultural phenomenon including other political movements in other countries.
14. Chicago has an avenue named after the brutal blackshirt leader and famous aviator, Italo Balbo, following his spectacular 1933 visit to the city. Chicago's Columbus Monument bears the words "This monument has seen the glory of the wings of Italy led by Italo Balbo." See Claudio G. Segrè, *Italo Balbo: A Fascist Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
15. The evolution of this incredible theory is mercilessly documented in Gregor, *The Faces of Janus: Marxism and Fascism in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), chs. 2–5. For a good brief survey of interpretations of Fascism, see Payne, *History*, ch. 12. For a detailed examination, see Gregor, *Interpretations of Fascism* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1997).
16. Confronted with egregious high-handedness by authority, working-class Americans call it "Communism." Middle-class Americans, educated enough to understand that it's uncouth to say anything against Communism, call it "fascism."
17. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (New York: Macmillan, 1962).
18. Richard N. Hunt, *The Political Ideas of Marx and Engels* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1974), vol. I, p. xiii, and vols. I and II, passim.
19. On Hendrik de Man, also known as Henri De Man, see Sternhell, *Neither Right Nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). Mussolini exchanged letters with de Man in which both tacitly recognized that de Man was following Mussolini's intellectual trajectory of 10–15 years earlier. Sternhell, *Birth*, p. 246. To this day there are disciples of de Man who treat his acceptance of the Third Reich as something like a seizure rather than as the culmination of his earlier thought, just as there are leftist admirers of Sorel who refuse to admit Sorel's pre-fascism.
20. The most illuminating single work is Sternhell, *Birth*. Other important accounts are: Gregor, *Young Mussolini*; Gregor, *Faces of Janus*; Sternhell, *Neither Right Nor Left*; Payne, *History*. A useful collection of old and new readings is Roger Griffin, ed., *International Fascism: Theories, Causes, and the New Consensus* (London: Arnold, 1998). Important works in Italian include those of Renzo de Felice and Emilio Gentile.
21. The Fascist government imposed measures which were intended to promote modernization. They were not necessary and their effectiveness was mixed. Italian output grew rapidly, but so it had in earlier years.
22. Many would not yet have acknowledged that there was no falling rate of profit and no concentrating trend in industry, but all had to agree that these were proceeding far more slowly than earlier Marxists had expected.
23. Before the 1890s, there was no more impeccable a Marxist than Bernstein. He had been a friend of Marx and Engels, who maintained a confidence in his ideological soundness that they placed in very few individuals. His 1899 book, known in English as *Evolutionary Socialism* (New York: Schocken, 1961), is put together from controversial articles he began publishing in 1896.
24. The impact of anti-rationalism on socialism not only helped to form Fascism, but also had a broad influence on the left. Like Fascism, the thinking of leftist writers such as Aldous Huxley and George Orwell arises from the impact on 19th-century socialism of the *fin-de-siècle* offensive against rationalism, materialism, individualism, and romanticism.
25. The strong influence of Sorel on the formation of Fascism has now been heavily documented. See, for example, Sternhell, *Birth*. In earlier years, some writers used to minimize this influence or deny Sorel's close affinity with Fascism.
26. Sorel's was the old-fashioned kind of anti-Semitism, which always made room for some good Jews. Among these Sorel counted Henri Bergson. Sternhell, *Birth*, p. 86.
27. It was also inferred from experience. It could be observed that if the one or two strongest personalities behind a strike were somehow neutralized, the strike would collapse.
28. In *What Is to Be Done?*, Lenin maintained that the working class, left to itself, could develop only "trade union consciousness." To make the working class revolutionary required the intervention of "professional revolutionaries."
29. See Gregor, *Young Mussolini*, ch. 4.
30. *The Crowd* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1995). The early 19th century had seen a fascination with hypnosis (then called Mesmerism). The late 19th century witnessed an extrapolation

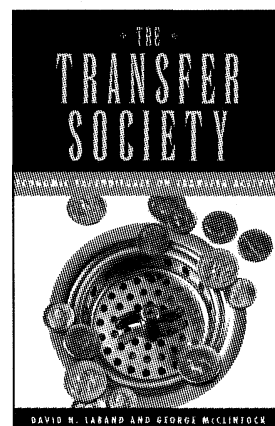
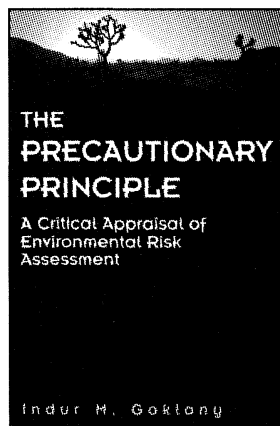
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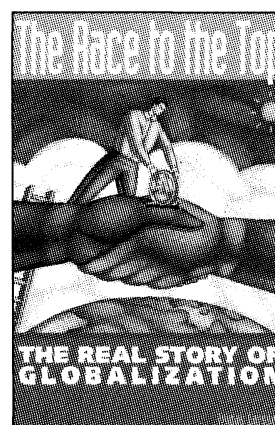
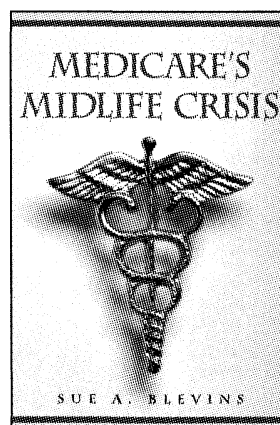
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- of the model of hypnosis onto wider human phenomena. Le Bon argued that in groups individuals become hypnotized and lose responsibility for their actions. Scholars, other than French ones, now believe that Le Bon was a dishonest self-promoter who successfully exaggerated his own originality, and that his claims about crowd behavior are mostly wrong. His influence was tremendous. Freud was steeped in Le Bon. The discussion of propaganda in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, which strikes most readers as more entertaining than the rest of the book, echoes Le Bon.
31. Gregor, *Young Mussolini*. This was precisely the view of many Communists in the early years of the Comintern. Payne, *History*, p. 126.
  32. Ludwig von Mises, *Omnipotent Government: The Rise of the Total State and Total War* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969 [1944]), pp. 55–58.
  33. "If by mysticism one intends the recognition of truth without the employment of reason, I would be the first to declare myself opposed to every mysticism." Mussolini, quoted in Gregor, *Contemporary Radical Ideologies*, p. 331.
  34. Mussolini was openly an atheist prior to 1922, when his conversion was staged for transparently political reasons. In addition to his many articles and speeches criticizing religion, Mussolini wrote a pamphlet, *Man and Divinity*, attacking the Church from a materialist standpoint and also wrote a strongly anti-Catholic book on Jan Hus, the 15th-century Czech victim of Catholic persecution. Until it became politically inexpedient, Mussolini gave a speech every year on the anniversary of the murder by the Church of the freethinker Giordano Bruno in 1600. In office, Mussolini worked with the Church, generally gave it what it wanted, and was rewarded with its enthusiastic endorsement.
  35. On Churchill's fulsome praise of Fascism throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s, see Ridley, *Mussolini*, pp. 187–88, 230, 281. For Mises' more guarded praise in 1927, see Mises, *The Free and Prosperous Commonwealth* (Irvington-on-Hudson: Foundation for Economic Education, 1962), pp. 47–51.
  36. The Fascist government was appallingly oppressive compared with the democratic regime which preceded it, but distinctly less oppressive than Communism or National Socialism. Payne, *History*, pp. 121–23.
  37. Karl Marx, Speech on the Question of Free Trade. *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Collected Works* (New York: International, 1976), vol. 6, pp. 450–465.
  38. The word "totalitarian" (*totalitario*) was first used against Fascism by a liberal opponent, Giovanni Amendola. It was then taken up proudly by Fascists to characterize their own form of state. Later the term was widely employed to refer to the common features of the Fascist, Soviet, and Nazi dictatorships or to denote an ideal type of unlimited government. In this sense, the word was in common use among Anglophone intellectuals by 1935, and in the popular media by 1941. Ironically, Fascist Italy was in practice much less "totalitarian" than the Soviet Union or the Third Reich, though the regime was methodically moving toward totalitarianism.
  39. On Gentile's ideas see Gregor, *Phoenix: Fascism in Our Time* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1999), chs. 5–6.
  40. The most outstanding American scholar of Fascism is A. James Gregor. A shortcoming of Gregor's analysis is his tendency to assume that Fascist economic policy could work, that it is possible for a Fascist government to stimulate industrial growth. Any such view has to somehow come to terms with the fact that Italian economic growth was robust before World War I.
  41. "Liberal" means classical liberal or libertarian.
  42. Ignazio Silone held that Mussolini unscrupulously aimed only at power for himself. *The School for Dictators* (New York: Harper, 1939). While this is less preposterous than the theory that he sold out for financial gain, it too cannot be squared with the facts of Mussolini's life.
  43. Angelica Balabanoff, socialist activist and Mussolini's mistress intermittently from 1904 on, was in Lenin's entourage, shipped with him into Russia in the famous German "sealed train."
  44. Ridley, *Mussolini*, p. 67.
  45. Sternhell, *Birth*, p. 202.
  46. It may seem odd that there was such anxiety about Italian development when the Italian economy was growing quite lustily: Precisely the same paradox arises with recent leftist attitudes to "poverty in the Third World."
  47. On the striking similarities between Fascism and African Socialism, see Gregor, *Contemporary Radical Ideologies*, Chapter 7.

## Letters, from page 20

### Bad Girlz

In the short piece in which she attributed the Andrea Yates murders to evangelical Christianity (*Reflections*, October), Sarah McCarthy committed several conceptual crimes against women. The first is typical of the feminist movement: the infantilization of women. The myth behind the mentality is that women are too naturally wonderful to choose to do really horrible things. Their sins, therefore, must be attributed to some other cause; probably men. But if women are equal, than we're equal in our potential for evil also, even if we bring a certain feminine style to the self- and other-destruction we wreak. In the article, McCarthy describes women in victimological terms, such as "vulnerable" and "pressured." They are "listening to their husbands" about the ethics of birth control, in spite of the fact that they are not "healthy enough, either physically or

emotionally" to have multiple children. Although I agree with McCarthy that many evangelical women have difficult emotional backgrounds, and that many do submit to their husbands, I object to the tone of non-responsibility in the article.

Many of these women have strong reasons for their position on birth control. The vast majority have well-argued religious reasoning behind their choice to "listen" to their husbands. As for emotional weakness, when a girl becomes an adult woman, she becomes responsible for her choices. Even if in some philosophical sense she is unable to escape the conditioning she received from her family, telling her that she has been the helpless victim of everyone else's abuse cannot possibly give her the honesty and empowerment that she needs to escape.

Rachel Douchant  
St. Louis, Mo.

### Hurting Homeschooling

Please, Sarah McCarthy, don't start connecting homeschooling with cults, child abuse, or murder! That's just the sort of thing the liberal education establishment likes to hear. Homeschoolers, by and large, have good libertarian instincts, at least in this area, even if they are also "religious conservatives." They realize that whoever influences the next generation will play a determining role in the kind of society we have, and that the people who have assumed that role are, by and large, collectivists with an animus toward families and individual freedom.

Dave Witter  
Sterling, Va.

### The Greatest Dogma Ever

Regarding Timothy Sandefur's piece (*Reflections*, October) titled "Duh NA": Timothy Sandefur claims that evolution is

*continued on page 50*

# Showdown in Las Vegas

*by R. W. Bradford*

Leaders of the Libertarian Party knew they had to do something about the corrupt deal between its top employee and a candidate for its presidential nomination. The question was: should it take effective action, or be content with a hand slap?

On Aug. 25, the stage was set for the Libertarian Party to deal with the worst crisis in its history. The party's national committee was meeting in Las Vegas. On its agenda was the "Willis matter."

The "Willis matter" had begun in early 1995, when evidence emerged that Perry Willis, along with another LP employee, had been working for Harry Browne's campaign for the Libertarian Party's 1996 presidential nomination. The LP's national committee had come down hard. It reiterated that its conflict of interest policy meant exactly what it said: That party employees, most certainly including Willis, were prohibited from working on behalf of any candidate, most certainly including Browne.

Willis responded by promising to do no further work for Browne. During the remainder of the campaign for the nomination and beyond, rumors of Willis' continued work for Browne swirled among LP activists; they were always denied by the Browne campaign, including Browne himself.

But Willis did continue to work for Browne, with the full knowledge of Browne and his top lieutenants, including National Committeewoman Sharon Ayres, her husband David Bergland (who was soon, with Browne's support, elected national chair and there oversaw a lawsuit that forced Gene Cisewski, his opponent for the chairmanship and one of Browne's most prominent critics, out of the party and into penury), Michael Cloud (who has gone on to manage Carla Howell's campaigns in Massachusetts), and Jack Dean, who did Internet work for the campaign and through whose firm the campaign laundered its payments to Willis.

In the course of doing maintenance on the LP's computer system, John Famularo had accidentally discovered extensive documentary evidence that Willis *was* still working for Browne. At a meeting of the party's national committee on

April 21, Famularo delivered to members one particularly damning piece of that evidence: an invoice from Willis to Jack Dean's firm demanding payment for services rendered to the Browne campaign.

Three weeks later, Willis confessed to the whole sorry conspiracy and defended the six-month conspiracy and the subsequent four years of deceit: Browne's campaign, the Libertarian Party and the cause of human liberty would have been endangered had Willis not continued his high-paying work for the campaign *and* his position as boss of the LP. He didn't want to lie or have the Browne campaign launder its payments to him through another firm, but . . . well . . . he had to do it. A few days later, in an email to former party chair Mary Gingell, Browne confessed his own involvement: he had been "aware of Perry's actions and agreed to them."

During the next few days, a firestorm of controversy began to rage on the Internet among LP members who had learned of what had happened. Even many of those who had before been Browne's most vociferous defenders were outraged. It quickly became apparent to Browne and Willis that they had failed to anticipate Libertarians' antipathy to Willis' end-justifies-the-means argument.

At this point, Browne and his top campaign staffers changed strategy: They abandoned Willis' end-justifies-the-means argument and simply stopped talking about it altogether. The only exception was Michael Cloud, who publicly denounced Lark's investigation as an "inquisition," a "star-chamber proceeding," and compared it to legal proceedings in Stalinist Russia, suggesting that the real wrongdoer was John Famularo.

On May 23, a month after Famularo's explosive evidence had been made public, the party's executive committee met and prohibited the LP from entering into "any business relationships, including but not limited to rentals of the LP mailing list and advertising in *LP News*, with Browne or Willis or any entity of which either of them is an officer, director, or employee, without prior approval of the Executive Committee." It also empowered Jim Lark, the party's chair, to investigate the matter.

This put Browne and Willis in a difficult position: Both of their personal incomes depend on their ability to raise funds from LP members. The two new organizations that Browne and Willis had started had the mailing list of past donors to the Browne campaign to mine for donations, but that list is relatively small. Without ways of finding new financial

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*She asked how many people there had read the documents that Famularo had sent to them. There was a show of hands by all around the table, including nonmembers of the committee. I stood up to count how many LNC members had read the documents: I was surprised to see that only seven had raised their hands.*

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donors, their organizations would flounder and their incomes drop precipitously.

A week later, the executive committee met again, this time with more of Browne's allies present. It passed a resolution to undo the impact of its resolution of a week before: "that while Harry Browne was the head of the campaign, it is presently unclear to what extent he or others were involved in Willis' actions" and removing the prohibition against renting the party's mailing list to organizations involving Willis or Browne.

During the next three months, Lark investigated the case. It quickly became apparent that the only people who had relevant evidence were those within the Browne campaign who had conspired with Willis, and Famularo, who possessed additional evidence. The Browne campaign's leaders simply refused to respond to Lark's inquiries. Famularo indicated a willingness to respond, but wanted to know the ground rules of the investigation first. He and Lark exchanged emails on this subject, but aside from leaking information about one document that implicated Browne to *Liberty*, he hadn't released any further information or evidence.

Consequently, Lark's investigation was going absolutely nowhere until Aug. 19, when Famularo sent Lark and all members of the National Committee a lengthy report on the conspiracy that included 26 new documents establishing that virtually the entire Browne management team — Browne, Ayres, Bergland, Cloud, and Dean — was party to the conspiracy. It also included evidence that Willis used party resources to benefit the Browne campaign and had shown favoritism to Browne in his official capacity as national director.

The report that Lark prepared of his investigation was a curious document. It runs 118 pages in all, of which 116 are appended documents, email messages, and a list of background sources, much of which was patently irrelevant. The two pages that actually comprise his report are little more than a brief description of the 116 pages that follow. Lark drew no conclusions and made no recommendations.

There were no responses from any of those implicated by the evidence that Famularo had discovered and released to the committee, except indications that some had refused to respond while others had simply not responded. Famularo's report was included, but its supporting documents, including the documentary evidence he had released (aside from the single document he had released on April 21) were strangely omitted. Somewhat oddly, among the documents was the entire time line that *Liberty* had published. This time line was the only document that Lark noted included "some minor details" that were "incorrect." This was an odd observation from Lark, since prior to providing the document to the LP for distribution, Lark had gone through it and advised us that it did not contain a single error.\*

The meeting took place in a windowless room on the top floor of the Las Vegas Marriott. Its agenda called for "Discussion of Willis matter" at 12:30 on Saturday, but the agenda was changed several times, and consideration of the Willis matter did not begin until early the following morning. The issue was plain: What action should the LNC take with regard to Willis' conspiring with Browne and his campaign staff to violate LP rules and Willis' employment contract?

Consideration of the matter began with a request from Willis ally Mark Dixon to allow Jim Babka to address the committee. Babka was at the time vice president of the American Liberty Foundation, the organization that Browne and Willis had created to continue their fundraising for the

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*Scherry observed that "supporting Willis' job prospects is not our responsibility."*

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purpose of producing and running television advertising to promote the libertarian message. (Willis himself was president of the organization.) Babka was there to read an apology from Willis, who wanted to express his "heartfelt regret for distractions, stress, and anxiety" that he had caused by violating LP rules and his contract. He had been "motivated by a driving passion to see the party succeed" and he now feared that "the current controversy" might "undo all that we have accomplished in the past three years" so he wanted to "expand my apology to cover the unintentional contribution I have made to the potential unraveling of our past successes." He concluded with: "Again, my deepest and humblest apologies for the strain this has caused, and my

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\*At one point, the time line contained two minor errors; one was the result of Lark's providing us inaccurate information, the other the result of National Director Steve Dasbach's providing us inaccurate information. But these had been corrected, and the entire time line checked for errors by both Dasbach and Lark, prior to our sending it to the LP for inclusion in Lark's report.



# Burckhardt's Letters Offer Insight into 19th-Century Europe

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*"There is much wisdom and insight in Jacob Burckhardt's words. He studied history carefully and attempted to learn from the past."*

—Allan C. Brownfeld, *America's Future*

*"He writes as an extremely thoughtful and good human being, one who had absorbed during his lifetime an incredible number of facts, shaping them by reflection into meanings which make them useful to the reader."*

—Manas

## **The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt** **Selected, edited, and translated by Alexander Dru** **Foreword by Alberto Coll**

As a rule, an author's correspondence possesses only a secondary interest, but Jacob Burckhardt's letters are of primary interest to students of history because of the nature of the man and of his major writings. Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897), "the most civilized historian of the nineteenth century," was certainly one of the greatest historians of art and culture of his time.

Burckhardt was a remarkably private man, who believed that contemplation was the key to insight into the nature of man and history, and his approach to the study of history was reflective rather than systematic or dogmatic; as such his letters possess a singular significance. It was in his letters, rather than in his lectures or longer works, that Burckhardt most directly addressed the currents of intellectual thought and social and political order—or disorder—of Europe in the nineteenth century.

Burckhardt's letters constitute a text that complements his larger works, including his most notable work, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. Not only are the letters addressed to some of the most important thinkers of the time (Nietzsche, Burckhardt's younger colleague at the University of Basel, among them), but also they address the most pressing issues and the most important personages of the era. As the translator notes, the "letters, written from 1838 to 1897, have a lightness of touch, an informality and humor, and a breadth of vision that make one realize why he was the most civilized historian of his century. Their contents range across a vast field of interests. Art, architecture, history, poetry, music, religion—all stirred him to contagious enthusiasm. His travels led him to Italy, Germany, France, and England, and to his letters we owe delightful and penetrating insights into the character of each country."

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role in it." In sum, Willis still believed that the only thing wrong with what he had done was that he had been caught, causing the LNC to expend time and energy dealing with the matter.

Then Browne ally Elias Israel was recognized. He proposed the following resolution:

Whereas John Famularo has presented evidence to the Libertarian National Committee on Apr. 21, 2001 that Perry Willis, while national director of the Libertarian Party performed work for the 1996 Harry Browne for President campaign in violation of LNC rules; and

Whereas Perry Willis subsequently admitted that he had indeed performed such work in contradiction to his previous statements; and

Whereas no additional evidence has been presented to the Libertarian National Committee on this matter concerning Perry Willis or any other Libertarian;

Therefore, the Libertarian National committee hereby censures Perry Willis for performing said work on the 1996 Harry Browne for President campaign while employed as libertarian national director and for denying to his employer that he had done so;

We also resolve that neither the Libertarian National Committee nor the National Director shall engage Perry Willis directly as either an employee or a contractor for a minimum period of two years;

We further resolve that Perry Willis and organizations with which he may be affiliated may only purchase advertising in *LP News* and/or rent the Libertarian national mailing list subject to the terms and conditions required in the LNC policy manual for external customers;

The Libertarian National committee further resolves that this issue is closed, and no further action shall be taken unless additional credible evidence is presented to the committee.

Israel spoke briefly about why he thought the resolution should be passed: It would establish that "violations of our

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*There were eight votes for the measure, and eight votes against. Chairman Lark held in his hands the power to take effective action to punish Willis and to protect the party from further wrongdoing or merely to censure him without taking any effective action at all.*

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rules" are something that "we do not approve of." Further, "it is intended not to address wild speculation or unproved claims," while demonstrating that "we do not hold any grudges against organizations which may choose to employ [Willis] and do not intend to stop their trade or their attempts to improve the libertarian movement or Libertarian Party. It is unclear what Israel meant by "wild speculation or unproved claims" but presumably he referred here to the accusations, based on the evidence provided by Famularo, that Browne, Bergland, Ayres, Dean, and Cloud were involved in Willis' action. On the other hand, it is very clear that his reference to organizations that are attempting "to

improve the libertarian movement or Libertarian Party" referred to the new organizations that Browne and Willis had established.

The first to speak against the resolution was Joe Dehn, who had authored the executive committee's measure of May 23, which had taken Willis' and Browne's actions much more seriously and prohibited the LP from expediting their further fundraising by renting them the membership list. "I consider this motion an insult to the work of the chair and the work of all the other people who have put time and effort into investigating the questions that have arisen out of this matter," he began. "I think that the statement that 'no additional evidence has been presented to the LNC on this matter

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concerning Perry Willis or any other Libertarian' is blatantly false," he said, apparently referring to the 26 additional pieces of documentary evidence that Famularo had sent the committee on Aug. 19. "I think that the suggested remedies are trivial, except for the censure, which may be appropriate, that the additional remedies are absurd because they basically have no practical effect."

Browne's friends on the committee were nonplussed. Mark Dixon introduced a "friendly amendment" to prohibit the LP from renting its lists also to "any business owned or controlled" by Willis. Israel accepted this as a friendly amendment, presumably because it would have no effect; Willis was an officer and board member of the new entities he and Browne had established, but he neither "owned" nor "controlled" them.

Dixon then proposed changing the length of the ineffective list-rental prohibition to five years. Israel refused to accept this as a friendly amendment, and the floor was open for discussion.

Ken Bisson, another Browne supporter, sought to deflect the impact of Dehn's criticism of the resolution, asked the chair whether he did in fact consider Israel's motion to be an insult. Lark, who had never suggested that Cloud's characterization of his investigation as another "inquisition" and a "star-chamber proceeding" was insulting, surprised no one by saying that he did not consider Israel's resolution to be an insult to him. After a little further discussion, the amendment to extend the list-rental prohibition to five years passed on a voice vote.

Lorenzo Gaztanaga then introduced an amendment to strike the paragraph claiming that "no additional evidence has been presented to the Libertarian National Committee on this matter concerning Perry Willis or any other Libertarian" on grounds that it was, as Dehn had pointed out, simply false. It was passed by a voice vote.

Browne critic Lois Kaneshiki took the floor. She asked how many people there had read the documents that Famularo had sent to them. There was a show of hands by

all around the table, including non-members of the committee, and by observers sitting around the periphery of the room. I stood up to count how many actual LNC members had read the documents: I was surprised to see that only seven had raised their hands.\*

Discussion then focused on what the impact of the measure would be. Would it prohibit the LP from renting its mailing list to organizations that employed Willis? On whose board he served? It gradually became apparent that it would not apply to organizations which employed Willis or with which he was involved, short of outright ownership or legal control.

Then Ben Scherry expressed concern that the time allotted for the matter was running down and said he feared that there would not be enough time for him to introduce a substitute motion after Israel's motion was voted on. After he was informed that he could introduce his resolution as an amendment by substitution, he proposed the following resolution:

Whereas, Perry Willis had agreed, as part of his continued employment consideration as National Director and in accordance with LNC policy, to no longer work on behalf of individual pre-nomination candidates for public office;

Whereas, Mr. Willis has for several years thereafter denied, and knowingly allowed others to deny on his behalf, performing such prohibited work;

Whereas, upon confrontation with evidence presented by John Famularo, Mr. Willis has since admitted to having continued to perform such prohibited work which he has heretofore denied; and

Resolved, that said actions and allowance of actions have caused great damage to the integrity and credibility of the Libertarian Party, and the Libertarian National Committee, and those individuals who, upon his bad faith assurance, made honest efforts to defend his person against such accusations;

Resolved, that said actions are just grounds for termination for cause, and are violation of the LP prohibition of initiation of use of force through fraud which Mr. Willis has affirmed as part of his membership in the LP;

Order, that Perry Willis is hereby CENSURED by this Libertarian National Committee for said violations and betrayals; and

Order, that the Libertarian Party immediately cease, and further prohibit entering into relationships with, the utilization of Libertarian Party assets for, and further associations or transactions with Mr. Willis, and organizations where Mr.

Willis has significant governance of and/or financial interest.

This was still, in the minds of Willis' critics, a fairly mild measure, in that it didn't address others within the LP, the National Committee (at least two of whose members, Sharon Ayres and David Bergland, had known all along that Willis had violated his contract and lied about it), or Browne himself. Still, unlike Israel's motion, it had effective sanctions against Willis: Rather than merely prohibiting LP business with organizations that Willis "owned or controlled," it prohibited LP business with those in which Willis had "significant governance of and/or [a] financial interest" and thus would cover the new organizations that Willis and Browne had set up.

This fact was not lost on Willis' friends on the committee. Elias Israel argued that the measure was too strong because it would prevent Willis from making a living. This he said without a trace of irony: Over the past several years, those who have defended the six-figure salaries paid to Willis had argued that he was an extremely skilled fundraiser who could easily earn an even more remunerative salary if he were to work elsewhere, yet now his allies argued that if he could not raise funds from the LP list, he would be forced into penury.

Joe Dehn, whose impassioned criticism of Israel's motion had started the debate, said that he would support the motion, though he thought it did not go far enough. Scherry observed that "Supporting Willis' job prospects is not our responsibility," and noted that he understood Dehn's concerns, but that Dehn himself had not proposed an alternative.

It was time to vote on Scherry's resolution. Secretary Steve Givot read the rollcall of members. There were eight votes for the measure, and eight votes against. Chairman Lark, who had abstained, as he customarily does on public

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votes within the committee, could break the tie. In his hands was the power to take effective action to punish Willis and to protect the party from further wrongdoing or merely to censure him without taking any effective action at all. He chose to do the latter.\*

One observer got up and left the room. Geoffrey Braun, a longtime employee of Harry Browne, went out to the lobby, got out his cell phone, and placed a call. "It came out okay," he said with restrained jubilation. "They censured Perry, but didn't do anything about Sharon, David, or Harry. It looks like we'll still be able to rent the mailing list." Meanwhile, inside the meeting room, as the committee passed the origi-

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\*The hand-raising lasted only a short time, and I feared that my count might not be entirely accurate. I later asked several members of the committee and other observers, whether they had counted, and all said they had not. The meeting was videotaped by the party, so I asked the national director whether I could obtain a copy of the videotape to verify my count. He said that he would provide it, as soon as he received copies of the tape from Joe Dehn, who had videotaped the meeting for the LP. Dehn told me he would check that portion of the videotape and let me know. He said that if he happened to watch the tape and he happened to see how many hands were raised, he would let me know. After returning from the meeting, I emailed Dehn, reiterating my request for a copy, and pointing out that Dasbach had agreed to provide copies of the tapes. Dehn did not reply to my request. I hope that the tape will eventually be made available so that I can verify (or disverify) my count.

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\*I later asked Lark whether he had decided before the meeting to refrain from any vote or had made up his mind at the time. He replied that it was the latter, and that he had decided to abstain (thus killing the action) because he didn't really like either resolution under consideration.

nal Israel resolution, one National Committee member muttered under his breath, "Passing this resolution is a declaration of war between the party's two factions."

The question of whether to do anything at all about the involvement of Harry Browne and the remainder of his staff was now taken up. Ben Scherry introduced a resolution addressing this issue:

Whereas, Harry Browne acted to and did finally achieve the nomination by the Libertarian Party for President of the United States in 1996;

Whereas, Mr. Browne contracted the services of the National Director Perry Willis at that time for purposes of his campaign and against LNC policy;

Whereas, when said violation of policy was made public, Mr. Browne did act to hide further such violations by funneling further contracts with Mr. Willis in late 1995 through Jack Dean's company;

Whereas, when asked to respond to inquiries by our Chair for purposes of investigating this matter, Mr. Browne refused to cooperate with said investigation;

It is ordered that Harry Browne and Jack Dean are hereby ADMONISHED for their participation in aiding Mr. Willis to violate LNC policy and willfully seeking to impede said investigation; and

Call upon Mr. Browne, fellow campaign staff and committee members Sharon Ayres, David Bergland, Michael Cloud, contractor Jack Dean, and the Chair of the LP in 1996, Steve Dasbach, to publicly denounce this violation of LNC policy by Perry Willis and specifically his declaring "the best interests of the LP" as justification for the violation.

Daniel Karlan moved to put the word "admonished" in lowercase letters. Ken Bisson suggested Dasbach should not be required to denounce Willis' rationale. Scherry responded that before drafting the resolution, he asked Dasbach whether he had in fact made such a denunciation, and Dasbach had told him that he had not. Dasbach then denounced Willis' rationale, and his name was removed from the resolution.

Israel said that "the participation of Harry Browne is still something of a conjecture" and proposed removing any "admonishment" of him. Martin said that we didn't know whether Browne knew what Willis was doing. No one followed up on this suggestion.

The discussion seemed to be winding down when Nelson asked whether there might be legal ramifications of passing the resolution. Legal counsel Bill Hall indicated that he didn't see much reason, but the committee voted to have a "three-minute" executive session, to be conducted in secret with only members, legal counsel, and Steve Dasbach present. When the executive session broke up 45 minutes later, Lorenzo Gaztanaga proposed to amend the resolution by inserting words in the third paragraph to soften any impact it might have on Browne:

Whereas, **it appears from the evidence submitted to this Committee that** when said violation of policy was made public, Mr. Browne **may have then cooperated with Mr. Willis** [did act] to hide further such violations by funneling further contracts with Mr. Willis in late 1995 through Jack Dean's company. (Bolded words inserted after executive session, bracketed words deleted.)

What legal counsel Hall told them is not known by any-

one outside the committee, but the committee had been presented with documentary evidence demonstrating that Browne worked with Willis during the time Willis had very publicly agreed to stop disobeying his contract as well as Browne's own statement that he "was aware of Perry's actions and agreed to them." It remains mysterious that the committee felt the need to water down its resolution so drastically.

Another resolution, which proposed to censure John Famularo for bringing up the whole matter, failed.

The bottom line is that the Browne forces carried the day by a slim margin. As Browne staffer Geoff Braun reported, no significant action was taken against those who had conspired to help Willis work secretly for Browne against both the party's rules and Willis' contract with the party. Those who conspired to subvert the party's rules included its top employee, a member of its national committee, a national chair, and the party's only two-time nominee. The decision to refrain from taking any action was made by a committee whose majority hadn't even read the evidence in the case. The party's chairman, who was presumably elected to provide leadership, refused even to vote on the issue of whether even mild sanctions against Willis were appropriate.

Within days of the meeting, Willis resigned his position as president of the American Liberty Foundation, the organization that he and Browne had founded to raise funds for the

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purchase of libertarian television advertising, and accepted a new position as a "consultant," clearing the way for the organization to rent the LP's mailing list and advertise in the *LP News*.

So for now, at least, it's business as usual for the Browne team and the cabal that has run the Libertarian Party for the past several years. That may change, of course. The entire National Committee and all party officers are up for reelection at the party's convention next year. Meanwhile party membership continues to shrink as revenues drop. As we go to press, the executive committee of one of the largest state parties within the LP is meeting to consider a motion to disaffiliate itself from the scandal-ridden national party. Whether the current regime will continue to run things may end up depending on whether enough of the party's long-time members, who have generally been less willing to tolerate the misbehavior of its power elite, remain in the party to have any impact at that convention. □

# Getting Hitched

by Stephen Browne

Springtime in Poland — when a man's fancy turns to love, marriage, and filling out reams of government forms.

We wanted to get married. We'd been heading in that direction but we hadn't been in any hurry. I wanted to give her every chance to get bored with me and come to her senses.

Then the morning sickness started. It didn't totally take us by surprise. Monika had been having real problems with the birth control pills for some time, so one day we had decided to just take our chances. We'd make a definite decision about getting married in a year to the day. Well, now it looks like we would be making that decision a little sooner.

Since I am a foreigner in Poland, our first stop is the regional court in Warsaw. Okay, so we walk over one fine spring morning and find that we have to pass through a magnetometer manned by police. No problem, we retreat to the foyer and empty pockets and purse of everything with a sharp edge, stash them on top of a revolving-door cabinet and walk in.

Dealing with Polish bureaucrats nowadays is not nearly as unpleasant as in the communist times. Now that there is a healthy private sector, bureaucrats seem to feel held up to the standard of service in shops and restaurants. But I am still helpless without Monika in these situations. I speak Polish well enough for everyday purposes but I just don't have the specialized vocabulary to deal with this stuff in Polish.

The clerk says that we will need my original birth certificate, a copy of the first page of my passport with the required visa, my *meldunek tymczasowy*, or registration of address with the local government (by the way, this is not just a feature of the ex-communist world but a common practice in Western Europe as well), and the divorce decree from my previous marriage. I need to bring Polish translations, made by a sworn and licensed translator, of each document, as well as the original documents themselves. The clerk tells Monika to come back "with your father" (nodding in my direction) when we have the documentation.

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Getting most of the documents isn't too difficult, except for the divorce decree. I have absolutely no idea of how to get in touch with my ex-wife; I don't even know for sure whether she's alive. We decide just to ignore the divorce papers and hope no one asks us for them. I have let my original *meldunek* lapse, but that's no problem, I just go and get another one. The funny thing is that though Poland technically has a more intrusive bureaucracy than the United States, the Polish bureaucracy is much easier to ignore. Poland doesn't have the resources to enforce every little rule and Polish bureaucrats don't have the zeal to enforce them anyway. I've ignored work permit regulations for a long time. But marriage is another thing. There you really do need to have everything in order.

We get all the documents together and bring them back to the courthouse. Now we wait a month and a half to come back for the next step, which is securing permission to go on to the next step after that.

At one point I ask Monika, "Isn't there a fast-track permission for couples who're pregnant?" "Steve, that's an awful lot of girls in Poland who are getting married." It turns out that there is a fast-track wedding — but only for church weddings. We're having a civil ceremony.

We are headed to Minsk for the American Studies Conference at the European Humanities University so we ask Monika's mother to drop off and pick up some of the documents. She tells me that she saw a Polish guy lose it in the courthouse. He was trying to marry a German woman

and had just been told that he had to go back to Germany to get a certain document. That's when he picked up a chair and smashed it against the wall. Something inside me screams "Yes!" when I hear this. Unfortunately, the bureaucrat took out her anger on the next customer — my future mother-in-law.

A week after we get back to Warsaw we have a hearing with a judge. I am worried that if the judge asks me whether I am divorced I might have to perjure myself. I am reluctant to do this. Lying under oath means something to me. And I

*We get all the documents together and bring them back to the courthouse. Now we wait a month and a half to come back for the next step, which is securing permission to go on to the step after that.*

had been awfully holy about Bill Clinton's perjury a short while back.

*Pani Sedzia* (Madame Judge) is a rather attractive middle-aged lady in her black robes and with the traditional chain of office around her neck. Each of us must go and stand at a podium to be quizzed. Monika goes first. *Pani Sedzia* asks her all the questions about any legal impediments to our marriage and then asks, "Do you mind marrying a man 50 years old?" Monika denies that it bothers her. Madame Judge looks at her belly and smiles.

My turn. I get up and answer the standard questions about citizenship, how long I've lived in Poland, and what I do for a living. I answer in Polish with occasional help from Monika. She asks me one question I don't quite get but I think is about a previous marriage. I answer *nie*. I haven't been placed under oath but I'm wrenched inside.

After we leave I pour out my troubled heart to Monika. "No sweat, she just asked you if you were married somewhere else." Great! I can set my mind at ease.

Madame Judge has told us to come back in three weeks to pick up the documents relieving me of my duty to provide a document from the U.S. government stating that I was eligible to get married, and that there were no impediments to that end. The reason that I need this exemption is because the United States government has no provisions for providing such a documentary proof — which everybody in the world pretty much knows.

Three weeks pass. We go back to the appropriate office and ask for the documents. We are asked to show our written request. Monika tells the clerk that the judge said nothing about a written request and simply told us to show up and ask for the documents. Monika is told, "The judge is not the information office."

However, there is no queue and the clerk is kind enough to type out the request for us. She complains constantly and bitterly. But she does it.

We are now allowed to reserve a day at the *Palac Slubow* (Palace of Weddings) in the old town. We are also allowed to go to the *Hala Toastow* (The Hall of Toasts) in the basement of the palace and register for a half-hour in the room and champagne for 30-odd people. Simple. Well, maybe not. We do have to get another document but we only have to make two (or is it three?) trips to the office before setting a date — if there are any dates still available. And that date cannot be less than a month and a day from the day we register for the wedding.

We get lucky. We get a date in late July since the summer season is popular for weddings. Or maybe it isn't all luck

*A Polish guy was trying to marry a German woman and had just been told that he had to go back to Germany to get a certain document. He picked up a chair and smashed it against the wall.*

since in Poland months spelled with an "r" are thought to be lucky and in Polish, July is *Lipiec*.

By this time Monika is probably getting tired of my pointing out that in America, even if we were both foreigners, we could have gotten married within a single day. This fact had astounded a couple of Chinese students I had once helped to defect and marry. They had told me that in China they first would have had to get permission from their work unit leader. Nor is marriage much easier for foreigners in Western Europe, as we found out when we looked into whether marrying abroad would have been simpler.

So now we're set! Well, in the next two weeks we have to get invitations out, start childbirth classes, buy me a suit, and arrange a dinner at a restaurant for 30-odd people, but we've done it. We're out of the public sector. □

## Letters, from page 42

"perhaps the greatest scientific discovery ever." The only word that is even close to appropriate in that quotation is "perhaps." Evolution was not discovered. The non-discovery was not scientific. And the claim that it is the "greatest ever," although subjective, is dubious at best.

True science, as Sandefur remarks, is marked by its "acidic reason and refusal to appeal to authority." Evolution dogmatists demonstrate the exact opposites.

Doubters of evolution have included Nobel Prize winners, atheists, and qualified biologists and chemists with detailed and reasoned arguments. Yet the evolutionists have standard arguments against them: They are creationists (strawmen), they are not biologists or otherwise are not qualified (*ad hominem*), and they are outside the mainstream (begging the question). Rare is the day when an evolutionist argues for evolution, or against

skeptical arguments, based on evidence and logic.

Most people are ignorant of evolution because it is not taught, even in biology classes. Check basic biology textbooks; it is rarely mentioned. And if so, it is simply accepted, not explained; and certainly not proved. In fact, has evolution even been proposed as a falsifiable hypothesis, and therefore subject to the scientific method?

*continued on page 61*



# Reviews

*Commies: A Journey Through the Old Left, the New Left and the Leftover Left*, by Ronald Radosh. Encounter Books, 2001, 222 pages.

## Traitor to the Revolution

Stephen Cox

Few people, said Samuel Johnson, ever find the need to "revise their college opinions." He thus identified one of the most disconcerting characteristics of "educated" people, a characteristic that more than two centuries of further "education" have done nothing to change.

Of course, there would never be any need for people to revise their college opinions if all they learned in college was the rules of logic. But logic is one of the things that practically nobody is exposed to in college. What people learn isn't truths safely deduced from self-evident principles but conclusions more or less hastily and sketchily derived from human experience, historical, literary, scientific, or political. This is the area in which one would expect a great deal of revision to take place, as experience increases and judgment matures. Unfortunately that is not the case. The spectacle of someone altering a fundamental opinion about, say, politics at the age of 60, 50, or even 40 is as rare as a bear in Boston — it can happen, but it's way outside the normal range.

Some of the people who are most reluctant to change their minds are the professional historians, men and

women whose chosen trade consists, supposedly, of a perpetual testing of received opinion against newly discovered fact. Many of the world's most influential historians have been among its greatest dogmatists. Vast schools of historiography have been based on dogma and devoted to the production of dogma. Indeed, the whole history of "history" might be described as the process by which one transparently fallacious dogma was "corrected" by some other transparently fallacious dogma, yielding in turn to yet another sample of the same, and so on, ad infinitum.

Ronald Radosh is the exceedingly unusual historian who has actually changed his mind, reversed an opinion, surrendered a dogma. Born to a communist family, educated in a left-wing private school and a red summer camp, trained in graduate school by a historian whose work provided "a new generation of activists and students" with "an intellectual rationale for their gut-level animosity to . . . American culture" (p. 69). Radosh spent decades writing and agitating for communist causes. Then, amazingly, he started criticizing communists. He even started laughing at them. Why? Simply because — you may not believe this — he saw that facts were against the left-wing movement, and that the left-wing

movement (composed, as it was, of "intelligent," "well-educated" people) had no respect for facts.

His awakening came slowly. In the 1970s, around his 40th birthday, he set out to write a defense of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, executed in 1953 for passing atomic secrets to the Soviets. His book, *The Rosenberg File* (co-written with Joyce Milton), ended up proving the Rosenbergs guilty. As a result, Radosh was subjected to gross abuse and harassment by erstwhile friends who loved a lie and refused to be deprived of it. But even that wasn't enough to make him break completely with the cause. He did that only after another decade, spent investigating the effects of socialism in places like Cuba and Nicaragua and observing the ability of the communists, and some people who want to be known as the modern liberals, to ignore those effects and pour contempt on thoughtful persons who don't want to ignore them. He found that "the liberal-left community in the United States . . . had always looked the other way. The only law the left obeyed was Don't Look Back — for if it did, the only accomplishments it would see were famine, gulags, and mass death" (195).

*Commies* provides a very interesting account of a historian's attempt to come to grips with history. It is marked through by the inspiring reverence for truth that characterized the classic *Rosenberg File*. (Alas, the new book has not benefited from the same careful proofreading: here, people hide "under," not behind, a car seat; the Cambodian Lon Nol becomes "Lon No"; etc. [57, 130]. Venial sins, but distracting.) The larger question remains: Why have so many "intellectuals" remained in what Radosh aptly calls the "leftover left" — a left that, make no mistake about it, is extremely influential, whatever state of decay its malodorous mental leftovers may now have reached?

Radosh's book suggests a number of explanations, most of which are



aspects, corollaries, or complications of what I call the Mama's Boy Syndrome.

Isabel Paterson said that the left of her time, the "Old Left," preached a Mama's Boy economics, according to which everything should simply be provided to everyone — or at least to all good children — by some powerful and benevolent and mama-like authority. That's the idea of the not-so-new

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left, too. It's noteworthy that the big gripe of Radosh's left-wing former friends seems to be that the capitalist power-structure never does enough to help such entities as the Soviet Union, Soviet Nicaragua, Nationalist black, and Revolutionary youth. It doesn't invariably act the part of the nice mommy who eagerly helps even the children who shriek that they hate her. Add to this the persistent refusal of capitalist America simply to haul off and guarantee "a living wage" to everyone — even, or especially, to the idle and incompetent. Well! What kind of a mother is that, anyway?

In retrospect, I find it enormously comical that the typical response of '60s college students to any political development that failed to please us was to "strike," to refuse to continue a course of heavily subsidized education intended for our own material and intellectual benefit by a benevolent modern-liberal regime. There was no expectation of being thrown out of school, or even of seeing any damage done to one's grade point average; Mommy would never do that. And she didn't. As for actual self-sacrifice, I can recall no instance of a student's voluntarily surrendering a fellowship, scholarship, or student loan in order to escape from any pangs of conscience while harassing the dean or blocking the doors to classrooms. And these demonstrations of childish entitlement

generally succeeded, such was the Mama mentality of the dreaded "power structure."

Success, even momentary and adventitious success, has a way of confirming pre-existing opinions; and opinions based on "gut-level" feelings of entitlement to, well, everything are likely to exert an influence of indefinite duration, because the everything which can never be fully delivered, must always continue to be demanded. Every "civil rights" organization, "feminist" coalition, and "poverty" lobby that existed in 1965 has had its initial demands fully met, but none of them has ever gone out of business. There has always been another set of demands to be generated, another installment of wrath to be exhibited when the demands were briefly resisted, another conformation of self-entitlement when the bad guys finally gave in. So much fun!

How was this Mama's Boy sense of entitlement developed? A full answer would have to include some reference to capitalism's wonderful success at satisfying people's needs and wants, a success that tempts people to demand the benefits of the marketplace without accepting any of its risks and labors. But schooling can be crucial as well. Radosh and many of the other "commies" in this book were scions of eastern European immigrant families who brought with them the European political fads of the early 20th century, then piously preserved them as a religion and a focus of personal identity and significance for their children. Many children rebel against their parents' religions, but these good children didn't. Despite their posturing, they weren't rebels at all. If they had been rebels, they would have immediately turned Republican. In fact, most of them appear to have been simple careerists, capitalizing on their education in "revolutionary theory" by finding jobs as editors of left-wing papers, "organizers" of "masses" like themselves, and academics specializing in — guess what? — political theory. We have yet to hear of one of them ending up on the line at the River Rouge plant.

When the Vietnam War came along, its truly remarkable stupidity alienated a host of young men who were liable to conscription, and these

young men and their cultural kinfolk were easily "organized" by the red blanket babies. It's no secret to anyone but the historians that these RBBs were the crucial people in the supposedly spontaneous mass movement. Anyone who participated in a radical gathering could see who constituted the student council in that particular high school. In my experience the RBBs were temperamentally identical to that paragon of mama's boys and student body presidents, William Jefferson Blythe Clinton — loud, smug, obnoxious, ignorant, self-assured in the way that only people who lack any genuine self-hood can be. Millions of average American kids were torn from their ideological moorings (if any) by the Vietnam War, but they weren't the ones who were running the "movement" show, and they weren't the ones who stayed in the theater, once conscription ceased and made it easy for them to leave. The folks who stayed were the red blanket babies and their political clones, who then had some

*Many children rebel against their parents' religions, but these good children didn't. Despite their posturing, they weren't rebels at all. If they had been rebels, they would have immediately turned Republican.*

trouble trying to keep their high-profile jobs as radical "leaders." Radosh puts it in a nicer way:

The issue that had given meaning to our lives was beginning to evaporate; and for many, this was an occasion for deep melancholy. (121)

After all, the "intention was never so much to end the war as to use anti-war sentiment to create a new revolutionary socialist movement at home" (89). So much for the honesty of these idealists.

But not to worry. Enough of the mama's boy ethic had been assimilated by the American "intellectual" classes to produce a low-level, though chronic, red rash, a rash that would become

acutely ugly whenever reality, that punishing father, appeared in the form of any stern and therefore hateful fact, such as the nation's strange inability to create "equality" by passing laws or to end "poverty" by throwing away money. It soon appeared that there were plenty of jobs still open for mama's boys who were skilled in whipping other mama's boys (and daddy's girls) into a froth of resentment at even the faintest hint of political truth and fact. Educated, like the Cathar Elect, to believe that they were smarter and purer than everyone else because they were good at massaging a set of idiotic dogmas, the leaders of the left drifted happily from one cause to another; and, as Radosh says, they never looked back. So what if the Black Panthers turned out to be a bunch of hoods? So what if the nuclear winter was an inaccurate scientific projection and affirmative action was a moral and practical bust? So what if everything that "the far right" said about the Soviet Union or Castro's Cuba or Red

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*So what if everything that "the far right" said about the Soviet Union or Castro's Cuba or Red China or Bill Clinton was finally acknowledged as true, even by ABC, NBC, and CBS?*

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China or Bill Clinton was finally acknowledged as true, even by ABC, NBC, and CBS? Who on the left ever had the decency to apologize to the American people for having misled them about these issues? No one needed to apologize, because no one, outside of "the far right" and a few knowing former leftists like Radosh, was willing to bring the reds to book.

Picture two college students. Student X understands and believes in the American constitutional system, free enterprise, and individual liberty. Student Y believes that free enterprise is inevitably oppressive, that individual rights must always be "balanced" by "social duties," that everyone is entitled to be supported by the government, that the Constitution mean what-

ever any social "idealist" wants it to mean, and that the two most terrible events in modern history were McCarthyism and the Watergate scandal. Which of these students do you think is more likely to become a congressman, a news editor for a TV network, or a professor at a distinguished

academic institution?

You know the answer — and that is the reason for my one disagreement with Ronald Radosh. I think that when he proudly announces that he has left the "commies" and has come "home" to America, he makes far too optimistic a distinction between the two. □

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***Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*, by Susan Faludi. William Morrow & Co., 1999, 650 pages.**

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## The New Man

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Michael Drew

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"Why haven't men spoken out against their oppression?" muses feminist author Susan Faludi. Huh? The brutish testosteroneals were the ones doing all the oppressing, or so we've been taught over the years by Faludi and her feminist sisters. Well, good news, brothers: It turns out we are all victims, too. Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Faludi, author of the 1991 best seller *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*, spent the latter part of the decade roaming the strange and sometimes scary world of men. And does she have a lot to say about it: Her most recent book, *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*, out-distances even the tedious *Backlash* by 150 pages.

So who's betraying whom, you ask? It's a very long story. Faludi achieved worldwide fame with *Backlash* by exposing the alleged right-wing conspiracy (before Hillary was even a household name) to demoralize women and roll back feminist gains through the use of, among other things, what she calls "trend journalism." For example, print a few stories about lonely women unhappy with their choice of career over family; repeat and amplify the stories through

the news and advertising media until you create a national "trend," which then influences the choices real women make through the power of suggestion. *Backlash* exposes the supposed woes of single American womanhood — corporate job burnout, loneliness and depression, ticking biological clocks, the fear of growing old alone — to be paper tigers in a clever propaganda campaign designed to scare women back into their places.

Despite its purported revelations and wealth of detail, *Backlash* was really a simple book, on the theme of "us vs. them and here's how," over and over again. And though some of Faludi's dark prophecies of the time, such as "women's disappearance from prime time television" (p. 143) and the "female vanishing act" in media employment (371), can only evoke laughs today, at least the heroines and villains in this conspiracy were familiar enough to anyone following feminist thought over the past 30 years (and who's been able to escape it?).

By comparison, *Stiffed* is more ambitious, more complex, more confusing — a work regarded by some as a kind of complementary *Backlash* for men, and by others as a timely attempt to rake in some postfeminist royalties by turning around and giving the chauvinist bums a break.

As the title suggests, in *Stiffed* Faludi attributes the crisis of modern masculinity, or "manhood under siege" (6) (including declining power and prestige, increasing aberrant behavior, chronic alienation, and loss of purpose) to an interconnected series of "betrayals" suffered by the male baby boomer generation. The various layers of betrayal are revealed through

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*The brutish testosteroneals were the ones doing all the oppressing, or so we've been taught over the years by Faludi and her feminist sisters. Well, good news, brothers: It turns out we are all victims, too.*

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a litany of men's personal stories, from laid-off blue- and white-collar workers to L.A. gang bangers, Christian Promise Keepers, Vietnam vets, angry white-male militias, loyal NFL football fans, and even astronauts and movie stars (both the regular and X-rated kind).

So what does this wild assortment of wild men have in common — aside from a Y-chromosome? Decrying the "ahistorical" analysis typical of gender studies, Faludi traces the roots of a great masculine betrayal back to the returning warriors of World War II who literally promised their sons the moon, a "father knows best culture that promised too much" (375). What the *Leave It to Beaver* crowd grew up to find instead was an impersonal corporate structure chewing them up and spitting them (and their fathers) out like scrap metal, a war in Southeast Asia fueled by the lies of their fathers' generation, and most recently, a glitter-glamor culture favoring style over substance and undermining the traditional masculine values of work, craftsmanship, and the old English ideal of "public usefulness" (11).

To her credit, the author conveys a genuine empathy through the vehicle of her male interview subjects — something of a departure from *Backlash*, in which she derided "celluloid neo-patriarchs" (136, 154) like Bill Cosby

who dared to present an occasional positive male role model on television. She is a decade later devoting over 70 pages to the history of the Cleveland Browns football franchise, surely a first in feminist writing. In this sense, Faludi captures the essence of American maleness better than, say, the short-lived "men's movement" of poet Robert Bly and his drum-beating friends. By at least delving thoughtfully into the myths of our masculine institutions such as professional sports and the military, Faludi acknowledges their symbolic power in the psyche of the average male. (By contrast, the Bly men's movement erred in rejecting the ingrained traditions of American manhood as simply "broken," attempting to substitute in their place a hodgepodge of ersatz Native American rituals sprinkled with left-leaning psychopolitics.)

Yet if the former *Wall Street Journal* reporter's strength is her in-depth storytelling, her weakness is in putting the mosaic together in a coherent or credible way. To paraphrase Woody Guthrie, Faludi's analysis isn't exactly "ahistorical" — but it may as well be. Rather, her predictable "pop-historical" perspective might be summed up as follows: "In the beginning was the good and noble World War II. Then came man's fall from grace, heralded by the bad Vietnam and all the evils that attended it."

A glaring problem with Faludi's "patriarchal betrayal" theory is that few of these so-called betrayals represent anything new or unique in our history. For starters, the impersonal, exploitive corporate America of today looks downright warm and fuzzy compared to the prior three centuries of upheaval of the Industrial Revolution. As recently as the Great Depression of the '30s, a generation of men was tossed onto the streets in circumstances far worse than anything seen since.

In keeping with her theme, Faludi dwells wistfully on World War II as the ultimate triumph of traditional masculinity ("Was there ever such a moment of masculine certainty" as VE day [19]? She fails to consider that for over 90% of our history, America has been at peace — with a very small military establishment for most of that time and no attendant masculine identity crisis. As for Vietnam, in which

only a small percentage of the nation's youth saw actual combat, this was hardly the first terrible, meaningless, lie-driven war in history. Millions more men of Hemingway's "Lost Generation" were devastated by the global nightmare of World War I. Who ever promised these men anything but blood, sweat, and tears? Yet through these crises and countless ones before, the idea of manhood itself was never seriously questioned. Individual men might fail or fall by the thousands, but they at least knew what they were aspiring to be. What happened?

One clue lies in a curious disconnect we observe as *Stiffed* unfolds. In setting up her argument, Faludi poohpoohs the usual suspects antagonizing the angry modern male, most notably feminism and the changing role of women. She later pairs this with a similar admonition to feminists that, likewise, women's problems are not all the fault of a "cabal of men" (though one could have sworn she was saying exactly that back in *Backlash* — guess it's never too late to "evolve," eh Susie?).

A remarkable tap dance then takes place as the author tries to pursue her

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historical-patriarchal-whatever theme, but her interviewees one after another begin ranting about "the male gender taking a back seat across the board . . . It's been a complete role reversal . . . Women have taken a very masculine role in society" (89). The McDonnell Douglas Corp. worker is "most humiliated by the fact that his wife was supporting the family now" (88). The Pony League baseball coach "set his voice in a thin line at the mention of girls sports . . . his voice was getting louder, his face redder: 'We had our weight room taken away . . . we got pushed outside'" (123). "Howard sensed his wife's new mission eliminated his . . . 'She

has a bigger office than I do.'" And what's great about her new job (from her perspective) is "'the bosses are all women.'" "His wife hadn't lost an identity; she had found one that didn't seem to include him" (254-5). "Women's freedom was now judged to be the flip side of men's uselessness . . . 'Men are belittled, shrunk to nothing . . . they've downgraded us'" (523). Even the more thoughtful writer and World War II vet Richard Matheson speaks to Faludi of "the war that had brought women into the workforce, and in his view, 'began the social diminishment of men'" (78).

Faludi sidesteps this barrage of male "gender anxiety" and anger with surprisingly little commentary, though at one point she wonders: "What his resistance to feminist advancement had to do with his employment situation I didn't know" (89). At times it's unclear whether she's simply counting on the short attention span of the American public, or suffering from it herself. For in *Backlash*, she cites a major reason for increasing male depression as changing gender roles and the widespread employment of women outside the home (40). Not because a man will be bossed around, but because he becomes less and less necessary to his family and to society. As a corollary, she also cites in *Backlash* the common denominator of masculine identity across all cultures as that of family breadwinner (457).

Given these facts to chew on, we might reconsider some truly unique historical phenomena undermining traditional masculinity in recent years: the radical advance of technology and consequent decline in manual labor; the steady advance of women into traditional male roles; and finally, the provision of mass government aid to women with children. (For anybody dismissing the latter point as right-wing rhetoric, consider that nearly half of all commercial infant formula produced in this country is purchased by the U.S. Department of Agriculture for free distribution to new mothers, even in this era of "welfare reform.")

As one of Faludi's subjects observed: "Taking care of families is what made men men" (38). Another echoes: "My father's was the last responsible generation; men still owned their homes, supported their

families; but then something happened . . . we black men had outlived our usefulness" (477). Forget "promising too much"; the greatest betrayal by modern fathers has been their simple absence from the home, reflected in modern divorce rates and the skyrocketing incidence of single-family households.

Now, why would our author wish to steer clear of such obvious factors (though she acknowledges the role of technology) and instead focus on

World War II, paternal promises, and evil corporate culture as the scapegoats for modern men's struggles? The answer is simple: Whether writing about men or women, Susan Faludi's overriding objective has always been to get the feminist movement off the hot seat. In this case, men's unhappiness simply can't be attributed to the changing status or role of women — even if the men being interviewed are screaming just that — it must be the fault of some other men. More tell-

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ingly, *Backlash* states her belief that modern women's unhappiness doesn't even exist; that it is a fabrication of the Christian Right and the anti-feminist media (the same anti-feminist media

that gave *Backlash* the "1992 National Book Critics Circle Award for Nonfiction").

Indeed, those who view Faludi's two books as complementary, suppor-

tive treatments of the sexes — as other reviewers have — might question why the stereotype of the depressed, lonely female is dismissed and (supposedly) debunked in *Backlash*, while the stereotype of the crazed or emasculated male is played up to the hilt in *Stiffed*. Faludi had a term for taking a few extreme cases and calling it the norm: "trend journalism." But after denouncing its application to women as the main theme of *Backlash*, she dives into the practice with both feet in *Stiffed*, with her motley collection of losers and porno-film extras supposedly speaking for the average man of today. Faludi would have done well to recall her own complaint from *Backlash* about the alleged treatment of the American woman on prime-time TV: "She deserved our pity, the shows suggested, though not our respect" (159).

The implication is clear in the differing — not at all complementary — thrusts of the two books: In *Backlash*, we're shown over and over how the subject women are unfairly portrayed as losers. In *Stiffed*, we're shown over and over how the subject men really are losers.

And whereas *Backlash* provided a blow-by-blow analysis of the media's crafty undermining of women's self-esteem through advertising, for example, no comparable study of the media's treatment of men appears in *Stiffed*. Strange, considering that men have unquestionably been made the buffoons of our popular culture, consistently outwitted and outplayed in virtually every male-female (or even adult-child) interaction in advertising. One is hard-pressed to even buy a greeting card without combing through the gauntlet of anti-male humor prominently displayed for all, including children, to see (e.g., "We wanted to re-enact the Christmas story this year, but we couldn't find three wise men." Other examples are less printable).

Any sampling of the language used about the respective sexes will reveal against whom the psychological war is really being waged. The very words "manhood," "masculinity," and "testosterone" are most commonly uttered with a sneer — the last of these often referring more specifically to "testosterone poisoning." When the subject is the higher prices women pay for cars,

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the newspaper solemnly calls for an investigation into this systematic discrimination. When the subject is the higher prices men pay shopping for holiday gifts, the same newspaper simply asks: "Why are men so inept?"

Rosie O'Donnell captured the spirit of our gender dialogue while hosting the Tony Awards one night, as quoted gleefully in the national press the next day: "Women are from Venus; men are pieces of crap." Faludi's celebrated "war on American women" notwithstanding, can anyone imagine a comparable remark being made about women on prime-time TV? And forget about any public acknowledgement of the far more blatant "war against men": all we heard about the Tony Awards at the time was how Rosie's wonderful brand of humor helped revive its sagging ratings.

So how are men and women really doing? Confusion seems to be the watchword, as the dubious oracle called the sociological survey ranks

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*"Women are from Venus;  
men are pieces of crap."*

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everyone from married men to single women as being the "happiest" group of people at any given time (apparently depending on the motives of the authors). If not necessarily representing the average man, "Faludi's losers" are still real people and represent a definite male angst over loss of purpose and power. At the same time, we can hardly blame women for wanting to advance and better their own lot as they have. We've been treading inexorably toward wider and wider acceptance of women in jobs that not long ago were filled by men, whether or not we agree on what that means at any given time. Where it stops, nobody knows.

Yet American women's rate of depression remains twice that of men; it seems all the self-esteem boosting of books like *Backlash* can't hide a malaise enveloping a portion of both sexes in the social free-for-all of the "post-feminist" era. We'll certainly need wiser voices than Susan Faludi's to make our way forward. □

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***Unacknowledged Legislation: Writers in the Public Sphere,***  
by Christopher Hitchens. Verso, 2000, 358 pages.

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## The Critical Left

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Jeff Rigenbach

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Seven years ago, just after the American electorate had turned the House of Representatives over to the egregious Newt Gingrich and his ludicrous "Contract with America," *The Nation* ran a short article under the headline "Minority Report: Democrats and the Election of 1994."

"The Democratic Party," the author of the article announced, "is going the way of the Whigs, and a very good thing too." For those on the left, "it is past time to attempt a new synthesis that has been in potentia for a while. Faced as we are with an apparently libertarian inclination among the voters, and a strongly authoritarian strain among the Republicans, the dialectical thing to do is to work with the libertarian tendency."

When, in the following paragraph, the author reflected that "[e]lements of this possibility were present in the much-derided Jerry Brown campaign" of 1992, any real libertarian would, of course, be instantly on guard. Jerry Brown, though he adopts amazingly sensible policy positions with refreshing frequency, is clearly no libertarian. But then came the platform on which the author thought a coalition of leftists and libertarians might stand:

If you want to simplify and minimize the relationship of the citizen to the state, there is no necessary contradiction involved in favoring (1) a flat tax, which would eliminate the parasitic class of tax-fixers who exempt the rich and the corporations from their fair share, and also eliminate the pulverizing bureaucracy

which keeps people in permanent, servile confusion about whether or not they have complied with the law; (2) single-payer health care: advantages too obvious to mention but including the elimination of wasteful duplication and stupefying insurance company paperwork; (3) abolition of the national security state, and the downsizing of the military budget to one that is appropriate to a large, nonimperialist democracy; (4) decriminalization of narcotics and an end to Prohibitionism — the acid test of seriousness about crime; (5) a "Freedom Summer" for the cities and ghettos, with a massive public-works and reconstruction program. And obviously (6) the state needs no dealings with any church or churches.

Two of these six points are, of course, extremely objectionable to libertarians, who would scoff at the notion that national health insurance and massive '60s-style urban renewal are not "necessarily" in contradiction with "minimizing the relationship of the citizen to the state." Still, on the whole, I'd say this platform is no worse than the sort of six-point program you could expect to see pushed by a modern-day conservative — (1) a bigger, even more meddlesome national security state, now operating from space as well as on land and sea; (2) an even larger increase in funding for the failed public school system than the liberals propose; (3) an even more vigorously prosecuted and even more expensive War on Drugs than the liberals are willing to get behind; (4) a more determined effort to undermine the First Amendment by prosecuting those who burn flags or post pictures of naked people on the Internet; (5) an



ever larger and ever more indefensible program of welfare handouts to big business; and (6) a more integral role for churches as tax-funded dispensers of "social services." In fact, I think the left/libertarian platform is preferable.

Its author, "the author" whose identity I've been so clumsily concealing for the past few paragraphs, is Christopher Hitchens, who writes for *The Nation*, *Vanity Fair*, *The London Review of Books*, *The New York Review of Books*, *Harper's* and other periodicals; teaches at the New School; and is currently notorious for publicly charging Henry Kissinger with war crimes (wasn't that already common knowledge?). In 1994, Hitchens looked back on "the lunacy of the Reagan period in Washington," and recalled that "I was impressed by how often it was the Cato Institute that held the sane meeting or published the thoughtful position paper. These days, I get more out of reading the libertarian magazine *Reason* than I do out of many 'movement' journals. There are important differences of emphasis, but it can be more of a pleasure to joust with the libertarians than to have another go-around with the center-left and its doomed coalition of dwindling 'out groups.'"

In his latest collection of reviews and essays, *Unacknowledged Legislation*, Hitchens continues to evidence this individualist and proto-libertarian streak. In a remarkable essay on George Orwell and Raymond Williams, for example, he approvingly quotes the following "admirable extract" from a 1958 piece by Williams:

At home we were glad of the Industrial Revolution, and of its con-

sequent social and political changes. True, we lived in a very beautiful farming valley, and the valleys beyond the limestone we could all see were ugly. But there was one gift that was overriding, one gift which at any price we would take, the gift of power that is everything to men who have worked with their hands. It was slow in coming to us, in all its effects, but steam power, the petrol engine, electricity, these and their host of products in commodities and services, we took as quickly as we could get them, and were glad. I have seen all these things being used, and I have seen the things they replaced. I will not listen with any patience to any acid listing of them — you know the sneer you can get into plumbing, baby Austins, aspirin, contraceptives, canned food. But I say to these Pharisees: dirty water, an earth bucket, a four-mile walk each way to work, headaches, broken women, hunger and monotony of diet. The working people, in town and country alike, will not listen (and I support them) to any account of our society which supposes that these things are not progress: not just mechanical, external progress either, but a real service of life.

Hitchens argues vigorously against Williams' interpretation of 1984, which gets off on the wrong track right at the beginning, as he sees it, by supposing that the totalitarian state in the novel was based on Orwell's "experience of fascism and Nazism." On the contrary, Hitchens insists, "[i]t is quite plain, from internal evidence and from Orwell's own writings and correspondence, that it was the Stalin terror (which he had seen early and at first hand in Catalonia) that provided the raw material for the nightmare of 'Ingsoc.'" Moreover, he says, Williams' critique of 1984 supposes that "a book published in 1948 — in the face of endless difficulties — should have been a dystopian satire on the form of dictatorship — National Socialism — that had just been defeated and destroyed, rather than on the form — 'People's Democracy' Stalinism — that had just annexed Eastern Europe. Such a book," Hitchens acidulously comments, "would certainly have been better received by the progressive intellectuals, but it would hardly have forced anybody to face uncomfortable truths."

Nor are the uncomfortable truths of Orwell's bleak vision the only ones Hitchens is willing to face. "One of these days," he writes, near the end of an illuminating essay on Whittaker Chambers, "I'm going to write a book called 'Guilty as Hell: A Short History of the American Left.' Revisionism has cut great roads through the causes célèbres of the bien pensants. Where are we now? Joe Hill, probably guilty as charged, according to Wallace Stegner. Sacco and Vanzetti darker horses than we thought. The Rosenbergs at least half-guilty. Most of the Black Panthers (always excepting those murdered by the FBI) amazingly guilty."

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*Hitchens takes aim at the absurdly inflated reputation of Isaiah Berlin, arguing that the man was a hypocrite and that his celebrated thought was neither original nor coherent.*

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In an essay on the Salman Rushdie case, Hitchens' exasperation with at least one aspect of political correctness is plain. "This fear of 'giving offense' begins to spread through the respectable classes," he writes. "The right of the author must, of course, be defended, but need the right have been exerted so, well, promiscuously?" Hitchens finds this attitude particularly dismaying in the case of Rushdie, "a direct and open threat of murder against a prominent writer and against 'all those involved in [his novel's] publication.' This is somewhat more than censorship, or even arbitrary imprisonment." Hitchens had proposed that all present at a PEN rally in support of Rushdie sign their names to a declaration that they are "'co-responsible for publication.' Come and get us: the mythical Spartacus reply."

To my surprise, the petition is drawn up in this way, and circulated and signed and reprinted. When first reprinted in London's Times Literary Supplement, however, the words "while we regret any offense caused to believers" have been anonymously inserted by nervous hands. For the first time I have really

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noticed — maybe I should have seen it coming — how the terms of multi-cultural “sensitivity” can be used to impose uniformity, and to create a cringe.

In an immensely interesting essay on Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Hitchens takes note of another, similar phenomenon. “[I]n the late Victorian period it was very much easier to guess a man’s background or occupation by mere physical inspection — as Dr. Joseph Bell, Conan Doyle’s celebrated mentor at Edinburgh University medical school, had shown him how to do. Nowadays, the distinction between ‘profiling’ and ‘stereotyping’ can in itself be an obstacle to good police work.”

In one of the strongest essays in this collection, Hitchens takes aim at the absurdly inflated reputation of Isaiah Berlin, arguing that the man was a hypocrite and that his celebrated thought was neither original nor coherent. The hypocrisy is easy enough to establish, for though Berlin’s biographer, Michael Ignatieff, insists that “it was a fixed principle of his that so-called elites — intellectual or otherwise — had no business presuming that they knew better than the man or woman in the street,” in fact Berlin arrogantly made decisions for the man and woman in the street on a regular basis while serving as an adviser on Indo-Chinese policy to the Johnson administration. At a time when, as Hitchens reminds us, “an ever-increasing number even of Establishment types [had begun] to sicken of the war,” Berlin’s fellow technocrat, McGeorge Bundy, wrote to the columnist Joseph Alsop in 1967, that “I don’t have the wonderful self-confidence of Isaiah — ‘I’m a terrific domino man.’”

In those heady days in Washington, being a terrific domino man, as Berlin saw it, meant having the intestinal fortitude to march resolutely down a road that could well lead to one’s own destruction. “Except,” Hitchens comments, “that it was actually many thousands of conscripted Americans, and uncountable numbers of Vietnamese, and not the intellectuals at the elbow of power, who were marched down that road before their time. What of the skeptical humanist who warned incessantly about the sacrifice of living peo-

ple to abstract ends, or totemic dogmas?”

Here’s Berlin’s own frank self-assessment, as quoted by his biographer, Ignatieff: “I am an intellectual taxi; people flag me down and give me destinations and off I go.” Often enough, too, the people who flag him down leave things — ideas, phrases — in the taxi when they get out. As Hitchens notes, “Berlin’s favorite, Benjamin Constant, proposed a distinction between the ‘liberty of the ancients’ and ‘liberty of the moderns’; T.H. Green spoke of liberty in the ‘positive’ and ‘negative,’ and the same antithesis is strongly present in Hayek’s *Road to Serfdom* — the title page of which quoted Lord Acton saying that ‘few discoveries are more irritating than those which expose the pedigree of ideas.’”

In an interview conducted not long before his death in 1997, Berlin declared:

## Notes on Contributors

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*Richard Kostelanetz* has entries in *Contemporary Poets*, *Postmodern Fiction*, and *Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*.

I think liberalism is essentially the belief of people who have lived on the same soil for a long time in comparative peace with each other. An English invention. The English have not been invaded for a very, very long time. That’s why they can afford to praise these virtues. I see that if you were exposed to constant pogroms you might be a little more suspicious of the possibility of liberalism.

The liberalism Berlin is referring to here is that “classical liberalism,” or, in modern parlance, “limited government libertarianism,” of which he is supposedly a leading modern exponent. “Here,” Hitchens remarks, “is the rich man’s John Rawls.”

Liberalism is for those who don’t need it, free to those who can afford it, and very expensive — if even conceivable — to others. But the clash of ideas here is more chaotic than confused. Should one deduce that liberalism

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can't be derived from the experience of pogroms? And if it can't, why did Berlin argue that liberalism is the answer to the experience of this uniquely grim — as he thought it — century? Meanwhile, if liberalism is geographically and even ethnically limited, where is its universality? Must one be an English invader in order to be a carrier of liberal ideals? Finally,

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*Hitchens has a particular animus for the politicians and bureaucrats who loosed World War I upon civilization — and a special sympathy for their millions upon millions of victims.*

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how can a tumultuous and volatile and above all “cosmopolitan” society, like America's, thrive if high liberalism can only be established among those with common blood and on common soil?

Would that Hitchens reserved his contempt for such worthy targets as Berlin. But alas, it is not so. Take H.L. Mencken. As Hitchens sees it, he was a “snob,” a “racist,” and a “snarling Anglophobe” who “had a surreptitious fancy for fascism.” Oh, and he must be counted also, if a bit regretfully, as among the “masters of prose and humor and invective.” Then too, it must be acknowledged that “[w]hatever the foulness of some of his private and public thoughts,” Mencken did a lot of good work and was pretty consistently on the side of the angels “between about 1910 and the end of Prohibition.” And he was particularly good when he was taking up his cudgel against the sanctimonious and

detestable Woodrow Wilson and his war to end all wars.

Hitchens has a particular animus for the politicians and bureaucrats who loosed World War I upon civilization — and a special sympathy for their millions upon millions of victims. His essay on Kipling, one of the most moving in the book, derives much of its power from its terse but extraordinarily vivid descriptions of just what that war did to the people and places of both Hitchens' native England and the European continent. He also nurses a special loathing for certain fellow “writers in the public sphere,” most notably Tom Wolfe and “the dire Norman Podhoretz,” whose earlier book on “writers in the public sphere,” *The Bloody Crossroads: Where Literature and Politics Meet* (1986), Hitchens dismisses as “notorious and propagandistic.” He quotes Podhoretz's description of his first meeting with Vaclav Havel in 1988: “the first thing that hit my eye upon entering his apartment was a huge poster of John Lennon hanging on the wall. Disconcerted, I tried to persuade Havel that the counterculture in the West was no friend of anti-Communists like himself.”

“Good of Podhoretz to have spared so much time to put Havel straight,” Hitchens remarks. “But that's the sort of guy he is — always willing to oblige.” Yes, and especially when his information is nonexistent and his recommendations are absurd. “The counterculture in the West,” as Podhoretz so clumsily characterizes the subculture that first emerged in the “hippie” phenomenon of the mid-1960s, was individualist to the core and was profoundly opposed to any vigorous exercise of state power. The only communism it had any admiration for was the purely voluntary kind. Even that appealed only to a minority of the counterculture, and the size of the minority steadily dwindled as the individuals involved grew older and learned a bit more about life and how it actually works. The embarrassing fact of the matter is that during the years when the counterculture was coming into its own and virtu-

ally taking over the mainstream culture of this country — during, that is, the 1970s and '80s — the most conspicuous opponents of individual liberty to be found in the United States were officials of the Reagan administration and their intellectual apologists, like Norman Podhoretz. “The Russian exile writer Vassily Aksyonov once wrote that Podhoretz reminded him of all the things he had left the Soviet Union to escape. He had, said Aksyonov, the mentality of a cultural commissar.”

At times, Hitchens, like any leftist, comes across like some sort of commissar in his own right, as when he derides the “mirthless white ethnic conservatives named Giuliani and Pataki” (the mayor and governor, respectively, of New York) because, in New York City, they have “encouraged franchising of all sorts [McDonald's is singled out for abuse in this regard] while discouraging loitering and littering.” Leave it to a leftist,

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*Leave it to a leftist, of however libertarian a stripe, to be unable to distinguish meaningfully between the golden arches and a homeless encampment.*

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of however libertarian a stripe, to be unable to distinguish meaningfully between the golden arches and a homeless encampment.

But, as I have tried to show, there is much, much more to this book, and to Hitchens, than the conventional stereotype of the leftist now current among libertarians will comfortably encompass. *Unacknowledged Legislation* has much of interest in it for anyone with a healthy desire to understand the literary, political, and cultural issues that have captured the attention of educated people in Europe and North America over the last hundred years. □

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S. CHAMBERS

“Just wait till the Industrial Revolution! You'll get yours!”

## Letters, from page 50

I do not affix any metaphysical meaning to the outcome of the evolution debate. I just do not see the science in evolution. And I've never seen a more dogmatic, gnostic, and close-minded group than the pro-evolution bunch.

All this does not take away from Sandefur's bigger point that most people are scientifically illiterate. I would just include most evolutionists in that group as well.

Randall Hoven  
Alton, Ill.

### Crunching the Numbers

Timothy Sandefur's piece on widespread scientific illiteracy makes a good point, but he seems a little too slavish about the theory of evolution, especially if he believes it explains the ultimate source of life.

I believe Fred Hoyle, the maverick British mathematician and astronomer, made the following calculations: The probability of even one simple protein molecule forming in a chemical soup by random action is one in  $10^{113}$ . Mathematicians would dismiss as never happening an event with one chance in  $10^{50}$ . To get all the proteins needed for cellular activity, the chances are one in  $10^{40,000}$ . It doesn't appear that there has been enough time since the universe began for this to have happened.

We may not know as much as we think we do. In any case, evolution is more practical for explaining changes in species.

Mark Giffin  
Glendale, Calif.

### Analyzing Sandefur

Timothy Sandefur (*Reflections*, October) suggests that people who keep their dogs and cats on vegetarian diets should be subjected to psychological evaluations. Perhaps Sandefur could refer me to a good psychologist.

I am a vegetarian, for moral reasons. We don't need to eat dead animals to be healthy, so the only reason to eat animals is for pleasure. But animals, being intelligent and sentient beings, have some moral rights. Most people would agree that it is morally wrong for you to torture a cow or pig for pleasure. Similarly, I maintain, it is morally wrong for you to kill a cow or pig for pleasure. The fact that you may hire a hitman (such as

McDonald's) to do the killing is morally irrelevant.

Cats and dogs don't need to eat dead animals to be healthy. Just as it is wrong to kill animals for your own pleasure, so it is wrong to kill animals for the pleasure of your cat or dog. I'm tempted to suggest that it's Sandefur who needs to see the psychologist, but perhaps he'd be better off meeting with a good ethicist.

Bradley Monton  
Lexington, Ky.

### I'm Behind Barbara!

I can't believe that Martha Stallman (*Letters*, October) and Timothy Sandefur (*Reflections*, August) advocate the assault of Barbara Walters. Principled journalists like Walters provide a valuable public service by exposing the dangers we face everyday. Why, after John Stossel's idiotic piece on cellular phones on 20/20 on Sept. 5 she pointed out that using a rotary-cell phone while driving is in fact very dangerous. I'm sure that, barring Stossel's pointless bickering, she would have also reminded her audience of the immense public-safety risk involved in churning butter and beating clothes on rocks to get them clean while driving.

Stallman, Sandefur, and Stossel, you all need to dispense with your "facts" and your "statistics" and realize that Walters is just trying to make sure we're safe.

Trey Reginelli  
Houston, Tex.

### Atlas Slopped

I was disappointed by Timothy Sandefur's October review of "The World of Atlas Shrugged" ("Atlas Plugged," October) on a number of counts — but most of all for his failing to report accurately even the most basic information about this audio recording. I ought to know, since I am the author of the script, and the product's executive producer.

My first complaint is that he totally misunderstands the nature of the product. Sandefur identifies the recording as a "basic introduction" to *Atlas Shrugged* — a claim he puts in quotation marks repeatedly, as if quoting official promotional material for the product.

"I distrust 'basic introductions,' because they're written for people who don't want to take the time to actually read the books they introduce," Mr. Sandefur declares. "Being a snobbish reader, I instinctively look down on this kind of

soft-pedaling. I suspect much more is to be accomplished by reaching out to those people who are willing and able to read a thick and challenging book."

However, the jacket of the recording nowhere describes it as a "basic introduction," but rather as "the essential companion to Ayn Rand's masterpiece." The significance of this distinction is made clear in the opening moments of the recording, when narrator Edward Herrmann says:

This recording will take you behind the scenes of this remarkable story, so that you can better understand, appreciate, and enjoy it. Because it refers to events, characters, and ideas in the novel — and also reveals the mysteries of the plot — your enjoyment will be much enhanced if you read the book *before* listening to this recording." [emphasis in original]

"The World of Atlas Shrugged" is a reader's companion to the novel, intended to enrich the understanding of those who've already read it. It's not meant to "introduce" people to a book they're too lazy to read, as Mr. Sandefur contends; rather, it's meant precisely for "those people who are willing and able to read a thick and challenging book." We developed this recording to help readers of *Atlas Shrugged* make the transition from Rand's fiction to her nonfiction — from her art to her ideas.

This fundamental misinterpretation colors Mr. Sandefur's entire review, and is the source of his dismissively snotty tone. It heads a list of other mistakes and omissions that can only be characterized as sloppy.

Sandefur also complains that the "CDs spend a lot of time" on the literary aspects of *Atlas Shrugged*, "and not much on politics or ethics." This claim is simply not true. The first half of the recording introduces the story, presents a synopsis of the plot, addresses the novel's literary merits, and concludes with a biographical sketch of author Rand. By contrast, the entire second half of the recording is devoted exclusively to Rand's ideas, focusing specifically on her ethics and politics.

If Sandefur is justified in dismissing people too lazy to read a book, then I believe readers are justified in dismissing a reviewer apparently too lazy to do his homework. Our product, and your subscribers, deserved better.

Robert James Bidinotto  
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

### *Washington, D.C.*

Those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it, from *The Seattle Times*:

A Fresno, Calif. landfill was recently designated as a Historic Landmark for being one of the first "sanitary" landfills of its time that involved "trenching and compaction technology." The honor was retracted the next day when it was discovered that the landfill is also on the list of Superfund sites, locations so polluted that they "require special federal cleanup."

National Park Service Advisory Board member Parker Westbrook opposed rescinding the decision, saying: "Maybe the Fresno landfill is an American eyesore, but it represents a moment in American history . . . and thus in my view it qualifies to be a landmark."

### *Everett, Wash.*

Great criminal minds of the 21st century, from the eminent *Herald*:

A nude man seen near a movie theater was approached by a police officer and issued a ticket for indecent exposure. When the officer asked what the man did for a living, the man replied that he grew marijuana. He then proceeded to give officers a tour of his 80-plant grow room and, when informed about the confiscation of his plants and materials, helped the police load the materials into their cars.

### *Rio de Janeiro, Brazil*

Marketing innovation, reported by *Reuters*:

Police recently confiscated 260 packets of cocaine emblazoned with bar codes, the name of the responsible gang, and the slogan "Now, it's us."

### *Houston*

Peculiar development in the art of cheerleading, uncovered by the *Houston Chronicle*:

Brazoswood High School will have twice the normal number of cheerleaders on its squad this season. Members of the administration decided to admit all 60 who sought positions as cheerleaders after the squad's faculty sponsor confessed to having rigged the tryout scores.

### *Vancouver, British Columbia*

Odd religious activity in The Great White North, published in *The Seattle Times*:

Mary Braun, an 81-year-old member of the Sons of Freedom, appeared naked in court for her trial for arson. She is accused of "damaging a community-college computer lab." The Sons of Freedom, "an extremist sect" of the Doukhobors, (Russian Christians who immigrated to Western Canada in the late 1800s), once waged a campaign for purity by "burning their homes, destroying government and private property, and parading naked down the streets."

### *Isleton, Calif.*

A development in the civil service, related by the *Contra Costa Times*:

Laurence Lyttle was fired from his job as a rural mail carrier after he went on a "joyride" in a postal vehicle full of mail during which he committed two hit-and-runs, several acts of vandalism, and neglected to deliver any of the mail in his charge. Said the postmaster who hired him: "He had a lot of training. We had high hopes for him."

### *Denver*

How skilled attorneys earn their keep in the Mile-High City, reported in *The Denver Post*:

After sports columnist Woody Paige referred to the new Denver Broncos stadium as "The Diaphragm," Invesco Funds Group (owner of the rights to the stadium) threatened to sue the paper for defamation. Invesco abandoned the suit when its attorneys discovered that "The Diaphragm" is a favorite nickname for the stadium among Invesco's executives and staff.

### *Paris*

Innovation in the science of actuarism, reported by the *Associated Press*:

Several insurance companies are now offering protection against school bullies. The policies, which cover such things as stolen books and ripped clothing, were created since "families came to us and asked us to do something," in the words of Patrick Moreau, an executive with the company MEA. Policies do not, however, cover such things as stolen cell phones or cash.

### *Tbilisi*

Curious activity in post-Soviet Georgia, reported by *Reuters*:

Three people were killed after an artillery shell they were sawing apart exploded.

### *Portland, Ore.*

The thin blue line that protects civilization from anarchy on America's western coast, from *The Seattle Times*:

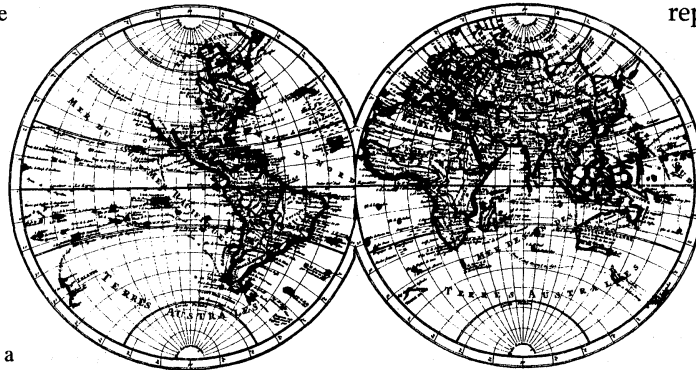
Federal customs agents have been charged with stealing from crew members of a ship they were searching for drugs. Around ten people out of a crew of 21 said they had belongings such as cash and jewelry stolen.

### *Massachusetts*

Making Shakespeare accessible to Generation X, reported in *The Boston Herald*:

English Professor Richard Burt, who teaches "modern adaptations of Shakespeare," has established a website, which includes pictures of topless strippers sitting on his lap and images of his wife as a porn star, along with descriptions of his classes.

## *Terra Incognita*



Special thanks to Jennifer Gertnam, Alexander Deirtich, Franklin Pinter, and Mary Hoppe for contributions to *Terra Incognita*.

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



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—Patrick Henry, 1776*

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