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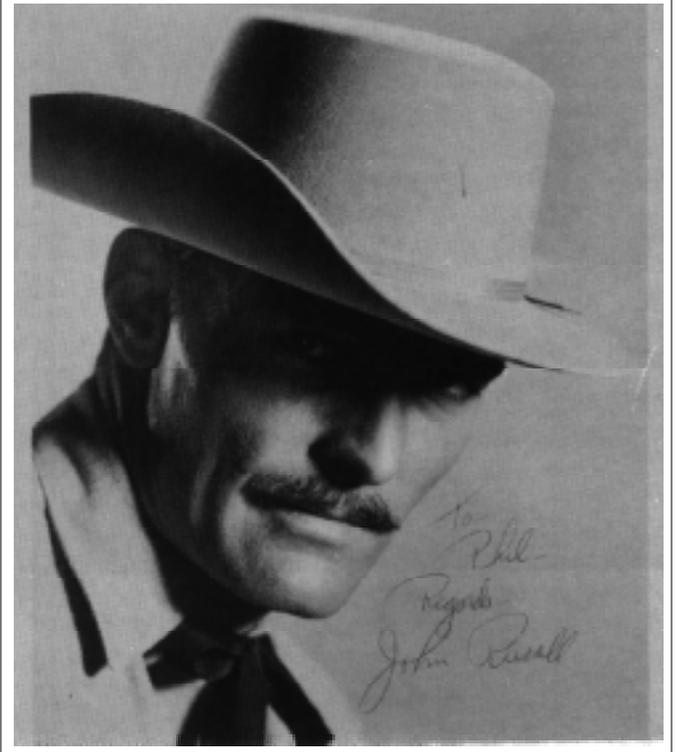
Volume Four, Number 18/19 December 1987

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LIBERTARIAN



Randolph Bourne, Greenwich Village Radical



John Russell, Hollywood Actor, *Lawman*

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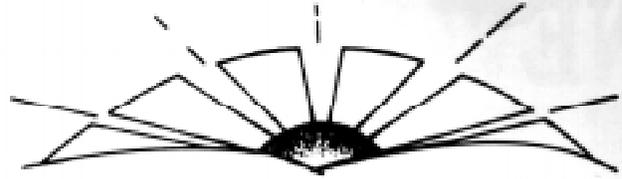
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This long-awaited culture issue (begun in 1980!) is dedicated to **Milton Mueller**, who first contracted to write an article about it, and was the first (and only) writer for **NL** to return his advance rather than turn it in. And to **Bruce Hobbs**, for AI & NLCo's fabulous equipment.

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Everyone appearing in this publication disagrees!

Letters

To the Editor, **New Libertarian**

June 27, 1987

Mr. Linaweaver's response (NL17) to my guest editorial ("Conservative, Traditionalist, Libertarian, Adherent of Natural Law: A Lay Sermon on Bishop Desmond Tutu" in NL16) makes — as one would expect — a number of valid and interesting points. "To be a Libertarian one must make that extra bit of effort in the name of Liberty" is a reminder we may all need from time to time, as is the question with which (in effect) he concludes: "Has the term 'Libertarian' become useless through inflation of rhetoric?"

But we must not allow our admiration for the good and intelligent things he has to say blind us to the fundamental problem lying at the root of his unwillingness to consider the Archbishop of Capetown as a Libertarian — fundamental not only to Mr. Linaweaver's thinking but to that of the Libertarian movement as a whole. Briefly, it is this: Libertarians generally insist that one define oneself as a Libertarian before one can even putatively be admitted to the ranks (a necessary, but not — Lord knows! — a sufficient condition), and Libertarians are notoriously reluctant to see any value to the maxim "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

Archbishop Tutu is engaged in a struggle against a notably repressive and unattractive régime, and he has carried on that struggle in part by having private individuals and voluntary associations (including the Church) carry out activities usually carried out by the State. Whether he would continue that course of action should the ANC take over the State is certainly a debatable point: but he is doing it now, and the teaching of his Church is that he should continue to do it, most emphatically not rendering to any Caesar, whether Botha or Mandela, what is God's. In his struggle, and that of his people, how can there be any doubt which side a Libertarian is on?

The discursus on the people at NR is, I think, ill-conceived. I did not argue that all Conservatives in the Great Tradition were Libertarians, and I suppose that there's a particular reason why Roman Catholic Conservatives might not be if there were a particularly dictatorial Bishop of Rome at their head: nonetheless, Liberty is part of the Great Tradition, and among world traditions only of that, and Individualism is an invention largely of the Christian centuries. Certainly in many cases Mr. Buckley and his followers are the enemies of our enemies (not, alas, in all), and they are besides pleasant and knowledgeable people who — it is perhaps important to remind ourselves — supported the "Libertarian" candidacy of Barry Goldwater in 1964.

Now it is fashionable to say that all candidacies are equally anathema to the true Libertarian, and that is far from an unreasonable view: but Barry Goldwater did, after all, argue that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice, and he was the opponent of the man who mired us in Vietnam, built the Great Society on the ruins of the Great Tradition, and presided over a quantum (and self-reproducing) jump in the power of our central government. If there was a right side in the 1964 election, Bill Buckley and NR were on it. And Mr. Buckley certainly has some claims to be considered a libertarian, if not a Libertarian.

As does Archbishop Tutu. The enemy of the enemies of liberty is my friend. And a libertarian. And to Mr. Linaweaver's concluding question, I answer No.

Jared C. Lobdell,
New York, New York

[The Libertarian Movement, quite embryonic in 1964, split at least four ways, although most of us who eventually became Libertarians — including the New Leftists of the time — did support Goldwater. Rothbard appeared in the pages of the Liberal Innovator, the most advanced, proto-agnostic publication of the time, to file a dissent on behalf of Lyndon Johnson, believing him to be a Peace candidate. LeFevre and his supporters rightly refused to vote, and many libertarians, particularly in California, supported the Peace & Freedom line on ballots.

*As to leveling Tutu with Buckley, I leave it to Mr. Linaweaver if his point may not be already won. As far as I know, the good Bishop never even ran for political office; I know Mr. Buckley did because I was the sole contributor from the Province of Alberta, in my unenlightened teens, to the latter's 1965 Mayoral campaign. *shame**

—SEK3]

Dear Sam:

February 24, 1987

Congratulations on a most enjoyable issue of NL[17]. It is well-edited and free from the private code-language, intelligible to only a half-dozen or so, that sometimes mars your writings. It was a very nice, warm tribute to LeFevre.

On your "Golden Age" article, I would have placed far more emphasis than you did on the Rand-Branden breakup as the key factor setting the stage for the takeoff of the movement in 1969, by setting the mass of Randians free to think for themselves. In fact, you hardly mention the overriding importance of the Rand Cult during the 1960s (1958-1968).

By the way, though your point about LeFevre tapping new money is well-taken, I never received any money from the Pews, except indirectly by being a half-time FEE staff member for one year. Most of my funding came from the grievously-neglected Volker Fund, the key generator, bringer-together, and supporter of the

libertarian scholarly movement (in those days, conservative and libertarian — allied very much as the British movement is now) from about 1950 until its dramatic collapse in 1962. As far as I know, none of this has ever been written up.

Murray N. Rothbard
Las Vegas, Nevada

[Your corrections, particularly, are especially welcome, and I attribute my mistake on assuming the Volker Fund has Pew money to half-garbled remembrances of conversation in your fabled living room in New York. However, I am not convinced the Rand-Branden Schism was quite as critical as you do, since I was never an objectivist, and their breed was a minority (quite visible, though) in the YAF Libertarian Caucus and SDS anarchist caucus which fed our ranks so bountifully in 1969. I am open to further argument, though a bit surprised as in past conversations you appeared to agree with me on this point. I would love to include the Volker Fund history of libertarianism in The Encyclopædia of Libertarianism and Anarchism, needless to say.

—SEK3]

Dear Sam:

10 March 1987

Unlike your other correspondents, I have always found the late Bob LeFevre to be a bigot.

In 1979 I invited him to allow his name be used as a member of the "Editorial Advisory Committee" of the Institute of Historical Review, which I then directed. LeFevre accepted and thus his name appeared on the next issue. However, shortly after that, he found out that Willis Carto was "behind" the IHR and so he wrote me insisting that his name be taken off immediately, and that all remaining copies bearing his name should be pulped at IHR expense.

A year or two later, I attended a lecture by him at the L.A. libertarian supper club where he advocated unlimited abortion. During question time I asked him what was the difference between the murder of a new-born baby and the abortion of an 8½ month fetus. His reply was that I was too young to understand.

I have since discovered that LeFevre was a conscious agent of the "Great I Am Movement" based in Colorado; in fact he was their radio presenter. He was indicted as part of a conspiracy trial during the 1940s. This in itself is not significant, except that LeFevre afterwards promptly became a government agent, urging draftees and others to offer their bodies for Army service in San Francisco.

The comments of Victor Koman and Wendy McElroy are superficial, when one considers that LeFevre deliberately and specifically boycotted my own talk on "Anarcho-Racism" at the Cockatoo Inn, because he had absolutely no answers to my arguments.

Despite all this, I admired Bob for his eloquence, his principled vegetarianism, his handsomeness, and most of all — because he looked like my late father.

Sincerely,
David McCalden
Manhattan Beach, California

[I suspect many of my readers — and contributors, for that matter — will take most of your criticisms of Bob as compliments; however, I wonder why you do not take into consideration that he did not become an anarchist until the 1950s and then repudiated his previous statism, not to mention his military service which he satirized in his last article for us. Pardon my ignorance of your somewhat unique position, Dave, but when you call him a bigot, is that to be taken as a compliment?

—SEK3]

Dear Sam:

March 16, 1987

In NL IV:17, Victor Koman wrote: "Enough has been written and promoted about Captain Eo that only a short testimonial is necessary." This was the first I'd heard about it, so I'm not so sure about that.

Bene vale,
Allan Beatty
Ames, Iowa

[Vic? In his defense, Sharon Presley has recently escaped from Ames and tells me it is hopelessly isolated, culturally speaking, that is.

—SEK3]

The Emperor's Old Clothes by Neal Wilgus

It seems incredible that I must preface these remarks with the truism that most of what a reviewer says about a book (or movie or whatever) is the reviewer's opinion, not "fact" or "truth." I had thought this was almost universally agreed among intelligent readers and especially among the anarcho-libertarian set which theoretically is open to the most diverse range of opinions possible. My own criteria for book reviewing is simple: first, give as clear and factual an idea of the content of the book as possible; secondly, give some idea of what the reviewer thinks of the book, i.e. an opinion. Insights I leave to the "critics."

What prompts the above, of course, is Samuel Edward Konkin III's announcement of the so-called "Neil/Neal Wars" in NEW LIBERTARIAN 17, which involves my negative review of L. Neil Smith's *The Gallatin Divergence* in the Summer 1986 issue of *Prometheus*, newsletter of the Libertarian Futurist Society (LFS). Konkin writes that he can't remember when there was a similar negative review in *Prometheus* — his faulty memory suppressing the fact that I'd earned the wrath of that other Neil amongst us, J. Neil Schulman, with my negative review of F. Paul

[Continued on page 30]

New Perspectives On History

by E. Scott Royce

This is the final column in this series but Scott will be back right away! Next month, his NLN&C column and this one is combined and will appear nearly every month in "The State" column. —SEK3

America's Concentration Camps

As the number of articles cited in my column for NL15 (August 1985) indicates, the Roosevelt administration's imprisonment of more than 110,000 Japanese-Americans during World War II has become a hot topic in scholarly circles. Three recent articles provided additional insight into what surely ranks as one of FDR's most despicable acts.

In "Injustice Compounded: Amerasians and Non-Japanese Americans in World War II Concentration Camps" (*Journal of American Ethnic History*, Spring 1986, Paul R. Spickard explains that the victims of the government's internment program also included many spouses whose ancestry was not Japanese, as well as "hundreds of children of mixed parentage. . ." Spickard assesses the regulations created to deal with these families. For example, some federal officials feared the results of prolonged exposure of mixed marriage children to "infectious Japanese thought." Thus the government allowed a number of them to leave the camps. A peculiar racist and sexist policy determined what restrictions remained on those released. The documents Spickard cites re-emphasize the underlying similarities between American and Nazi treatment of unpopular minorities.

Two new law review articles deal with one of the few legal challenges to the Roosevelt administration's exclusion policy. The Winter 1986 issue of *Constitutional Commentary* contains Peter H. Irons' "Fancy Dancing in the Marble Palace," an account of how Solicitor General Charles Fahy "knowingly and deliberately misled" the Supreme Court on "crucial issues" in the *Korematsu* case. Irons supplements his study with the actual transcript of Fahy's oral argument before the court — an important legal document which went unreviewed for decades by students of the internment, until Irons accidentally located a copy in musty federal files.

Those interested in a more detailed discussion of the government misconduct related to the internment litigation may want to read Eric K. Yamamoto's "Korematsu Revisited — Correcting the Injustice of Extraordinary Government Excess and Lax Judicial Review: Time for a Better Accommodation of National Security Concerns and Civil Liberties" (*Santa Clara Law Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1986). Yamamoto also discusses the broader question of what standard of judicial review the courts should apply in cases involving government justification of its acts on the grounds of "national security" or "military necessity."

A New Look At The Peace Now Movement

One of the few public challenges to Washington's unconditional surrender policy during World War II came from the short-lived Peace Now Movement (PNM), which sought to rally both pacifists and others behind its campaign for a negotiated peace.

The PNM, one of the few groups in history denounced simultaneously by the Communist press and the House Un-American Activities Committee, received very little support from traditional pacifist organizations. Using a variety of manuscript collections, Glen Zeitzer and Charles F. Howlett attempt to explain the standoffish-to-hostile reception to PNM from such people in "Political Versus Religious Pacifism: The Peace Now Movement of 1943" (*The Historian*, May 1986).

Civil Liberties in the Confederacy

Many libertarians have ambivalent feelings regarding the American Civil War. While no true libertarian could excuse slavery, some have argued (with considerable justification) that the real issue in the conflict was the right of states to secede. Often ignored in this debate is the fact that both sides flagrantly infringed the civil liberties of their citizens.

The North's abuses, oddly, are probably better known than those of the Confederacy. The South, according to popular mythology, was largely united in its support for secession and resistance to the new Lincoln administration. In fact, many lower and middle class Southern whites opposed withdrawal from the Union and rejected the policies of Jefferson Davis.

This hostility to the Confederacy arose from (1) disinterest in fighting to uphold an economic and social system, slavery, that primarily benefited a small, wealthy percentage of the population, and (2) antipathy towards conscription and other statist policies instituted to help secure a Southern victory.

In "The War Within the Confederacy: White Unionists of North Carolina" (*Prologue*, Summer 1986), Michael K. Honey analyzes white wartime resistance to secession and the repressive response to it. Thousands of Southerners, Honey notes, joined an underground organization that assisted draft dodgers and deserters. He also describes the suppression and violence that pacifists and pro-Unionists alike faced when they dared to oppose the Davis régime openly.

Pelley And The Silver Shirts

In "The Man Who Would Be Hitler: William Dudley Pelley and the Silver Legion" (*California History*, June 1986), Suzanne G. Ledebore ably dissects the career of a notorious purveyor of crackpot religious and political ideas.

Pelley sympathized with the Nazi campaign against the Jews; and following Hitler's rise to power in Germany, he organized a group (known as the Silver Legion or Silver Shirts) that attracted support from several thousand other misfits. Together they ranted against such things as the "Jewish NRA" and urged Americans to "Take Back the Nation from the Alien."

It is doubtful that, much as he may have desired to be, Pelley was ever any serious threat to the government. Nevertheless, the Roosevelt administration had him jailed for sedition during World War II.

In Brief

- The Winter 1986 *Journal of Libertarian Studies* contains Justus D. Doenecke's "Explaining the Antiwar Movement, 1939–1941: The Next Assignment." Doenecke, one of the leading authorities on W.W.II era isolationism, urges that historians devote more attention to "why the anti-interventionists believed the way they did" and suggests topics for new research.

- *Anti-Semitism in American History* (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1986), edited by David A. Gerber, includes several noteworthy essays. Among the more useful are Glen Jeansonne's discussion of Jewish strategy for dealing with the ravings of Gerald L.K. Smith, and Edward S. Shapiro's analysis of Dixie demagogues Representative John Rankin and Senator Theodore Bilbo.

- Communist and radical university professors often became victims of persecution during the post-World War II anti-Red hysteria, as Ellen Shrecker's recent *No Ivory Tower* (Oxford University Press) ably details. In a lengthy review (*New Republic*, January 26, 1987), however, Theodore Draper suggests that Shrecker's study errs to the extent that it portrays Communist teachers as "exemplars of objective scholarship, academic freedom, and civil liberties."

- Socialist candidates won virtually every mayoral election in Milwaukee between 1910 and 1940. For a discussion of the financial and "reform" policies they pursued while in office, see Douglas E. Booth's "Municipal Socialism and the City Government Reform: The Milwaukee Experience, 1910–1940" (*Journal of Urban History*, November 1985).

- Devotees of third party history will want to obtain copies of two new releases from the Minnesota Historical Society Press. *The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson* is a reprint of George H. Mayer's 1951 study of the popular Farmer-Labor Party governor. Also available is Steven J. Keillor's *Hjalmar Petersen of Minnesota*, a biography of one of the leaders of the FLP's less radical faction.

—E. Scott Royce

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NOTES & VIEWS

This is the final column of this name, after two volumes. Editorials will continue but be separated and marked as such in the new volume. News will have its own section, in fact sections: The Movement, Allies... On The Left, On The Right, and The State (mostly Scott Royce's column). And Briefs will always be. Hope you like the new format even better.

Notes from the Ludwig von Mises Institute—1987

Thanks to Llewellyn Rockwell for sending us a long list of recent accomplishments of MI; even those of us who've been watching were surprised. Here are just the choicest bits from Director Lew's letter:

- The Institute will sponsor the publication of a new book of essays by Ludwig von Mises. Edited and with an introduction by Institute scholar Professor Richard Ebeling of the University of Dallas, the volume contains pathbreaking articles on praxeology, monetary theory, and the business cycle, plus hard-hitting defenses of the pure free market.
- The Institute's Advanced Instructional Seminar in Austrian Economics at Stanford University, June 21–27, was a magnificent success. Attending were more than 120 students and professors from all over the world, and we already have a waiting list for next year's program. (Tapes are available from the Institute). The outstanding faculty consisted of Professor **Murray N. Rothbard**; Professor **Hans-Hermann Hoppe** of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas; Prof. **Charles Baird** of California State University at Hayward; Dr. **Walter Block** of the Fraser Institute; and Professor **Roger Garrison** of Auburn University.
- Each year, the Institute will sponsor two such week-long seminars for students; an introduction to Austrian economics and an advanced program. All Institute Members are, of course, urged to attend as well.
- MI held a surprise roast at the San Mateo conference for free market giant **Burton S. Blumert**. Burt, an Institute trustee and generous supporter, owns Camino Coins, manages Ron Paul Coins, heads the Center for Libertarian Studies, and publishes the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. It was a fitting — and hilarious — tribute to this hero.
- MI is opening a student center in Fairfax, Virginia, adjacent to the George Mason University campus. It will serve as a resource and study center for students interested in Misesian economics, and will sponsor a colloquium on Austrian economics with visiting scholars.
- MI will open a student center adjacent to the campus of UNLV, in cooperation with the University's College of Business and Economics.
- Thanks to Institute trustee Blumert, MI will open a West Coast office in Burlingame, California, to work with students and faculty at Stanford, Cal State Hayward, University of San Francisco, and other area schools.
- MI plans a program in honor of *The Review of Austrian Economics* at the Southern Economic Association meeting in Washington, D.C. It will introduce economists from all over the country to the most important scholarly publication in Austrian economics. [MI says that Volume I of *RAE* is out and *RAE2* is due soon, but YFNA has seen neither.—SEK3]

—**Low Rockwell** and staff

BRIEFS

In contrast to the uninterrupted work of MI above, AI (The Agorist Institute, remember?) is still recovering from White January. Recovery is finally underway: publication of the prime text of agorism, *An Agorist Primer*. Old movement hands may think of it as *New Libertarian Manifesto* rewritten and expanded for the mass audience unfamiliar with libertarianism, let alone sophisticated agorism. (See back cover for advertisement.) The text will then build course attendance.

A year's delay in publishing *Agorist Quarterly*, AI's new journal, has not dampened enthusiasm of the contributors. NL's own **Wendy McElroy** is taking time off from her scripting to auction off some of her objectivist and early-libertarian/anarchist memorabilia to raise funds for AQ. Others, such as hard-core Collector **Victor Koman**, are opening their vaults. To participate, offer, bid, or just send a donation to AI and get copies of the newsletter (*AIRS4* just came out, if you didn't get it, you're probably not a supporter!), mail to AI, Outreach Division: Publications & Seminars, 236 East Third Street, Suite 201, Long Beach, CA 90802 • (213) 590-0486. Auction will be December 5 by invitation.

AI is spreading rapidly; Executive Director **SEK3** (where have we heard that tetragram before?) flew to NYC to plot with **Mark Sullivan**,

Libertarian SF Writer's Agora

Robert A. Heinlein's novel *Stranger in a Strange Land* was installed in the Prometheus Award Hall of Fame along with Ayn Rand's *Anthem*.

Victor Koman has sold *Solomon's Knife*, his medical thriller/courtroom drama, to hardcover house Franklin Watts. His five-month-on-the-bestseller-list *The Jehvoah Contract* will be issued in paperback by Avon Books in 1988. The novel is up for Nebula consideration.

Brad Linaweaver will see *Moon of Ice* (The Novel) released by Arbor House in February 1988 with endorsements from Ray Bradbury, William F. Buckley, Jr. and many others. It is scheduled for excellent promotion and distribution, says Brad. The novelette in *Hitler Victorious* is doing well. An anthology of the best stories that have been rejected by the publishing establishment will be edited by Brad and Elinor Mavor. *Off The Wall* will contain stories by LSF Agora writers Linaweaver, L. Neil Smith, J. Neil Schulman, Koman, and Robert Shea. Brad is also working on a new novel, *The Land Beyond Summer*, and a non-fiction book called *Unconditional Surrender: Hollywood Between The World Wars*. Brad got together libertarian SF writers Maffa Agora with David Nolan after WeaponsCon in his home town of Atlanta.

J. Neil Schulman is relocating back to the West Coast where he expects to continue development of his screenplay, *No Strings Attached* (non-SF), as well as pursuing other film and television deals. The new Avon paperback editions of *The Rainbow Cadenza* and *Alongside Night* are both selling well. *Alongside Night* is not labeled SF and may be shelved in mainstream; it has a new afterword by SEK3 [heavily edited!] and its plug for The Agorist Institute has generated a stream of inquiries. *Twilight Zone* may be revived and Neil's (second) script, "Colorblind," already purchased, may finally be made and televised.

L. Neil Smith was guest of honor at WeaponsCon and will be a paid guest at the Future of Freedom Conference (FoFCon) in November 1987. Smith had somewhat less distance to travel to this year's Eris Society meeting in Aspen, Colorado. His books continue to come out as scheduled (see **NL17**); he received a nomination for the Prometheus Award for *The Crystal Empire* (winner to be announced at NASFiC).

Vernor Vinge won the Prometheus Award for his *Marooned in Realtime*, the second "bobble" novel. Victor Milan, last year's winner, presented the award at NASFiC in Phoenix.

F. Paul Wilson received a Nebula nomination for the novella "Dyedeadtown Girl" which appeared in James Baen's *Far Frontiers* book/magazine (#4). Wilson was just elected to another term as east coast regional director of SFWA.

WeaponsCon I was a resounding success with over 300 hard-core fans in attendance. LSFWA authors Brad Linaweaver, Cathy L.Z. Smith, and Victor Koman attended, fully armed, and L. Neil Smith was the guest of honor. Libertarian Party founder David Nolan was briefly sighted in the Smiths' hotel room, dodging AirSoft® pellets fired by a drug-frenzied Koman. No injuries were reported at the con, where weapons were *mandatory* (paper guns and daggers were available for pacifists and the indigent). At the nearby Atlanta Fantasy Faire, though, its stricter weapons policy failed to prevent two alleged injuries resulting from either horseplay or rudeness. An armed society *is* a polite society!

Richard Onley, and **Sean Haugh** to put on an Introduction to Agorism Intensive Seminar in NYC this fall. **SEK3** then flew a month later to Chicago for similar conspiring with *Nomos'* new editrix, Carol Low (see her debut in this very issue you are holding!).

Speaking of announcements, see our very first ad this issue (page 2): yes, *SNLA3* is finally in production! (It's called "snail" for short around the office for obvious reasons.) It is the final SNLA, it will *not* come automatically to NL subscribers (unlike SNLA1 & 2) and it completes a volume along with, of course, *New Libertarian Manifesto*. Replacing it on the theoretical cutting-edge of agorism? *Agorist Quarterly*, natch.

Never underestimate the power of the press: after I noted the incomprehensible obscurity of one **Carol Newman**, out-of-nowhere candidate for LP pres. nom., she promptly dropped out of the race. Gee, she obviously was the best candidate; congratulations, Carol!

At press time, word arrived that **Ron Paul** and **André Marrou** won the LP nominations for Pres. & V.P. More next ish. —**SEK3**

Through Blackest Libertarian Cultures

by Samuel Edward Konkin III

[with minimal apologies to John Gunther]

Unlike earlier varieties of innovative culture (*e.g.*, Greenwich Village Bohemian before World War I), practicing Libertarians prefer a low profile. Economic insurrection cannot be tolerated by the State; cut off the money and it dies. Nonetheless, libertarians do clump together and do form spots of culture — if only in the bacterial sense — throughout the continent and the world.

In our centerpiece article, Chris Ullsperger attempts an empirical answer to “Is There A Libertarian Culture?” by reporting his three-day observations of the Anarchovillage. What follows are similar subjective encapsulations of the *rest* of Known Anarchy by yours truly (John Gunther not being available). In this case, we shall travel both Time and Space; by its Nature, this travelogue will be quite episodic.

Southern California, 1970

Alas, Your Intrepid Explorer arrived too late to find more than shards; relics and a few survivors of the thriving libertarian culture in Berkeley around the University of California from 1964 (post-Goldwater election) to 1969. Accounts of these survivors put the population from a core in the teens to an organizational membership list of over a hundred (around the Alliance of Libertarian Activists).

This primitive tribe (*primitive* = first, *i.e.*, the model) became the model for Ayn Rand’s epithet: Hippies (“heep-ees”) of the Right. Rock ‘n’ Roll, drugs, deliberately casual dress, picked up from nearby Haight Ashbury. Typical anecdote: Dan Rosenthal (ALA), battling Bettina Aptheker (CP) for the soul of Mario Savio, leader of the Free Speech/Foul Speech Movement. Bettina, under Leninist Party discipline, couldn’t do drugs and Rosenthal wins by chemical enhancement of his superior argument.

But the Southern California movement was alive and burgeoning. The 1969 YAF split had left a hundred activists in Southern California alone with a need to do something and build something new. Five hundred people, from Carl Oglesby of SDS to “Old Right” guru Robert LeFevre came to L.A.’s “Left Right Festival of Mind Liberation” — the first Southern California Libertarian Conference and ancestor of the “Future of Freedom” ones today.

As a subsociety, we hit critical mass. Our epics and odes were, typically, folk songs (parodies). But some of us, like Dana Rohrabacher (and even Chicago’s David Friedman), wrote original words and music in the folk-song style that was a close second to the preferred rock ‘n’ roll. (Objectivist holdouts, of course, clung to their Classical-Romantic music.) Typical songs were “Everybody’s Talking About Laissez Faire” reminiscent of Arlo Guthrie’s “Alice’s Restaurant,” “1984,” and one that deserves quoting in full, the “Epistemology Rag.”

Epistemology Rag (© 1969 Dana Rohrabacher)

Chorus

Oh, Epistemology, Ontology, Praxeology Rag
O, Ph.D., LSD, pseudointellectual in drag
You can quote von Mises, your Branden or your Rand,
But you wouldn’t know how to smoke it
If you held it in your hand.

Oh, he’s rational, and he’s selfish, and he’s checked his premises, too
After he’s done all that, he still don’t know what to do.

He’s read *Atlas Shrugged*, and he’s read *The Fountainhead*
In fact that’s all he’s ever done, he’s read, he’s read, he’s read!

repeat chorus

As we (outside agitators in L.A. to work on the conference) crashed at multifarious pads, music on the stereos tended to Steppenwolf (“Monster”) and lots of psychedelics. Of course, the times they were a-changin’.

Madison, Wisconsin, 1970

Dana was our Johnny Grassseed, seeding Libertarian Alliances at college campuses all over the country. UW Madison was apparently typical. Several of us were clustered in one dorm, in this case, the second

floor of the Chemistry fraternity house (AXΣ). One of us was a young “old Rightist” before his time (me); one was an objectivist who couldn’t bring himself to withdraw his sanction from the rest of us and was cast outward into the Blackness (of Anarchy, natch!), and one of us had been an ISI organizer briefly but now pushed transcendental meditation (Ken). Ken was *not* a grad student; true, he *had* been several years earlier. He just preferred to live in a frat house.

Then there were the three YIPpies who joined us — “New York, out-of-state” types who loved marching (lots of thousand-plus anti-war marches in those days) and trashing, but hated Leninist discipline. They loved my theory of selective trashing of State/City pseudoproperty only, leaving market property alone and thus becoming moral heroes.

Being as this was Wisconsin, beer beat out marijuana as highest-consumed drug but they were not exclusive (or even competitive). One trad* smoked dope then instantly gave it up when he found that his hero (Dana) did hash. “See, leads to harder drugs.” As Jared then pointed out, the trad went on to the straight Christian life and begun to hear Voices...

While no science-fiction group yet existed at UW, most of us belonged to the UW Tolkien Society. Several of them became libertarians in later years, claiming contact with us. (Others did not.)

It should be noted somewhere — and this place is as good as any — is that with a few spectacular exceptions (*e.g.*, super stud Dana Rohrabacher) Free Love was strictly theoretical in most of the college enclaves. Sharon Presley in San Francisco and Kathy Greene in New Jersey were *all* the female libertarians I knew or heard of. Our “source groups,” the student Right, SF fandom, the rational, decentralist New Left (as opposed to Hippies), had similar or worse gender proportions.

Homosexuality was also unknown, although Gay Lib was just around the corner. Still, when the closets were opened they were found to be fairly empty: Bill ■ Shawn Steel, John Hospers, Bruce Evoy — and they were scattered around the country. As for Lesbians, we might count Rosalie “Nickie” Nichols, of “The Confessions of a Randian Cultist,” but we just didn’t have two libertarian women to rub together... Small wonder that most libertarians, particularly the SF fen (= *refren*), identified with the female-poor society in *The Moon Is A Harsh Mistress*.

The High-School contingent which formed in the last days was more “normal,” actually bringing dates from Fort Atkinson and Middleton. The Milwaukee group, led by Don McKowen, was similar to us but with a Stirnerist twist.

In that last summer, our homogeneity began to crumble. A contingent of Young Birchers from Joe McCarthy’s home town converted; a group of YRs from the Upper Michigan peninsula were radicalized by our Anarchist Caucus at the Wisconsin State Convention — they were led by an attractive female.

(While male-led libertarian groups tended to be overwhelmingly male, the two or three female-led ones, *e.g.*, Abby Goldsmith’s RLA in Connecticut or Mary Forham’s Ann Arbor Phoenix Coalition, tended to be nearly equal in gender.)

In late August the Army Math Research Center in UW’s Sterling Hall exploded and the Student Revolution went into its final tailspin. A week later, your intrepid reporter left for the Rotten Apple.

New York, 1970–73

In 1970-73, groups in communication each other all over the continent included the following (with some time-smearing):

- Wisconsin (see above) — disintegrated that Fall, revived a year later, and then was gone until the 1980s.
- Texas, based around Rice College, especially *Hard Core News*, Scott Tips and Mike Holmes. Typical.
- Berkeley, Calif. — smoldering embers of a once-great civilization, mostly around Sharon Presley, now at San Francisco State. She moved to New York in 1972 to open Laissez Faire Books with John Muller.

*Trad was short for “traditionalist” conservative, which was a meaningful distinction as long as libertarians considered themselves the “other” kind of conservative. Disuse began in 1971.

- Los Angeles — largest and most disparate, land of LeFevrians, Galambosians, the *Libertarian Connection* technohippies (who became Durk Pearson, Sandy Shaw, and Erwin “Filthy Pierre” Strauss), Branden Psychobabblers and spin-offs like Ranette Daniels’ “Earthplay,” and the remnants of the *Innovator cum Vonulife*: nomads and troglodytes.

- Upstate New York: someplace called Saguerties had a motel filled with people who practiced living together before moving out to an ocean platform and declaring it Atlantis. First libertarian coin minting reported: the decas (10 gm of silver).

- Philadelphia — half of the Society for Individual Liberty came from Penn YAF LC. Somewhat more objectivist than the rest of the country with delusions of being taken seriously as national leaders of the movement. That delusion motivated them to produce a respectable, long-lived newsletter and crude — but always available — issue pamphlets. SIL’s glory was in the three or four libertarian conferences they held at Drexel and other Philadelphia campuses in alternation with New York’s (*i.e.*, Fall/Spring). Hard to believe that the now-barren East had two libertarian conferences a year BLP (Before “Libertarian” Party).

- Boston — divided between RLAers waiting to continue the SDS (*e.g.*, Dean Ahmad) and those wanting to make YAF a little more libertarian (Don Feder). I have no idea how they mixed or if they did. There was also a group of objectivists around *Ergo* which died out around now.

- Tucson, Arizona — known for its most militant, fight-the-cops in the parks group (SLAM), and its looniest group (The North American Libertarian Alliance = Conrad Goeringer and Paul Roseberry), plus a fine anarchist newspaper by Fred Woodworth (*The Match!*), recently revived after a short hiatus in the 1970s. Thanks to Fred, it also became the stronghold of anarchovegetarianism and of venomous anti-theism.

(Christian libertarians were a minority sprinkled throughout the Movement; five years later they would be outnumbered by the Pagans.)

- St. Louis, Missouri — home of *The Green Egg*, Tim Zell and his python-wearing wife, Morning Glory. Their Church of All Worlds, derived from Heinlein’s *Stranger in a Strange Land*, had as many chapters around the country as most libertarian groups did. The anarcho-pagans are, if anything, more numerous today. The interaction of the pagans with the objectivists is a sight to behold.

- New Jersey (Northern) — While Kathy Greene edited *Life and Liberty* along with a “sane sober center” of the New Jersey Libertarian Alliance, Ralph Fucetola, John Brotschol, and Don Meinshausen ran the raddest, baddest RLA chapter. Ralph and Kathy married and begat the Libertarian Congregational Church, Brotschol vanished into the Republican Party Ripon Society, and Meinshausen was recently busted for dope dealing in New York. Typical NJLA: straight exterior and gonzo inside.

Credit where it’s due: Fucetola and Brotschol raised the libertarian culture issue first in RLA’s *Abolitionist*, calling it *Kulturkampf* à la Germany in the 1930s.

- Meriden, Connecticut’s RLA was closest to a hippie commune, continuing that way and expanding after Abby Goldsmith moved with her three children to Gainesville, Florida. After years of mobilizing Florida libertarians, keeping them radical and pure, recruiting types nearly impossible for the rest of us such as five lesbians (who became the Coalition of Lesbian International Terrorists), Abby was sucked into the LP, disillusioned, chucked it all and married a Red gun-nut. When last heard from, her then-teenage oldest son was an entrepreneur worthy of Sergeant Bilko, while Mommie was a Commie.

- Portland, Oregon — the local New Libertarian Alliance broke out of the LP with a techno-twist; today, Eric Geislinger and Jane Talisman (and young Benjamin Tucker Geislinger) continue their activism through the vehicle of Life Extension, Space Exploration and Intelligence Enhancement *via* the expanding newsletter, *Claustrophobia*.

- Honolulu, Hawaii — Little is known about the *Pacific Libertarian* crowd save for Bill Danks and his illegal radio transmitter, and the census resistance bust. One suspects that the Hawaii libertarians would have developed some interesting movement cultural variations. Later, partyarch Jerrold Dickson started a newsletter, then allied with the NLA, and finally turned his mailing list over to *New Libertarian* to fulfill remaining subscriptions. A minority were Hawaiians and few of those renewed. Again, seemingly separately, several MLL members spontaneously emerged from the Hawaiian islands, perhaps from counter-economic activities...?

- Arlington, Virginia — a definite Young Republican style among E. Scott Royce, Vince Drosdik, and Scott’s then-wife, Cathy. More hetero-

sexuality and alcohol consumption than usual (although Drosdik came out later as gay).

- Washington, D.C. — Jarrett Wollstein’s Objectivist Commune is legendary; participants and crashers were required to pay for everything including use of toilet paper and towels. Wollstein’s *Rational Individualist*, later *Individualist*, was the banner of Orthodox Anarchoobjectivism until it floundered and died when cut off by its angel.

- Columbia, South Carolina — Home of the *banneristi*, the cult-like Reformed Anarchoobjectivists following David Kennison and his gun-totin’ Southern belle wife, Melanie — “When I shoot a man, I like him to stay down.” Their *New Banner* was filled with *their* cultural quirks: messin’ around was “conceptual reaffirmation of one’s self-concept,” while straight intercourse (preferred) was “perceptual reaffirmation of one’s self-concept.” This gave rise to some of the most arcane pick-up lines ever heard, at the Southern Libertarian Conference and thereafter. Surprisingly, the *banneristi* ran a successful revisionist Montessori School for years, the College of Early Learning, thus being pathbreakers for libertarian education (see Carol Low in this issue).

- Atlanta (see below).

- And New York.

Just north of New York City’s suburbs lies Irvington-on-Hudson, the geriatric ward of the Libertarian Movement, known as the Foundation for Economic Education. While FEE contributed and maintained many important works, particularly Austrian economics and keeping Old Right books published, the staff and members were culturally on the moon. (Murray Rothbard, with his bow tie and love of swing music, was a punk kid to these sexagenarians.) Fortunately, the culture gap was so great by the time we “right hippies” came along, they regarded us as utterly alien and unreachable — except we sometimes talked about things only *they* thought they were initiated into. FEEers avoided NYC and particularly the campuses like peasants avoided plague cities in the fourteenth century.

The culture gap between the old “MYRC” crowd (Metropolitan Young Republican Club), an objectivist front following Ayn Rand’s pro-PRP stance, and the new, mainly student, Libertarian Alliance was somewhat smaller and shrunk rapidly with the full aftershocks of the Rand-Branden split. Gary Greenberg, an SF and comics fan who had been an assistant district attorney in Long Island, became the bridge with his New York Libertarian Association (NYLA). Rather than form a separate group, the campus LAs (including NYU, my home base and the largest group, Columbia, NYU Uptown, Hunter, Manhattan Community College, and C.W. Post on Long Island) met jointly through NYLA and the Libertarian Conferences, semi-annually in New York at Columbia and Philadelphia at Drexel.

NYULA was not typical — but no campus group resembled any other. Some were undergraduate-oriented, some mostly grad students, most had few or no females but NYU (Uptown) was run by then-hard-core Maria Martins (often our token in joint groups). There were two blacks that I knew of, one male (anti-LP) and one female (partyarch) who didn’t care much for each other. As far I knew, I was the only libertarian of protestant background in all New York anarchy. Even the non-Jews who came in from neighbouring New Jersey and Connecticut were mostly Italian and Irish Catholics.

NYULA meetings were barely distinguishable from NYU’s Science Fiction Society meetings, except that NYUSFS had more attendees, met more frequently, and even had more active libertarians. On the other hand, NYULA did continue the newsletter I had begun at UW in 1970 (*Laissez Faire!*) as *NYU Libertarian Notes* (an obvious pun then). During the summer of 1972 we attended “LeFevre lecture” tapes at Hunter College and expanded and maintained our metropolitan network. Aftermeetings were most enjoyed (as with NYULA & NYUSFS) at local cheap restaurants, particularly as inspired by Wallace Block and his paperback *Underground Gourmet*. Block was our resident cenophile.

Because of the Hunter LA meetings, I decided to market *New Libertarian Notes* off-campus. I actually put a price on it and worked to clean up the look (it was typewritten, electrostenciled and mimeographed with handdrawings, then). To my astonishment, it not only sold but quickly acquired a larger circulation off-campus than on. When John Pachak took over the layout and graphics, Neil Schulman pitched in typing and eventually typesetting, and Nona Aguilar brought her particu-

[Continued on Page 26]

IS THERE A LIBERTARIAN CULTURE?

by Jeff Riggenbach, Jared C. Lobdell, and Introducing Chris Ullsperger

Introduction

The conversation that follows had its origins in an actual two-day conversation among and between the authors, at Jeff Riggenbach's home in Orange, California, on August 9th and 10th, 1986. It seemed to us that an expanded and more organized version of the exchanges that took place that weekend could serve as a centerpiece for **NEW LIBERTARIAN**'s issue on libertarian culture. Of the authors, Jeff Riggenbach, columnist and commentator for USA Today, Reason, and National Public Radio, is too well known to need much of an introduction to the readers of **NL**. Jared Lobdell will be familiar to some of those readers from past articles and reviews, as well as having been a reviewer for Frank Meyer at National Review, an author and editor of books on J.R.R. Tolkien, and a panelist at various science-fiction conventions, including the 1982 and 1983 WorldCons. Chris Ullsperger is a student at the University of Wisconsin – Madison, sometime *sf con* panelist, co-editor (with Jared Lobdell) of the planned Encyclopædia of the Grateful Dead, and also of the planned Encyclopædia of the Student Revolution and the CounterCulture. Chris begins the conversation.—JCL

Chris J. Ullsperger We can begin a consideration of Libertarian culture or Libertarian lifestyle by looking at a Libertarian *habitat* — that is, a place where Libertarians reside in close company. Fortunately, perhaps through providence (and presumably through word of mouth), such a place exists. Called the Anarchovillage by those who know of its existence (including, I suppose, most of the readers of this magazine), it is actually a group of small apartments in Long Beach, California. After spending a few days there, in SEK3's apartment and adjacent territory, I eventually met most of the village's residents, and I came to the conclusion that the place really is a bit different from the rest of the world (it's certainly different from the Midwest!).

For starters, besides being Libertarians (and thus probably readers of political thought and political lack-of-thought), the Anarchovillagers share a fondness (or, in some case, fanaticism) for science fiction. Comic books and cartoons can also be found in abundance: at least one 'villager appeared to have a large videotape collection of Japanese animated movies. Dining at restaurants is popular, rather than eating at home (except for SEK3's afternoon breakfasts), and beer seems to be the preferred beverage. The villagers's tastes in beer — and liquor — could best be described as expensive. The cheap Midwest beers I favored were denigrated by SEK3 and others because they could be seen through: I'll bet the Miller Draft I bought will still be there next year.

In general, the 'villagers seemed to share a distaste for all things "Yuppie." As far as "hippieness" (the antecedent of "Yuppieness") is concerned, it might be said that drug use was normal for the present day and age — Libertarian culture is not *per se* a drug culture, in other words — and tolerance is practiced in any case. Dress and appearance differ according to individual taste, but show a respectable and well-understood lack of concern toward the current Wham! fashions. Obviously, none of the villagers' inclinations is in conflict with Libertarian ideology — or if they are, they don't show it. The group is homogeneous in its inhomogeneity.

With the exception of clothing, however, the tastes and habits of the



'villagers seem to be a bit expensive when one considers the size of the apartments. It would be safe to say that not all Libertarians would want to, or would be able to, live in apartments of that size — I wouldn't, for one. The Anarchovillagers, at least, seem to be well-adjusted to quarters that others would view as cramped. The question could be asked whether the 'villagers live where they do because they desire the Libertarian atmosphere or because their financial situation puts them there. My own tentative suggestion is that the former reason predominates. The Anarchovillage seems to me to show that there can exist a binding Libertarian culture, and that it does exist in this one spot.

Jared C. Lobdell What Chris is saying is obviously true. If we use a sociological or anthropological definition of culture, looking at the *habitat* or the niche occupied by a particular group, and the behavior of that group in the habitat and in some ways defined by the habitat, or according to the niche, then the AnarchoVillage is a habitat, wherein exists a particular mode of behavior, and may be examined as a culture. In that sense, there exists a Libertarian culture (and I emphasize the indefinite article). If, as he said in our earlier conversation, asking "Is there a Libertarian culture?" means asking "Does the Anarchovillage exist?" (or "exist as a habitat?"), then, of course, the answer is *yes*.

That is a perfectly reasonable way of addressing the question. It may require additional comparative analysis, of course, to determine in what ways the culture of the Anarchovillage differs from graduate-student culture generally, and I am not as convinced as he is that the lifestyle is not substantially dependent on the financial situation of the 'villagers. But these are points of details that we can deal with subsequently. The major point I want to make here is that there is at least one other way to define culture, and I intend to take that way, and then to look at the question from the resulting coign of vantage. ("Coign of Vantage" was the title of the column I wrote years ago for the *Daily Cardinal* — the phrase seems to have some kind of fascination for me.)

The definition of culture from which I intend to start is Mikhail Bakhtin's: that one's culture is the lens through which one sees the world

around one. (It may be that this is analogous, in philosophical anthropology, to the Simonian idea of bounded rationality in economics, whereby one's rôle-decision-premises limit one's search space and examination of alternatives, though Bakhtin's concept is more pervasive and much stronger.) The corollary of the Bakhtinian definition is that a culture can best be viewed by *exotopy* from another culture, as dialogically or intertextually in the literary experience. (I'll come back to that later on.) Also, of course, as part of the same corollary, those within a culture cannot fully observe it: one does not see one's own eyes.

Now, is there a Libertarian culture in this sense? Does Libertarian belief provide the lens through which everything is viewed? In one sense, of course, or perhaps one should say, to some degree, all ideologies provide a kind of lens: that is implicit in the very idea of an ideology. But what Bakhtin is talking about is a lens through which one sees *everything*, and it follows that the test for a Libertarian culture is whether Libertarians not only see things differently from other people, but see different things. The cloud may be humped like a camel to one person and very like a whale to another: what we are looking for is instead whether the non-Libertarian sees a cloud and the Libertarian sees the transfiguration of Ayn Rand. And not only that, but also, does the non-Libertarian always see clouds and the Libertarian, at the very least, see something else?

The definition, to be sure, loads the dice against the idea of a Libertarian culture, and it is worth noting that Bakhtin found only two major cultures, of unity/rule-and-order/society, and of diversity/ambiguity/carnival. But that would not preclude our finding a distinct Libertarian subculture, at least, and moreover, it may be that even by Bakhtin's definition, Libertarianism transcends mere ideology to become a full-fledged culture, not a complete way of looking at things so much as an all-encompassing lens through which Libertarians see them (and indeed see everything but the Libertarian culture). But before we wrestle with this, Jeff should have his say: I recall from our earlier conversation that he has a third definition of culture, and we should have that registered, and some of its implications for the question at hand made clear, before we go further with my definition or Chris's.

Jeff Rigenbach It seems to me that both Jared and Chris are right about culture. It is "the lens through which one sees the world around one," and it is the style of life one practices — it is, in the broadest possible sense, how one lives one's life. In fact, it seems to me that Jared and Chris aren't really offering alternative definitions at all. They're merely coming at the same definition from different directions. One's lifestyle is what it is, after all, because of the way one sees the world around one.

The question I want to raise is: what determines the way one sees the world around one? The answer, it seems to me, is value judgments — specifically the sort of value judgments Ayn Rand calls "metaphysical value judgments." These are not judgments of good and bad, but rather judgments of important and unimportant, judgments of what in life is most worth paying attention to, most worth considering — and therefore, implicitly, judgments of what the human condition is in essence.

Awareness is not automatic. We have to learn to see, hear, and touch as well as to think. To an infant, the world presents itself as (in William James's phrase) "a blooming, buzzing confusion." Gradually, each person learns to filter out of that confusion what he has come to consider irrelevant to his (not always consciously defined) purposes. He forms habits of awareness which are based on implicit judgments about what kinds of things are worth attending to and what kinds are not. Later, he generalizes and comes to hold abstract ideas on the basis of this selective view of the world. And from start to finish, he is motivated by what seems to him to be his own self-interest.

Those who are philosophical of temperament come ultimately to formulate their view of the world in abstract ideas. Most people go on holding their view of the world implicitly, in the form of what Rand called a "sense of life." An individual's sense of life determines everything about him — his lifestyle, his taste in art, his taste in lovers, his interests, his philosophical notions.

A culture, it seems to me, is the sense of life of a people, a civilization. An individual's sense of life determines how he will see the world around him. A society's culture determines how it sees the world and its place in that world. An individual's taste in art reveals something about his sense of life. The sort of art that attains wide popularity in a particular society reveals something about the culture of that society, about the

common denominators among the senses of life of the individuals who make up that society, about the reasons it is meaningful to speak of those disparate individuals as a "people" rather than as merely a collection of individuals. A sense of life is what makes an individual an individual, a distinct personality. A culture is what gives a particular civilization its distinctive character.

So is there a libertarian culture? That depends on what the question means. Yes, there are cultural values, shared metaphysical value judgments, that are more compatible with libertarian ideas than are other cultural values. Also, there are senses of life which are more common among libertarians than among the general population. But this does not mean that being a libertarian inexorably leads one to hold certain cultural values rather than others, to fit better into one culture than into another, to lead certain lifestyles rather than others, or to like certain types of fiction or film rather than others.

If one can predict anything about the cultural values of libertarians knowing nothing but the fact of their libertarianism — and I think one can — this is not because libertarianism is the cause and certain cultural values the effect. It is because certain cultural values are the cause and libertarianism is the effect.

Yes, there is a libertarian culture, but it is not a culture that in any sense stems from or originates in libertarianism. That is, there are no individuals who hold and practice certain cultural values instead of others because they are libertarians. If we try to find such individuals, or if we try to discover what cultural values, if any, are entailed by a belief in individual liberty, we will get nowhere. Rather, there are individuals who are libertarians because the cultural values they hold and practice make it difficult for them not to be.

Looking for the cultural values that follow from particular political beliefs is like looking for the epistemological principles that follow from particular scientific theories. One's ideas about what constitutes knowledge, evidence and proof, whether held consciously or not, determine what scientific theories one will hold. One's cultural values, whether embraced consciously or not, determine what political beliefs one will hold. It is possible, of course, to infer cultural values from political beliefs or epistemological principles from scientific theories. But when one engages in such a process of inference one is not finding out what one's political or scientific theories imply. One is finding out what more fundamental notions have led one to embrace those theories rather than others.

We live as we do rather than in some other way — that is, we live in such a way as to affirm certain cultural values rather than others, in such a way as to affirm our status as *de facto* members of one culture or subculture rather than another — because of the nature of the lens through which we view the world. We all, inevitably, inescapably, see the same world — the only one that exists. Our various lenses don't, as Jared seems to suggest, cause some of us to see one thing and others of us to see something else entirely. Rather our various lenses lead us to regard different aspects of the reality we all see as important, worth paying attention to, and acting upon. The lens through which any given individual sees the world is, in fact, not a lens, but a set of (as Ayn Rand called them) metaphysical value judgments, a set of general rules, rules of thumb, which lead us to pay more attention to some kinds of things than to others, to fail to notice certain kinds of things at all, while seeing others as looming large, standing out in relief.

An individual will never come to hold libertarian political views in the first place unless his cultural values, the lens through which he views the world, lead him to see greater importance than the rules laid down by tradition or authority.

JCL Let me begin by reiterating a point of disagreement with Jeff, and then go on to demonstrate the extent and origins of that disagreement. He says, if I have it right, that we see the same things, but see them in different ways because of the different lenses of belief and attitude through which we see them. I said before, and repeat here, that we see different things, not merely the same things in different ways. Before we conclude that this is a matter of semantics — and before we get lost in a swamp of epistemological and metaphysical speculation — let me briefly define the extent of our disagreement and the rift in belief out of which it grows.

Jeff will have it that reality is objectively "out there" to be perceived by us differently according to our different conscious (or perhaps subconsciously rational) choice. 'T ain't so, McGee. There are, I think,

objective truths — patterns, perhaps, in the frame and shape of things, or (as Sam Konkin might have us say) natural laws — and by *truths* I mean, essentially, correspondences with the pattern or the natural law. But individual facts are not *true*, not in my sense of the word. We can speak in a kind of shorthand, if we like, saying such things as “The sun rises in the east and sets in the west.” Ptolemy might have said that was true, in the sense that it fitted the observed pattern of things. We can still usefully speak in this way: we can still speak of sunrise in the east. But taken literally, the statement is not only not true, but has no scientific meaning whatsoever. It is poetry, not science.

For everyday use, this poetic expression suffices. We say “My shoe is too tight” — an incomplete statement implying a system of analysis we (fortunately) don’t bother to go into. The statement, thus incomplete, is neither true nor false: it is, however, useful and understood. I would argue that the view Jeff espouses, of an objective reality of “facts” *out there*, to be perceived according to our choice of perception, schooling ourselves to categorize the blooming buzzing confusion, may be a useful way of speaking when we are not discussing philosophy, but the relation between perceiver, percept, and pattern is far more complex than this, and our perceptive mode and the bounds to our perception are themselves part of the same pattern as the “thing” perceived.

The importance of this distinction to our present discussion may not be intuitively obvious. Briefly, in my view, it is this: because Jeff takes the epistemological position he does, he sees Libertarian beliefs as the result of culture — we become Libertarians because we are individualists, and we are individualists (if I understand him aright) because our acculturation has been steeped (so to speak) in individualism, so that a Libertarian culture would be one that *produces* Libertarians. Because I take the epistemological position I do, I see the lens as part of the pattern, the object as not separate fully from the observer, belief (if one must put it in temporal terms) as antecedent to “fact” and “fact” equally as antecedent to belief, so that a Libertarian culture (if there is one) produces Libertarians, and Libertarians produce a Libertarian culture. Rather like the Athanasian Trinity, neither is before nor after the other, and neither is greater nor less than the other (I’m paraphrasing from memory).

Which leaves us — where? In the midst of the blooming buzzing confusion, I can hear my readers muttering to themselves. But I want to prevent our concluding that a Libertarian culture exists because the statement that it exists (given the acknowledged presence of Libertarians) is tautologically true. And I also want to emphasize (holding the point aside for future use) that there are other means of knowledge than rational inquiry — a point implicit in my insistence that perceiver and percept, observer and observed, are not wholly separate entities.

With the statement that a culture embodies the sense of life of a people I find no difficulty (indeed, for a Spenglerian analysis, which I will not undertake here, it would be a particularly fruitful statement). And I think we ought to be considering the way a Libertarian sense of life is reflected in the “cultural” choices of which Jeff speaks — lifestyle, arts, lovers, culinary tastes, and so on — something of what Chris was beginning to do in looking at the Anarchovillage, for all that it’s a very small niche in a very large system. But when Jeff talks about shared metaphysical ideas that are more compatible with libertarian ideas than other cultural values, I’m not at all sure we’re in the realms of fruitful discourse. A lens for observation — the lens through which we see — is not a set of metaphysical ideas. Cultural values, perhaps, though the word *values* seem to me rather to beg the question of conscious choice between or among lenses (or even paradigms, in the Kuhnian sense).

I’m happier with his statement that (I’m paraphrasing) culture is to a society as individuality is to a person, its (or his or her) defining characteristic — happier, that is, in finding a certain usefulness to the observation. But not a very great usefulness. If we ask the question, “Is there a Libertarian culture?”, and then try to answer it by asking “Is there something that is the defining characteristic of a Libertarian Society, in the same way a rooted dislike of authority and a belief in the individual as against society is the defining characteristic of a Libertarian anarchist?” — I think we come to a dead end. There is no Libertarian society, though there are Libertarian societies. Suppose we look at a Libertarian society, or, if you like, sub-society. Then either we’re back to Chris’s endeavour, having substituted “subsociety” for “culture” or “characteristics of the society” for “characteristics of the culture” — which is O.K., but why bother? — or we’re perilously close to saying

Libertarianism (which we call Libertarian culture) is the defining characteristic of a Libertarian society, which is (again) tautologically true.

Where Jeff is emphatically on the right track, I think, is where he asks whether we can predict cultural values from the fact of Libertarianism, inasmuch as that is the relevant question regardless of the problems of antecedence. We will have to be careful in testing the proposition that Libertarianism confers cultural predictability, and a little dose of Lakatos on falsifiability and progressive research programmes would not, I think, be amiss here.

Briefly, the Lakatosian view of what Kuhn would call a paradigm and many of us would call a scientific theory is that we are dealing with ways of looking at things that are theory-bound (to some extent at least), that we ask of a research programme (largely indistinguishable on the face of it from a Kuhnian paradigm) not “Is it true?” but “Does it predict and explain observations better than any other research programme (or theory?)” and then “Do we have to multiply assumptions in order to ‘save the appearances?’” (Here I’m borrowing from William of Occam and from Owen Barfield in my terminology: Lakatos spoke of progressive research programmes, in which the hard core of observed data requires only a minimal protective belt of assumptions, and degenerating research programmes in which more and more of what was once apparently in the hard core is transferred to the protective belt.) Theories — or research programmes — are thus not even truly falsifiable in the Popperian sense. And, of course, they are certainly not verifiable in any useful sense.

With this for background, we can turn again to the prediction of cultural values from the fact of Libertarianism, not asking whether the chicken preceded the egg, nor venturing too deeply into the metaphysical swamps, but simply (1) looking at Libertarians to see if they have a shared culture which in any significant way distinguishes them from non-Libertarians, and (2) asking whether Libertarian views should lead to a particular culture (or the other way ‘round) and in particular whether they should lead to (or be led to by) the one we find. Which brings us back to Chris.

CJU Well, it certainly seems impossible (not to mention useless) to get even one wheel back on the track I was originally riding, so I will do my best to adopt this idea of a “lens” and see what can be done with it.

Let me start by saying that I am somewhat doubtful of — or at least I have difficulty understanding — this idea of people actually seeing different *things*. Although it is true to a certain extent that everyone lives in his or her “own world” (partly by definition), the way Jared has it, I think, is that there are minimally five billion “worlds” walking around on this planet, and each one is part of a pattern that is, I guess, either watched by, controlled by, or *is* (in some sense) a divine creation. I suspect we will come back to this in the second part of this discussion, but for the meantime, since Jeff will finish off after I’ve had my say in this first part, and then we’ll ship the whole thing to Sam, let me get back to the matter of the lens: it at least has, *arguendo*, a kind of usefulness.

I’m going to follow Jared’s advice (somewhat) and try to find a Libertarian culture by seeking evidence of Libertarianism in others’ lenses. I think it’s obvious that almost everyone believes himself or herself to be responsible in some way, shape, or form, for something (everyone is responsible, for example, for keeping himself or herself alive). This is a common part — a tint, perhaps? — of everyone’s lens. Libertarians, however, have to be concerned with something much more difficult to manage than most others do: they have to be concerned with Libertarianism. For a Libertarian culture to thrive, somehow Libertarian ethics must be evolved, in particular (I would argue) to keep the commons from being destroyed — surely there are some things (such as the earth itself and the seas thereon) that we hold in common or have held in common — and to take care of matters of aesthetics, and especially of the aesthetics of nature, that have at times proved resistant to the logic of the market.

Or so I would argue. But the reason I bring these up now is to suggest that we may have some way to go before we agree on the specifications for the lens we are grinding. It may be difficult to determine just how much one must consider things in their relation to the free market in order to be considered a Libertarian, how much (in Sam’s terms) one must be an Agorist to be called a Libertarian, and how much a Libertarian culture and a Libertarian lens must be an Agorist culture and an Agorist lens.

I think a concentration on the market is one necessary tint to the Libertarian lens, one of two. The only other common tint to every

Libertarian lens must be the recognition of the fact that (within natural law) at the most fundamental level, people are free to do as they please. Sovereignty of the individual in the choice of moral codes (and included in this the belief that others must freely choose their moral codes, without interference) is the hue and color — not just the tint — of the Libertarian lens. And it is something much less often found in the lenses through which non-Libertarians view the worlds, while a belief in the free market is far more widespread.

There may be many who share essentially similar lenses, Libertarian lenses to a considerable degree, but the lenses cannot be exactly the same. How similar, how much the same, they must be to qualify as a “cultural similarity” — that is, to define a Libertarian culture, is a question we will need to answer in Part II (or perhaps Jeff can try to answer it now). In the Anarchovillage there are lenses sufficiently like SEK3’s to define that (the point I started off with) as a Libertarian culture. Beyond that enclave in Long Beach, well, we shall see.

JR Actually, it doesn’t seem at all impossible to me to get back from where we are now to the track Chris was originally riding. In fact, that’s exactly what I, for one, have intended to do all along — bring the discussion back to where it started. It seems to me that’s the most effective way of letting our readers know (or at least giving them the impression) that we really aren’t as digressive and tangential as we may seem, that there is some method in our madness.

But of course Chris himself has already proved that it *is* possible to get back to where he began. He’s just done it himself, in a mere five hundred words or so. Where our discussion began was in the Anarchovillage, and the question with which we began was whether (and why) the society that exists there can reasonably be described as an example of a libertarian culture. As Chris has shown, it can be. And the reason it can be is that the “lenses” or “senses of life” of the individuals who live there are quite similar. When individuals are similar in this way, they gravitate toward one another. People tend to associate more closely with those they regard as like themselves than with those they regard as unlike themselves. Once a number of similar people have been living and working and interacting together on a daily basis for a while, a “culture” spontaneously arises among them — that is, a set of shared assumptions, the common denominator(s) of their various senses of life, which determine what kinds of behavior they consider acceptable and what kinds they consider unacceptable.

A culture is, then, a type of spontaneous order, like the market and like the common law. It is, if you will, the result of the natural processes of competition, supply and demand in the market for lifestyles. Such a phenomenon clearly exists in the Anarchovillage. But before taking up Chris’s suggestion and addressing the issue of what degree of homogeneity is necessary for a culture to arise among individuals in society, I want to broaden our frame of reference somewhat, and, in the process of doing so, I hope to clarify a point or two from earlier phases of this discussion.

The word “culture” is often used to refer to the so-called “fine arts.” Many people (I’d say most people), if asked what “culture” means, would talk of neither lenses nor folkways but of music, painting, sculpture, poetry, fiction, ballet, and so forth. And this understanding of the term is by no means irrelevant to the present discussion. The works of art that move us most profoundly are those which seem to embody or concretize, and therefore to vindicate, our most fundamental value judgments — the same value judgments that determine what political philosophy we will espouse, if any, and what cultures we will feel comfortable living in. There is, therefore, an inescapable connection between one’s political views and one’s taste in the arts.

This seems obvious enough. Yet, of all the ideas that have been advanced on the relation between culture and libertarianism, it is this one — the idea that there is an inescapable connection between one’s political views and one’s taste in the arts — which has drawn the harshest criticism from the few prominent libertarian writers who have addressed the Libertarianism and Culture question in the past. To Murray Rothbard, for example, the question of whether there is a libertarian culture boils down to the question of whether one’s politics dictate one’s taste in art. And *this* is why it is important to address the question of which comes first and to grasp that our politics does not dictate our taste in art and our taste in art does not dictate our politics, but both our politics and our taste in art are dictated by something more fundamental.

Is it a mere coincidence, for example, that science fiction is much more

popular among libertarians than it is among the reading population as a whole or among the members of any other political group you can name? No, all libertarians do not like science fiction. The two do not invariably go together. But they turn up together more often than any other pair in which one term is a political philosophy or orientation or belief system and the other term is a literary genre. It seems likely, then, that there are some fundamental judgments about the way the world is — about the essential nature of the human condition — that underlie this conjunction.

Why do many libertarians care nothing for science fiction? Why do many others care nothing for fiction of any kind? Because there is no one set of specifiable values, no one lens, no one sense of life, that leads to libertarianism. There are many. In an utterly free world, there would therefore be many libertarian cultures. These cultures would all exhibit certain characteristics, in virtue of which we would call them all “libertarian,” despite their many differences. But these characteristics would most likely be value judgments of an extremely broad and fundamental kind — like the judgment that the individual is more important than the collective; and the judgment that each individual’s own welfare, rather than the welfare of society or the poor or the state, is the proper standard by which each individual should judge his or her own actions; and the judgment that rules imposed from without and enforced by violence or the threat of violence are nearly always inferior, by virtually any standard, to rules that are generated spontaneously by the process of voluntary human interaction and are therefore constantly changing and evolving.

Such propositions as these will not generate any particular artistic tastes. They might generate a great variety of such tastes. Neither will they generate any particular lifestyles. They might generate dozens of different lifestyles, which would only have in common a certain spirit of voluntarism — a spirit which, itself, might be expressed in a multitude of ways. Some libertarians, for example, are devoted to a kind of romanticism in fiction that is commonly associated with Ayn Rand — a romanticism which is typified by the logical complexity of its plots, by the greatness of its heroes, and by the way in which it dwells on tales of the confrontation between Good and Evil. It is likely that they are drawn to such stories because the lenses through which they view the world lead them to place great value on logic, to believe that great individuals are responsible for important events, and that conflicts of fundamental values are the most important, or among the most important, conflicts in life. All these judgments are compatible with libertarianism. All of them would tend to lead an individual who held them to adopt a libertarian position in politics. But unlike the value judgments cited above — the judgments favoring individualism, egoism and spontaneous order — they do not have to be present within a particular individual in order for that individual to become a libertarian.

Consider: another libertarian, who believed just as strongly in individualism, egoism and spontaneous order as our hypothetical admirer of Randian romanticism, might be devoted to another kind of fiction altogether — to experimentalist “modern” fiction, let us say, or to the kind of “decadent,” elaborately stylized and exotic fiction of writers like Oscar Wilde, James Branch Cabell, Carl Van Vechten, Elinor Wylie and Ronald Firbank. In the first case, our libertarian reader might be motivated by a fundamental belief in the importance of experiment, innovation, and trying the untried; by a fundamental belief in the capacity of the human mind to create new kinds of order, new kinds of patterns, which are fully as logical or “rational” as a traditional plot but which may not seem so on first encounter, for precisely the reason that they are based on new ways of applying logic to narrative. These views are thoroughly compatible with libertarianism — indeed, they seem intimately bound up in it. For if we understand the spontaneous order of the market as a process of constant change, and if we recognize the importance of the inventor and the entrepreneur in the market setting, we implicitly recognize the value of experiment and innovation.

A libertarian reader whose tastes ran to the “decadent” fiction of the 1890s and 1920s might lean in that direction because of a fundamental commitment to the importance of novelty, the importance of individuality (that is, the uniqueness of each individual, the inescapable fact that no two of them are ever exactly alike), and, therefore, the importance of literary style. These values are certainly compatible with libertarianism. A love of the novel, the unexpected, the unprecedented, could easily

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Wild Hairs

Thoughts on Libertarianism

by Richard E. Geis

Is there such a thing as a libertarian culture? I can see a kind of black culture, a Jewish culture, certainly, and a gay culture... But a libertarian culture?

I have to ask: what does "culture" mean? What *is* a "culture?" According to my *Concise Columbia Encyclopædia*, a culture is, roughly, a distinctive way of life, a separate value system, a set of symbols and language, a common experience.

Well, libertarians definitely have a value system, but none of the other aspects of culture that I'm aware of. What are our symbols? Gold? The Constitution? The Bill of Rights? We have no separate language, not even a special set of words (as sf fandom has: egoboo, Ghod, corflu, BNF, fanac, sercon, faaanish...), and no special or distinctive way of life. We are not gathered together, and we have no common, shared religion, no real shared experiences.*

What we do have is a philosophy. Maybe we even have the beginnings of a start of a movement. But not a culture. And a good thing we don't; a libertarian culture would be too limiting, too set-in-stone, too exclusive.

We seem to be mostly a reactive group: people from almost every walk of life and every class who are *against* — against almost all government, against all infringements on our total possible liberty by force of government laws, regulations, statutes, standards. We are against all organized social force except that of the free market.

We are a loosely defined set of attitudes and activities. *Libertarian* is as all-encompassing or as exclusive as any given individual cares to say. Because we're a collection of individualists espousing freedom, the discipline of ideals and structure is impossible to impose. We have no core, no priesthood, no elected leaders, no god, no sanctions....† And the umbrella has holes in it.

The libertarian mindset is everywhere...and nowhere. There isn't yet (and may never be) a single rallying point, no single individual who towers over others, no single magazine which is a genuine libertarian focal point. We have a number of small groups, small periodicals and publishers and writers all going their own way, competing, arguing, free-marketing...having all kinds of fun.

And hardly any of them are *pure* libertarian. Most are melded with other cultural/social/economic/religious beliefs: varieties of sects and cults, varieties of tax protestors, varieties of free-marketeers, varieties of free-behaviorists. It appears that anyone whose pet belief or activity which is restricted or outlawed by government is a selective libertarian. They usually will say, "Yes, I believe the government should be dismantled, but we've got to have Social Security!" "Yes, we should wipe out taxes, but—" "Yes, people should be free to do as they wish, but—"

They're YES, BUT libertarians. They're against the evils of government they see, but... And are they really libertarians? If they only want limited government, or restructured government, or a different kind of government — are they true libertarians? Do they belong under the umbrella? Can we even agree on the definition of libertarian?

Are libertarians identified by their being against government in various degree? Are we all reactionaries? Do we yearn for a return to a golden age when men and women were more free than now in various ways? But isn't such a yearning a mark of the Conservative — who wants to roll back government in the economic/tax areas, but wants to retain (or regain) the strong "moral" domination of the Christian religion of that era?

It's curious that in spite of many, many intrusions into our personal and financial life by government, today, we also enjoy more freedoms now than we did in, say, 1887, one hundred years ago. Science and technology have revolutionized our lives to give us incredible wealth, incredible access to information, incredible freedoms of activity not allowed and not possible in 1887.

Radio, TV, desktop publishing, computers, autos, supermarkets... Women are liberated now to an extent that would have blown the minds of 1887 men and women. Men today have a tremendous variety of lifestyles and jobs to choose from.

The multi-generation family has been fractured into smaller and smaller units. How long before teenagers routinely live apart from their parents? How long before AIDS and all the venereal diseases are conquered and the sexual revolution continues and finally wins the war?

We see around us a complex interweaving of new freedoms and new controls. Are libertarians realistically addressing this new reality?

Some libertarians dream of a future high-tech free-market society/world. Some are working now to augment a free-market underground economy, in the hope of expanding it until the official government is finally seen as unnecessary.‡ But that idealistic activity appeals to rebellion and greed in the general population, aspects of human nature embedded in infantile solipsism and never completely tamed or eradicated by the "civilizing" process of growing up, learning discipline, learning the existing rules of living among others.

Is libertarianism a facet of that imperfectly controlled inborn solipsism in us all? Are libertarians secretly little babies crying, "MINE! MINE! I WON'T! I WILL! NOBODY MATTERS BUT ME!"?

Okay, with that ultimate insult I'll leave. Don't lock me out, please. I'll want to come back and do this again.

—R. E. Geis

So much wisdom from the Grand Old Man of SF fandom...how can it be sullied by little factual errors? No, no errors of judgment, just facts. For example:

**Libertarians have no separate language? How about minarchist, partyarch, Kochtopus, praxeologist, hard core, refan, Counter-Economics, agorist, anagoric, New Libertarian, Left Libertarian, Right Libertarian... See the upcoming Encyclopædia of American Libertarianism which Wendy & I am editing with hundreds of examples of specifically libertarian vocabulary, around half of which first appeared in NL. Minarchist, in fact, has appeared in Newsweek.*

† If there is a paradox, it is that Libertarians both do have all the attributes of a culture (except religion, for sure) and do not have any of the collectivity Dick mentions in this list. In fact, everything he says is true up to...

‡ Nope, counter-economists have no illusions about anyone seeing the official government as unnecessary. The masses will have defected to the counter-economy because that is where all the goods, services, jobs, food, clothing, shelter, and hot technology is; the State will then collapse as it runs out of bullets to shoot at the "deserters," not to mention running out of the troops to fire the guns or the taxes to pay them. Hardly an "idealistic" conclusion — just unavoidable.

Our Dick Geis — I think we should keep him. Maybe Durk & Sandy can airlift an arthritis cure to our stricken Ally in Portland? —SEK3



Randolph Bourne: *First Left Libertarian*

by John Strang

When Randolph Bourne died in 1918, a victim of the influenza epidemic, his death received little attention in literary or “intellectual” circles, although some radicals — such as J.H. Laski — gave him some lefthanded praise.¹ (Pun intended!)

Bourne was one of the few lights of the radical and intellectual flowering of 1890–1914 who stuck to his radical guns, and denounced Amerikkkan involvement in the First World War. This opposition to a bandwagon that most of his contemporaries were busily jumping on branded him (as far as the bandwagon-jumpers were concerned) as an eccentric, and someone to be relegated to the dustbin of history.

Unfortunately, although perhaps inevitably, this has remained the judgment of many mainstream historians, even those (or perhaps especially those) who have illusions about being “radical.” Bourne is seen as a naïve, strange, turn-of-the-century eccentric, stalking through Greenwich Village in the black cloak he wore to disguise his hunchback (he was severely deformed). A Don Quixote tilting at windmills, a dreamer, a “utopian.”

Randolph Bourne deserves more than this: his “utopianism” has proved to be truer than the “realistic” approach of his sellout contemporaries, his thought has much to say to Libertarians and other radicals today, his indictment “War is the health of the State”² from his seminal essay “The State” (found in a wastebasket after his death, and published posthumously in 1919) rings clear and true in an age where governments are still “making the world safe” for their particular Statist creeds, and arming and sabre-rattling to “end war.”

It is my contention that although Bourne called himself a Socialist, that the anti-Statism inherent in “The State” and the emphasis on the individual in his earliest writing makes him much closer in thought to Libertarians than to the current ultra-Statist wing of the Socialist mob who have inherited and narrowed the meaning of that term. Bourne was ever a champion of individual liberty against any form of collectivism or groupthink — something that finally alienated him from some of his more collectivist-thinking Feminist friends, although he was an early and passionate supporter of Women’s Emancipation.

In 1914 Bourne was offered a salaried position at Herbert Croly’s new magazine, *New Republic*. Bourne had returned from a war-mad Europe thoroughly disgusted with everything “Continental,” especially England. What Bourne’s exact motives were in taking the position are not easily speculated upon: prosaically, he needed money, and the payments-per-article he had been receiving from the *Atlantic*, while helpful, were far from his ideal of being self-supporting.

Croly was the author of the book *The Promise of the American Left*, which attempted a synthesis of liberal (albeit nationalistic) view of the State with Individualism. His new magazine was to be primarily a journal of opinion, with only a small emphasis on the arts, to eschew rigid doctrinalism, and to be “radical without being socialist.” Bourne, although a Socialist by profession, may (especially after his unfortunate impressions of the Fabians in England and the war-mania that in 1914 was affecting even neutral Sweden) have been attracted by what seemed to be a fresh approach.

But there were flies in the ointment from the start, although Bourne was slow to spot them: the staff of the *New Republic* wasn’t radical in ANY SENSE of the word, Socialist or otherwise, but the epitome of elitist “Progressivism” with many of the traits that Bourne had found objectionable in the British Fabians. Their stress was on “uplifting” the “ignorant” masses from below, and “organizing Society” along the lines of “modern corporate business management.” Most of them were advocates of “melting pot” theories — later blasted by Bourne — and Anglophiles and Germanophobes.

(It would perhaps be just as well to refute here the slander that Bourne was a Germanophile. He liked some aspects of postwar German *kultur*, and was scarcely alone in this, but he was definitely suspicious of

Prussian militarism, and had made comments about it that would please even the most fanatical “Sock the Kaiser” fan.)

Further, the progressives were élitist and snobbish: a cook and a French butler gave an air of “gentility” to their meetings, to which Bourne the hunchback was only invited from time to time.³

At first, at least, Bourne could agree with the rest of the staff on the issue of keeping America out of the insanity of mutual slaughter going on in Europe. If he was relegated to writing mainly book reviews of authors not considered of central importance by the staff, he could at least get in some digs from time to time on the “preparedness” issue and take some more radical stances. However, as the British began to bombard America increasingly with propaganda, a change in tone began to appear in the attitude of most of the intellectuals — not just the staff of the *New Republic* — toward the war in Europe. The tone was becoming increasingly Anglophile, increasingly harping on “Anglo-Saxon civilization” and the dangers of the “Hun.” Whereas at first ALL the European nations had been portrayed as war-mad, now it was increasingly only Germany that was depicted this way, a bloodthirsty ogre battering on the likes of “Poor Little Belgium” (ask any Congolese!) and “Mother England.” There was also increasing yammer (from Liberals, of all people!) about the “dangers” of dissent from the “National will,” which was tied in with melting-pot theories about the “dangers” of “unassimilated” or “hyphenated” Americans (all issues eventually addressed by Bourne).

During this period, Bourne’s (soon to be fallen) idol John Dewey published an article in *Atlantic* condemning Germany as the bogey of the world, bent on world domination (presumably NOT the goal of such wonderful nations as Great Britain, France, *etc.*). This same article praised “Mother England” as the epitome of freedom, Democracy, and tolerance. Bourne saw fewer and fewer of his pieces appearing in the *New Republic*, and those that did appear were satirical or literary (in a magazine, please note, with a stated policy of DEEMPHASIZING literary and artistic content.)

In 1916 Woodrow Wilson, beloved of the Progressives, swept into office as a Peace candidate. In less than three months Bourne’s nightmare had come true, and the “Peace” president had catapulted the US into the war. I have said that there had been some rumblings of pro-war fever in the Liberal Left up to this time, and that some of it found its way into the pages of *The New Republic*. This was nothing compared to the ideological flip-flop that now occurred, as most of the left sought to jump on the war bandwagon, the staff of the *New Republic* (VERY MUCH included!)⁴

Following the traitor sellout of the *New Republic*, Bourne needed a new outlet for his antiwar sentiments that were no longer “party line” at his old ‘zine. At first it seemed that he had found such an outlet in a new magazine that had started up about this time, the *Seven Arts*, which hopefully was about the business of presenting the point of view of the young radicals and “new aesthetes.” It was to be in the pages of the *Seven Arts* that much of Bourne’s important anti-war and anti-establishment Left writing was to appear. (Curiously, although he knew Max Eastman and was in agreement with the anti-war policies of *The Masses*, little of his writing appeared there, and none on the war or the treason of the Establishment Left.)

Bourne’s criticism of the liberals, intellectuals, and “Progressives” of his time who went along with “the” war and enthusiastically sold out to Woodrow Wilson’s quasi-socialistic State-Corporate (dare we say Fascist, although the term had not been coined yet?) vision of wartime and postwar Amerikkka has much to say to those of us in the Libertarian movement who have to suffer the jibes, slings, and verbal tac-nukes of the “practical” “Libertarians” who seek an accommodation with the system through party politics. We are urged to “work within the system” as were the anti-war, anti-Vietnam radicals of the Sixties — and as Bourne and other radical intellectuals of the First World War era were. Bourne was stung by these urgings and criticisms, and replied to the unholy alliance of “War Socialists,” former Pacifists, and “Progressives”

in his article “The War and the Intellectuals.”)

In this article Bourne attacks the idea that the sellout intellectuals willed Amerikkka’s involvement in the European bloodbath, and also attacks the rationalization that left and “Progressive” elements will somehow be able to ameliorate or direct the war hysteria of the State to some positive social end by cooperating with it. Bourne labels the amazing flip-flop of some intellectuals from prewar pacifist positions as hypocritical. He attacks the supposedly liberal and internationalist dream of a postwar “League to Enforce Peace” as a “palpable apocalyptic myth.” Even if such a “League of Nations” does arise out of the postwar ashes, it will be nothing more than an “international” arm of imperialism, acting to preserve the status quo.⁵

Bourne quickly demolishes the idea that intellectuals can control or “liberalize” the war effort and the war-hysteria, and that anti-war individuals who say nay to Statism are being “unrealistic.” “It is only on the craft, in the storm, they say, that one has any chance of controlling the current forces for liberal purposes. If we obstruct, we surrender all power for influence.”⁶ “We will be listened to as responsible thinkers, while those who obstructed the coming of war have committed intellectual suicide and shall be cast into outer darkness.”⁷

To these arguments Bourne replies: “. . . if it is a question of controlling war, it is difficult to see how the child on the back of a mad elephant is to be any more effective in stopping the beast than is the child who tries to stop him from the ground.”⁸ (Actually, the child on the ground may be more effective, especially if the child astride the elephant is shouting “don’t interfere!” and spurring the elephant on with a cattle prod! And God forbid that the child on the ground should take a .500 Nitro Express and shoot the mad elephant! That would probably be denounced as “anti-Elephantism” or “Terrorism” inspired and directed by [insert name of disapproved-of foreign country here]!)

Bourne asks of the sellout intellectuals, “is their guiding any more than a preference whether they shall go over the righthand or lefthand side of the precipice?”⁹ Such comments have just as much weight today. Is the guidance of “Libertarians” in public office likely to be more than a preference either to send tax-“offenders” to penitentiaries or to prison camps? Will “Libertarian” nukes kill fewer people than Democrat or Republican nukes?

Bourne understood that “working within the system” only benefits the system. I doubt if the “Party Libertarians” of today will have any more luck astride the mad elephant of the State than Bourne’s sellout colleagues did in the First World War. In Bourne’s day the “reformers” soon became jailers and oppressors frothing at the mouth at any sign of dissent or criticism, however mild, of “their” policy. “Pacifists” became concerned with “enforcing the Draft in a fair and equitable way” rather than concerning themselves with whether there should be a draft at all. Violations of “the law” by anti-war activists were to be punished with all the ferocity and might that the State could bring to bear, while acts of vigilante violence by “Law and Order Leagues” or “Patriotic Associations” were winked at. And the “bright world” for which the war intellectuals sold out their “utopian” prewar ideals proved much the same as the old world — just as that “utopian, eccentric dreamer” Randolph Bourne had predicted!

This was followed by other antiwar articles, including the important “twilight of the Idols,” a blast at Dewey and others, but, alas, the wealthy *donarita* of the *Seven Arts* withdrew her support, hounded by war fanaticism, and the magazine folded.¹⁰

Yes, Randolph Bourne did call himself a Socialist, and that may raise the hackles of some Libertarians. He often paid lip-service to Socialist notions of the “class struggle” (but is that much different than the animus that many Libertarians have for the Cowboy-Yankee aristocracy of unearned corporate-perk wealth that REALLY runs Amerikkka?) He was a great believer in “Social Justice” but it should be emphasized that for Bourne this concept centered around the INDIVIDUAL. He did not equate the community with the almighty State.¹¹

It may alarm some Libertarians even more to learn that Bourne admired Lenin and the Bolsheviks!¹² However, this was primarily because he mis-saw them as being “anarchic” (there were no accurate accounts of the Bolshevik movement in the Amerikkkan media in 1917–1918, at least none that a skeptic like Bourne would trust) and because he admired their determination to remove Russia from the European Bloodbath despite the howls of the rest of the “Allies.” (Bourne no doubt wished that more of the Amerikkkan left had the courage to lead a

movement for a pullout here.)

An example of the inherent INDIVIDUALIST nature of Bourne’s creed can be illustrated by his opposition to the “melting pot” theories advanced by many “Progressives” of the time, and his fallout with his Feminist colleagues over their increasingly collectivist thinking and separatism.

Bourne’s essay “Trans-national America” is a spirited attack on the Collectivism inherent in the “melting pot,” and a defense of those Americans who wish to go their own way and follow cultural patterns disapproved of by Yankee Brahmins. He points out that the “American” culture that advocates of the “melting pot” would force all Americans to conform to is really Anglo-Saxon culture for which Bourne (as a poor relative of Yankee Brahmins steeped in Anglo-Saxon Amerikkkanism himself) has little respect. “It is just this English-American conservatism that has been our chief obstacle to social advance.”¹³

The new influence of the Slav, German, Scandinavian, and Hungarian is stimulating and breathing new life into America. He is at special pains to defend the German-Americans, currently (because of war hysteria) fashionable targets of attack for whom the phrase “hyphenated American” was coined. “The unpopular and dreaded German-American of the present day is a beginning amateur in comparison with those foolish Anglophiles of Boston and New York and Philadelphia whose reversion to cultural type sees uncritically in England’s cause the cause of Civilization.”¹⁴ Bourne has no patience with narrow nationalism of the sort found in Europe, and calls for a pluralistic society where all can follow their own path. “The failure of the melting-pot, far from closing the great American democratic experiment, means that it has only just begun.”¹⁵

Bourne’s conflict with Feminism also stemmed from his commitment to the Individual. He had supported the cause of Women’s rights all his life, and for a while was a welcome member of Feminist gatherings in Greenwich village. He supported them because he felt that they stressed individual development and advancement. He continued this commitment to his dying day, but he became reticent about some of the collectivist “all men are beasts and exploiters” attitudes of “radical” Feminists, and was totally out of sympathy with separatist tendencies.¹⁶

History has failed to close the books on Randolph Bourne, although historians have all too often tried their hardest to do so. In his brief thirty-two year lifespan, he wrote reams of material that remains to haunt the Left, and that ought to be more fully studied by Libertarians. —JPS

John Strang was previously introduced to NL readers and has since become the first regular columnist in Tactics of the Movement of the Libertarian Left. He was a founding member of an SDS chapter in an Orange County community college in the 'sixties, but has since resisted suicidal impulses.

Randolph Bourne, dubbed the first “Culture Radical,” would be a superb choice for a film — a combination of Elephant Man and Reds. His ending was tragically romantic: having been cut off from feminine company by his purge from the Village feminist club by a jealous Lesbian, the hunchback had the good fortune to have a beautiful Broadway actress fall in love with him and they announced their engagement. The War then ended, disillusionment set in (“The Lost Generation” et. al.) and Bourne became not only employable but regarded as a prophet after all.

Then he was infected in the November 1918 global influenza epidemic and promptly died in December.
—SEK3

1. Edward Abrahams, *The Lyrical Left: Randolph Bourne, Alfred Steiglitz, and the Origins of Cultural Radicalism in America* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1986), p. 90.
2. Randolph Bourne, “The State,” in *The Radical Will: Randolph Bourne Selected Writings, 1911–1919*, ed. Olaf Hansen (New York: Urizen Books, 1977), p. 360 *et passim*.
3. Bruce Clayton, *Forgotten Prophet: The Life of Randolph Bourne* (Baton Rouge and London, Louisiana State University Press, 1984), p. 122.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
5. Randolph Bourne, “The War and the Intellectuals,” in Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 312.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 312.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
10. Clayton, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
11. Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 357.
12. Clayton, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
13. Randolph Bourne, “Transnational America,” in Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
16. Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 73–77.

Libertarianism

John Russell – The Lib

Interviewed by

NL Your first contact with the Libertarian philosophy was from two friends that went to Robert LeFevre's Freedom School?

Russell Yes, in 1962 we became equally excited about what we had heard, and my wife and I immediately signed up for the two-week comprehensive course. And what a relief it was to understand what was happening in the country and what Socialism was. We learned a great deal of Revisionist History which was of great interest to us. The major upshot upon leaving the school was a sense of relief at finally being able to identify the source of my originally nameless concern, the sense of dread that something was happening to our country. It was socialism in a particular form.

We learned that if you take a broad spectrum, like a rainbow, you might find Communist China and Russia on the left, fascism and Naziism in the center, and toward the right, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and England. And then on the far right the U.S. — and all with varying degrees of socialism. The Communist countries had direct ownership of property and control of the individual. The fascist countries had control of private property but not ownership. That is the route we've been taking for a long time, that England and France are taking. (Plus they nationalized a hell of a lot of companies, which they are trying to undo now that they've found it didn't work.) They all had one thing in common however different the labels. They are all against private property without exception. Well, that was a big illuminating discovery for us.

As a foundation for the philosophy, putting God to one side, whatever concept one has of that, the acid test is an obvious fact under Natural Law: that we are our own private property. Therefore, anything that we acquire without trespass is properly our own private property. Private property can be acquired by trade or by contract which can be implied or formal (written). It is bounded by fences or agreement. Rights can be intellectual rights, copyrights. All these forms of private property can be identified, described and defined.

Now you inject what we call democracy into this country, which started as a Republic and evolved into a participatory democracy, into that theory and look at history. We don't know much about the ones 5,000 years ago or so, but the Greek democracies we know a great deal about. We know that the Athenian leaders debated it and studied about 150 constitutions of other city-states had democracies. Some lasted 250 years and died, others lasted 25 years and some were still in existence. Without one single exception, democracies failed because the have-nots either vote out the haves or they vote their property away from them or the majority drive the haves out of the country or they slaughter them. There are no exceptions in history. And in a sense this has been our so-called bloodless revolution in this country in the last thirty or fifty years. What's happening here is no different; it's human nature, and its the essential driving force in the cyclic nature of all democratic civilizations ever recorded. So that's what we're dealing with today.

NL What was your evaluation of LeFevre's course?

Russell Oh, superb, just absolutely superb. The former leader of the John Birch Society [Robert Welch] had gone through the course, taken it privately and quietly. (Bob LeFevre told me this.) LeFevre was convinced that the

Birch Society was on the wrong track and had built in the seeds of its own destruction. As Bob LeFevre put it, "it studied villains instead of the nature of villainy." That's what LeFevre was interested in, the nature of villainy, the nature of socialism, the nature of government, the nature of man. The concept of freedom and liberty. In one of his major addresses he said, so there was no misunderstanding by anyone who was trying to follow his philosophy, that after you have paid your taxes, that you can do with your net income as you choose, so long as you do not trespass. So there you have a modern interpretation of "Give unto Caesar."

NL Did you take any other courses like the LeFevre Course?

Russell Oh, yes, I took [Andrew J.] Galambos. God, I read my eyes out over the years: F.A. "Baldy" Harper, Leonard Read back East...

NL Would you rate the Galambos course the same or better?

Russell Somewhat different and I would put LeFevre at the head of the pack. There's no question that he was a superb teacher and had great material and a great presentation, and was very entertaining — lots of humor.

NL You said you read your eyes out. Have you read any of the early libertarian writers like Spooner?

Russell Yes, but I don't remember Spooner so well. It's been so long ago. Lysander Spooner, I think it was?

NL Yes.

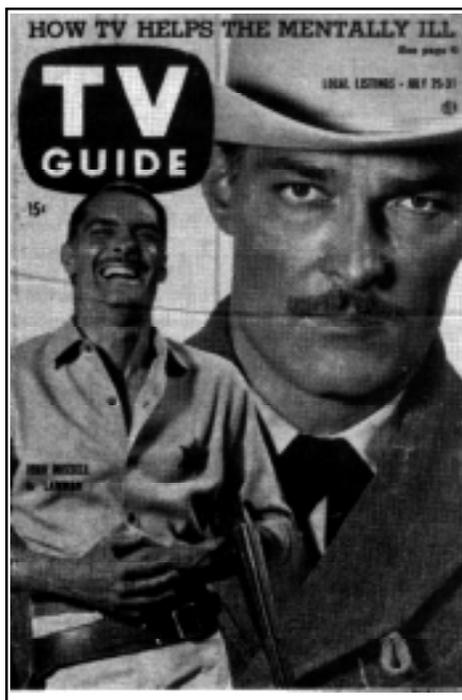
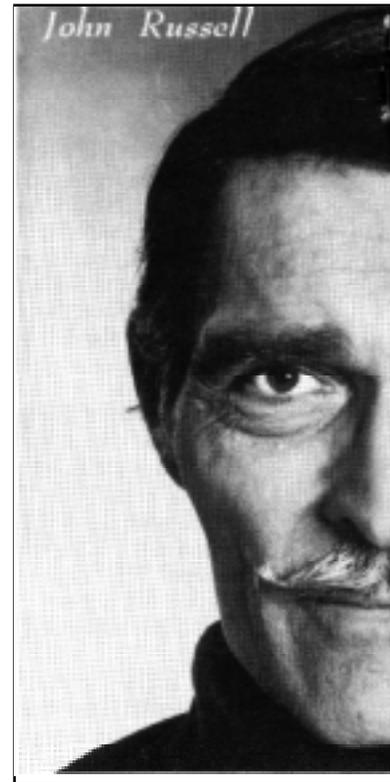
Russell I'd like to get his major epic that he wrote.

NL *The Constitution of No Authority. [No Treason.]*

Russell I want to read it so I can refresh myself on it. It's one of those things you get back to reading again and again as long as you live. It gets your batteries charged and your brain realigned and so on. I must tell you this, in addition to having gone through LeFevre's course and understanding as best I could or thought I had, I found that in coming up against the real world there were certain, you might say, negatives involved. And having read gobs and gobs of revisionist history, you find it says here's the way it *ought* to be, yet it *isn't*. Is there a hope that it will revise to what ought to be? The likelihood is slim or none. So then you have to say, well, in real life, I have to confront what real life confronts me with. So I'll just have to exist as best I can under those circumstances.

NL Where do you disagree with libertarians or libertarianism?

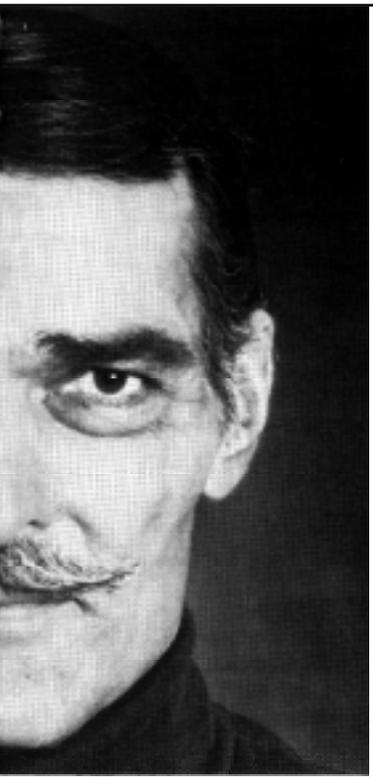
Russell What do you mean by libertarians and libertarianism? Where do I disagree? It's such a general question. It's really awfully hard



in Lotusland

Libertarian's Actor

Chris Schaefer



to answer. It really isn't so much political as moral philosophy. The so-called libertarian principles get those of conservative persuasion a little-bit grimjawned about the whole thing. You have to live with what is.

NL Specifically, if a person were a hard-core libertarian he might not vote...

Russell I'm glad you asked that. Regarding hard-core libertarians: I used to go to a libertarian supper club years ago [the original Libertarian Supper Club of Los Angeles] to get a fresh viewpoint. Here you had a whole roomful of libertarians. Not one of them agreed with each other. When you talk about hard-core libertarianism, I don't know what you're talking about. Not exactly. Maybe generally, but not exactly.

NL What I mean by hard-core is somebody who, for example, will not pay taxes, will not vote.

Russell Not paying taxes is a felony...so forget that! You can vote in a positive way and you can vote in a negative way. You can vote for somebody or something or against. For years I didn't vote but now I do, mostly to try to put the blocks to something that I don't think would be good for me, or us in my judgment. It was a real good question.

NL As an actor, where did you get your training?

Russell I was put under contract after I got out of the Marine Corps early in 1944. I had to learn the business from the ground up. I was trained at [Twentieth-Century] Fox. However, my formal training was at the "Actors Lab."

NL Weren't you in films before the Marine Corps?

Russell No, no. The industry archives list another John Russell who was an actor before the war. And they've mixed us together and I've never bothered to correct it.

NL So you didn't act in the 1939 classic *Jesse James* directed by Henry King?

Russell No, but later on I was in *Bell For Adano* directed by Henry King.

NL What was your first film?

Russell *Don Juan Quilligan*.

NL What was the first film in which you attracted any attention?

Russell Playing a non-libertarian highwayman thief and robber, Black Jack Mallard, in the picture *Forever Amber*.

NL John Ford's *The Sun Shines Bright* is probably the most important artistic film you've made.

Russell I agree to that.

NL What was it like working for John Ford?

Russell Well, it was an experience fraught with a lot of anxiety.

NL Was he a difficult man to work for?

Russell Well, you have to divorce the director's instructions to the actor from the social aspect of living with him in the atmosphere on the

set. His instructions to me as an actor were of a modest nature. Psychologically, he kept everybody off balance.

NL Right, he's been famous for that. How did he keep you off balance? Or did he try?

Russell [Laughs] Oh, yeah, There was a scene coming up that I wanted to talk to him about. I had made extensive preparations as I should. I had these ideas I wanted to present to him and see what he thought: did he like them, did he want to enlarge on them, or did he want to change or eliminate them? I told him. And he said, "Oh, you thought this all up, did you?" in a very condescending tone. And I thought to myself at the time, he didn't know me as an actor. This is my first time in a Ford picture. I told him I believed it was my responsibility to come as fully prepared as I could so the director could accept or reject. And he turned and walked away and finally turned back to me and after a beat, said, "All right, I reject it." [Laughs] So I was reduced psychologically to about one inch high. When it came time to do the scene, he gave some specific instructions. And of my three major suggestions to him, he fully accepted two of them. So there you have it. In the meantime, I died...

NL *Rio Bravo* is considered by many to be one of the ten best Westerns ever made. What was it like working for Howard Hawks and being in a John Wayne film?

Russell It always leaves you a feeling of awe to work with two giants of this caliber. I subsequently realized they had a good idea whom they were hiring and whom they were talking to and they knew the business. So they left their people alone except for an occasional suggestion where to shape up their lines.

NL You made a film with William Wellman, *The Yellow Sky*, and I wanted to talk to you about that, because I've read two different versions of a scene in that movie — to show you how inaccurate books and magazines can sometimes be. An interview in one book with the director has him saying that Gregory Peck was going to get in a fight with you and kick your head off. In an interview in a magazine, about the same scene, he said Peck was going to kick the head off of Richard Widmark. And I'm just wondering, to your recollection, which is correct?

Russell Well, Bill had a marvellously expansive way of speaking. He himself was a gutsy, ballsy guy and he spoke that way. In actual fact, he had me try to drown Bobby Arthur in a fight where Peck stepped in and dropkicked my head pretty severely, and put a stop to it. Now, that's what happened. We had William Wellman directing and Lamar Trotti writing and Joe MacDonald on camera as cinematographer; they were the same three that made *The Ox-Bow Incident*.

NL Right! You've worked with hundreds of directors. Which directors have you found most rewarding to work for?

Russell One man stands out instantly in my mind, Chris, his name was Stewart Heisler, and he did almost a majority of the four years worth of *Lawman*, the television series. Other directors like Wellman, Ford, and...

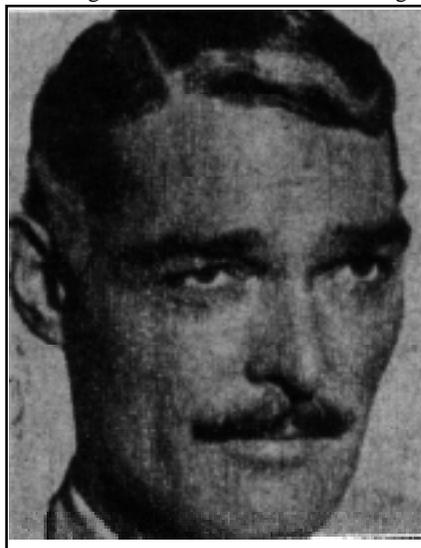
NL Joe Kane...

Russell Joe, and there's the man you mentioned with John Wayne.

NL Howard Hawks.

Russell Howard Hawks, a few of them once, maybe twice. But on a day-in and day-out basis, under the pressures that television demands, I did best under Stu Heisler.

NL Did your political beliefs hurt your career at all?



Russell I never got into a position where anybody knew what my political beliefs were.

NL How?

Russell I don't feel it's this particular actor's business to get on a soapbox and try to use his posture of high visibility to instruct his fellow citizens. My brother's a State Senator and he's been a public servant for twenty-two years. So that's his part of it.

NL Do you have any comments on censorship in films?

Russell Well, my fellow citizens seem to accept what the Motion Picture Association provides. That is a demand and it's accepted by people who buy tickets. Basically, I'm against censorship. For instance, the thing that comes to mind is the early saturation of pornography in Denmark that we've all heard about. It was on every corner. You couldn't turn around without seeing an adult store of some kind. And it was rampant...from what I read. Then, finally, everybody got bored and it kind of faded. I read where it's still there, but it's not staring you in the face anymore. Which reminds me of one of the censors here who worked for the Motion Picture Association. He came in one afternoon to this very place we're having our interview [The Cock and Bull on Sunset Strip] and announced to one and all at the bar, "Well, they finally did it." So, we all stopped and turned and said, "They did what?" He said, "They have finally made sex dull." I think it's a self-limiting thing.

NL Do you think cable TV and videocassettes will mean the death of movies as we know them today?

Russell Hmm, I doubt it. I think they complement each other. People like to get together in close proximity in public places. People like to get out of the house.

NL You've worked on a couple of films with Clint Eastwood.

Russell Three, in fact.

NL Do you think Clint Eastwood might become a successor to John Wayne?

Russell He has been for some years now! He's been in the top ten every year without fail since 1969. And that means people who buy tickets at the box office. I don't know whether number one each year means he's succeeded Wayne's record yet or not. But it's surely close. But you're comparing two different individuals. If you mean will he succeed John Wayne as the man who, year after year brings in more ticket-paying customers, we'll see. It should come close. I'd be inclined to give Clint the nod.

NL When someone sends you a script, what do you look for?

Russell Credibility.

NL When young actors ask you for advice, what do you tell them?

Russell What kind of advice?

NL Should they go in the business, or shouldn't they? What school should they go to?

Russell Well, I've had about nine years behind me as a member of the Board of Directors of the Screen Actors Guild. I'm still currently on the board of directors of the A.F.T.R.A./S.A.G Credit Union. As such, I've been privileged to become more aware than most people of what the economics of the actor are.

If somebody asks me if they should go in the business, I say, here's what the economics are. Here's the range of expectations you can look at. And it takes the ten best years of life between 20 and 30 to find out if there's even a place for you in the business. The demographics of the earnings curve says that roughly 75 to 80 percent of our people earn less than \$3,500 a year. The work is erratic, highly volatile, which makes it very difficult to plan your financial future. But if one can manage to get under contract and have a steady paycheck, then he could conceivably have a better shot at planning his financial future.

NL As an actor, when you were at Republic, were you under contract to Herb Yates?

Russell No, I was under contract to the studio.

NL So you got a check whether you made a movie or not?

Russell No. I contracted for a specific number of pictures per year. Prior to that I had five years at Fox, one at Universal, three years at Republic, two years at Revue which is where I made my first television series. In fact, my first work in television was a pilot called *Soldiers of Fortune* which Revue produced for two years. Plus four years at Warner for *Lawman*.

NL *Soldiers of Fortune* was before *Lawman*?

Russell Yes.

NL A kid's program? Adult?

Russell Both, a nonspecific action adventure program, for whoever wanted to watch it.

NL Did you like that better than *Lawman*?

Russell It was different. It was just a different concept. Contemporary, but outside the continental limits of the United States.

NL Would you talk about how *Lawman* came about as a result of "The Empty Gun" episode of *Cheyenne* you appeared in?

Russell That was one of those really good parts that comes along once in awhile that I did with Clint Walker on his *Cheyenne* show. From that work, Bill Orr, the head of television at Warner Brothers, got the idea of starring me in a western. Lo and behold, that's what happened. We made a pilot and sold it and produced it for four years.

NL Was the pilot the first episode aired?

Russell Yes, "The Deputy." In which I met young Peter Brown who became my deputy.

NL Do you think Westerns will make another comeback?

Russell Well, it doesn't look like it. What killed the Western was oversaturation, mediocrity and the new frontier of space. They say these things go in cycles. A Western will succeed if it's an outstanding picture. Eastwood's *Pale Rider* did! But I doubt the Western will come back to the normal 30% of annual production it used to be for fifty or sixty years prior to its demise in the 1960s. I don't know.

NL Many people think *The Last Command* was better than *The Alamo*. Do you agree?

Russell I find it difficult to make that kind of comparison. I'd say different from, rather than, better than. Wayne's picture had strong, strong ideological thrust, whereas *The Last Command* was more of an action picture with the ideology taken for granted. Wayne's speech in *The Alamo* is historic. His ideas about the country were that it was a republic, now it's not.

NL Were you a moviegoer when you were growing up?

Russell Oh, average, I'd say.

NL Were there any stars you were particularly fond of then?

Russell All the he-man types, Clark Gable, Spencer Tracy and Gary Cooper. Excellent, always excellent.

NL Looking back, which are your favorite films?

Russell Of those I've been in.... The most gratifying to me personally was the series, *Lawman*. That was the most gratifying of all.

NL Were there any episodes that were particularly hard to do?

Russell Some involved a greater degree of physical exertion.

NL Was most of it shot on the Warner's back lot?

Russell Yes.

NL Do you see films contributing to a libertarian culture?

Russell The way you pose the question is, are they doing it? I don't think they are. At least not per se. As a general rule there might be a film come along that does it inadvertently. I wish film would. But you see, the problem here is an age-old problem of entertainment. It's a lot easier to write about degradation and the breakdown of things. By the same token, it's extremely difficult to write about redemption, regeneration, the struggle toward the good, that flower that blooms in the middle of a muck heap and make the story believable and credible and not merely antiseptic. And yet it could be the most uplifting.

NL Can you name ten films that in your opinion promote libertarianism?

Russell No, I can't. I haven't thought about it that much. Some of Eastwood's, Wayne's (*The Alamo*), Cooper (*The Fountainhead*). I never made a list. It would be interesting to see. That's a very good question. I wish somebody would really make a deep study of it.

NL Have you seen *El Dorado* and *Rio Lobo*? Both were loose remakes of *Rio Bravo*.

Russell No.

NL (SEK3) *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, which you made about a decade ago with Clint Eastwood, was considered not merely "libertarian" but quite anarchist. In fact, most of Eastwood's films are strongly moral, though sometimes his heroes work within the statist system (Dirty Harry) to achieve real justice. Did Eastwood communicate his strong moral sense to you?

Russell He doesn't talk about it, but his work speaks to that.

NL Did you find morale higher in yourself and in your fellow actors in such projects?

To The Credit of John Russell

The Prolific Competency of a Libertarian Actor

The following is as complete a listing as we were able to put together of all the appearances of John Russell in motion pictures and television. He also appeared on stage in Los Angeles in *The Green Cockatoo* (The Actors Lab Theater), *Guest In The House* (Bliss Hayden Theater), and *Dough Girls* (Bliss Hayden Theater). No dates are available for these — nor for several of the films. On television, we know that *Lawman* ran from 1958–1962, and the pilot of *Soldiers of Fortune* (see below) began in 1955.

Television

Police Story Guest Star
McCloud Guest Star
Emergency Guest Star
Takes A Thief Guest Star
Gunsmoke Guest Star
Alias Smith & Jones Guest Star
Daniel Boone Guest Star
Lawman Lead, 4 years
Maverick Guest Star
Cheyenne Guest Star
Sugarfoot Guest Star
N.W. Passage Guest Star
Gale Storm Show G.St.
Soldiers of Fortune Lead 2 years

Death Valley Days Guest Star on Pilot
Fall Guy Guest Star
Simon & Simon Guest Star
Jason of Star Command Series Regular, 1979–80.

Filmography

(Compiled by Christopher Schaefer)

Frame Up (1937)
Ride A Pink Car (194?)
A Bell for Adano (1945)
Don Juan Quilligan (1945)
Within These Walls (1945)
Somewhere In The Night (1946)
Wake Up And Dream (1946)
Forever Amber (1947)
Yellow Sky (1948)
The Girl Who Took The West (1949)
Slattery's Hurricane (1949)
The Story of Molly X (1949)
Undertow (1949)
Frenchie (1950)
Saddle Tramp (1950)
The Barefoot Mailman (1951)
The Fat Man (1951)
Fighting Coast Guard (1951)
Man in the Saddle (1951)
Hoodlum Empire (1952)
Oklahoma Annie (1952)
Fair Wind to Java (1953)
Sun Shines Bright (1953)



John Russell as Marshall Dan Troop with Peter Brown (right)

Star on Pilot help of Mr. Russell who gave me the benefit of his recollections. —CS

Thanks to Renata Russell for her kind and helpful assistance in completing this list. —SEK3

Jubilee Trail (1954)
Hell's Outpost (1955)
The Last Command (1955)
The Dalton Girls (1957)
Dope Ship / Hellbound (1957)
Untamed Youth (1957)
Fort Massacre (1958)
Rio Bravo (1959)
Yellowstone Kelly (1959)
Apache Uprising (1966)
Hostile Guns (1967)
Huntsville (1967)
Fort Utah (1967)
Buckskin (1968)
If He Hollers, Let Him Go (1968)
Outlaw Legacy (196?)
Runaway Lovers (196?)
Cannon for Cordoba (1970)
Five Horsemen (1971)
The Frontiersman (1971)
Noon Sunday/Attack At Noon Sunday (1971)
Legacy of Blood (1973)
Smoke in the Wind (1975)
Temple of the Ravens (197?)
Where The Wind Dies (197?)
Father Kino Story (1976)
Outlaw Josey Wales (1976)
Honky Tonk Man (1982)
Pale Rider (1985)
Under The Gun (1987)



Jean Carmen, Lori Nelson, and John Russell in *Untamed Youth*

Rock 'n' Roll & Libertarian Culture

by Cary Darling

Think. It ain't illegal yet.

—George Clinton

Parliament/Funkadelic

Fans of both rock and roll and libertarianism like to think the two are irrevocably intertwined. Certainly both have their roots in a desire to give the status quo a good bashing around the ears while simultaneously sneering at the scent of any orthodoxy. After all, jazz, folk and classical were derided for being too theoretical. Because of this, as well as its widespread appeal to the populations of every industrialized country, rock has the potential for disseminating libertarian ideas and helping to create a libertarian culture. But of course, this begs the question which is: has rock 'n' roll, the battered bastard child of Southern blues and country music which has grown up to be a prosperous and well-heeled adult, helped develop and build a libertarian culture which is living and breathing today? The answer isn't an easy yes or no as rock music has helped engender some identifiable libertarian values — an anti-war posture being the most readily identifiable — but simultaneously it has helped perpetuate a cultural and political conservatism which is rather shocking considering rock's short and turbulent history.

On the surface, rock 'n' roll remains the music of non-ideological freedom. The very rhymes are enough to send many conservatives into a rage; whether it's the hardcore anarchism of the Dead Kennedys or the right-wing Christian message of Stryper, it makes little difference. And, as the last year has proven, rock — and the whole \$4 billion rock industry — can mobilize to be an effective *private* alternative to government answers. Band-Aid, USA For Africa, Live Aid, Farm Aid, and Sun City have probably done more to raise the general public's consciousness on the issues involved (world hunger, collapse of the family farm, and apartheid respectively) than any government program. The other big news in the music industry last year was the insistence of the PMRC (Parents Music Resources Center, a group headed by several Senators' wives) that records be rated like films, if need be by a government panel. Even though the RIAA (Record Industry Association of America) didn't fight the issue as hard as it might (critic/analyst Dave Marsh, in his *Rock and Roll Confidential* newsletter, hypothesized that the RIAA wants a home taping bill from Congress so that it didn't dare push too hard), musicians from all fronts — from Frank Zappa to Twisted Sister's Dee Snider to Joni Mitchell to Donny Osmond and John Denver — publicly came out against such a draconian measure and subsequently made the First Amendment and freedom of speech an urgent issue.

In France, the rise in physical and verbal attacks on Asian and African immigrants prompted local bands and promoters to stage an anti-racism concert which attracted over 40,000 people. In England, the anti-nuclear, pro-animal, and Rock Against Racism forces have gotten through to a lot of young people (many of whom have given up on mainstream media and school) through the use of pop music and the pop media. So, does all this mean that we're going to see kids armed with guitars, stalking the halls of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue and 10 Downing Street just waiting to give a legislator a good what for with his/her six strings? Well, don't hold your breath.

Going back to the 1960s, when rock first found its consciousness (to the detriment of its inherent anarchic spark, some critics like Greg Shaw maintain), the latent attitude has always been that the government should do more to help society. Sure, there have been many explicitly and implicitly libertarian/anarchic musicians (Rush, Crass, Zappa, Devo, George Clinton, the Residents, Kraftwerk all immediately spring to mind) but they largely have been derided by "humanist" rock critics for lacking the proper rock consciousness. They have been called everything from Nazis to utopians to just plain wimps.

Those who are elevated to the status of "serious rock artist" are those like Bob Geldof, Springsteen, U2 — those who set their "radicalism" in a readily recognizable frame and operate along conventional left/liberal channels. This isn't to say that their music isn't valid but that it really isn't all that different from what's gone before it, therefore not making it really radical at all. Nowhere is this more apparent than in England where raging anti-Thatcher sentiment among youth has not turned into anything resembling libertarianism. Quite the opposite, Socialist Revision-

ism is all the rage among aware young people in Blighty. A group of left-leaning British musicians (including the Jam/Style Council's Paul Weller, Eurythmics's Dave Stewart, folkie Billy Bragg, The Kinks' Ray Davies, Spandau Ballet's Gary Kemp, ex-Special Jerry Dammers, songwriter Robert Wyatt — who incidentally performs one of the most stirring anti-war songs ever in "Shipbuilding" — and Banarama among others) have formed Red Wedge, a socialist organization whose aim is to get the Labor Party into power at the next election.

According to the *New Musical Express*, the most thoughtful and fiery of England's many youth-oriented publications, "Its aims are various although a basic goal is the instillation of a greater political awareness among young people... [It] also deals in party political specifics, it is firmly committed to the concept of a Labour victory in the next election."

Now the *NME* may greet this news with wide smiles, but, think about it, what could be more boring (and ineffectual) than a bunch of musicians and craggy old party line politicians arguing over what industry should be nationalized first? The irony is that nearly all of those involved circumvented the mainstream music industry by going the very DIY route of starting their own labels and creating alternative marketing/merchandizing schemes. But, to their minds, decentralization in the music industry has nothing to do with decentralization in any other form of human organization. They refuse to see the irony.

Admittedly, the hostility towards Thatcher is well-placed. They look at her, and her allies such as the US and South Africa, and see nuclear weapons, cruise missiles, American cultural imperialism, apartheid, 50% youth unemployment, and Europe being used as the battleground between the US and the USSR. But, in the blind belief that whoever is Thatcher's enemy is their friend, they abandon searching for a third alternative. This attitude reached its peak in the writings of Julie Burchill, the popular British pop cultural critic who co-wrote *The Boy Looked At Johnny* (the biography of Johnny Rotten written in the first white hot minutes of punk) and has written for *Time Out*, *The Face*, and *New Musical Express*. In a September '81 edition of *The Face*, Burchill wrote a piece celebrating the Berlin Wall on its 20th anniversary.

It's always easy to squeeze sympathy out of Western Allied lowlings by showing footage of East Germans squeezing through the gaps in the tarpaulin that the Russians put up in 1961 while the Wall was being built, and by pointing out the dearth of runners the other way — typical capitalist quantity as opposed to quality argument. What kind of people were deserting? Some of the princes who went on to make West Germany the heroin and prostitution capital of the world.

What Burchill demonstrates, aside from a good, though brutish grasp of the English language, is her innate — almost monarchist — conservatism. And she was considered one of Britain's most radical and feisty writers. Granted, she has mellowed a bit lately. She no longer applauds Solzhenitsyn, Stalin, the continued presence of Britain in Northern Ireland as often as she once did and lately she hasn't brought up the idea that America should become a monarchy under the Kennedys. Yet, like her other contemporary Brit lefties, she constantly shows off her rigidity. In *Rock Yearbook '86*, a collection of essays by rock critics on the previous years output, she wrote an essay on why Live-Aid and artists like Billy Bragg are important.

[Bragg] does not wallow in the power and the gory [sic] of protest; he is not so conceited as to try to create a new England but does call for the preservation of the old one, the England of consensus and the Welfare State.

Hostility to outright libertarianism is beyond venomous. When Crass refused to endorse the Labor or Socialist Workers or Communist candidates for Prime Minister in the last election, rightly insisting that to do so would conflict with their anarchist beliefs, the British pop press went after them with a cleaver. In an article called "The Right Kind of Anarchy," the *NME* painted England's Libertarian Alliance as uncaring Nazis and starry-eyed utopians.

Even Johnny (Rotten) Lydon, the man who spat out the bile-ridden "Anarchy in the U.K." all those years ago, told *Bam* magazine in 1984 that "Anarchy is a monument to the middle class, I'll always say that and I'll always believe it." To be fair, he did go on to say all those in

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Anarcho-Artist: The Example of William Morris

by Don Cormier

Those interested in promoting libertarian principles can benefit by examining the life and work of William Morris. Morris was a Victorian designer and reformer who wrote an anarchist-utopian novel, *News From Nowhere*, which stresses that the motive for social change is the desire for increased happiness and dramatize the benefits of living in freedom.

William Morris was born in 1834, in Walthamstow, England. Young Morris loved stories of knights and chivalry, and his passion for the legendary middle-ages set the course of his life.

As a young man, Morris entertained vague notions of entering the clergy, but soon he became interested in the decorative arts. After graduating from Oxford, Morris and some artist friends started a firm that sold furniture and decorative accessories styled in medieval fashion. Morris tried to operate the firm in a manner that reflected the ideals of chivalry. He tried to treat his hired craftsmen as collaborators, rather than as disposable cogs. After a slow start, the firm became very successful.

In the late 1870's, Morris began political activity. Concern with society's rule-making process was a natural result of his interest in the welfare of workers. He became convinced that Marx's ideas were correct, and that a revolution was needed to improve the lot of the worker. He also became impatient with efforts to elect candidates, thinking that such efforts would impose a new hierarchy under a veil of egalitarian rhetoric. Morris and a few similar-minded dissidents founded the Socialist League, which was dedicated to inculcating the masses with communist anarchism. However, the lectures, newspapers, and pamphlets put out by the League brought little response from workers, who found anarchist ideas far-fetched and impractical.

Perhaps in wishful compensation, Morris set to work on a tale of the future, set in the time of anarchism's triumph. *News from Nowhere* tells of daily life in a communist, anarchist England of the 21st Century. It was serialized in the *Commonweal*, the newspaper of the Socialist League, in 1890, and was at once acclaimed by leftists as a vivid and credible description of communism in its perfection.

News From Nowhere is told in the form of a dream. William Morris casts himself as the hero. Late one winter night, he returns to his home at Hammersmith, by the river Thames, after attending a political meeting in London. Depressed and disgusted by the pettiness and physical ugliness of late Victorian England, he goes to sleep. When he awakens, the world is mysteriously changed. It is a brilliant morning in early summer. Many buildings have vanished, and an ugly metal bridge has been replaced by a gorgeous stone structure reminiscent of Venice. Dazed, William wanders to the river's edge, where he meets a young man who is dressed in strange clothes. They strike up a conversation, and William gradually realizes that in some magical way, he has been transported far into the future. However, he doesn't give this knowledge away to Dick, the young man to whom he has been speaking. He simply allows Dick to think of him as a traveler from distant lands. Dick remarks that he is about to journey upstream to do some haymaking, and that he would welcome some company on his trip. William agrees to accompany him.

William finds himself travelling through a country of great physical beauty. Meadows, orchards, and garden-like plots of vegetables are interspersed with forests, scattered cottages, and occasional clusters of stately buildings. The people all seem happy, healthy, and prosperous. The clothes, houses, and tools are all crafted with a combination of elegance and simplicity. Surprisingly, William sees few machines, but those he sees reveal an extremely advanced level of scientific knowledge.

Although the looks of the people and the countryside are pleasant, William is most impressed by the customs and social relations of this future society.

To begin, there is no money. No one buys or sells anything. If a person

wants something from a shop, that person simply takes it. Obviously, in this system, no one is paid for working, but on the other hand, no one works. This paradox is explained by the fact that all work is considered play. Heavy manual labor is especially desired, as a kind of competitive sport. People work as much or as little as they please, and it doesn't matter. All really unpleasant work is done by unobtrusive machines, and their products are so abundant that no one must work to survive.

There is no army, no police force, no court system, and no law in this land. Because there is no such thing as property, the crime of theft no longer exists. Neither is there any need for laws regarding the disposition and control of land or other goods, because everyone shares. To hoard or refuse to cooperate is to invite social ostracism.

Crimes of violence are rare, because people are extremely healthy, happy, and busy. To employ coercion or to aggress without provocation is regarded as a total, buffoonish breach of good manners, something that would at best result in mockery and shunning, and at worst in firm self-defense by the injured party. Habitual offenders are restrained, but they are regarded as mad rather than evil, and every effort is made to rehabilitate them.

Marriage and traditional families do not exist in this country. People have sex and cohabit, or do not, by mutual, voluntary agreement. Children are generally tended by their biological mothers, until they are old enough to fend for themselves, somewhere around the age of seven. At that age, they are deemed old enough to choose another living situation if they wish, or to start "work."

There are no schools in the traditional sense, although people who are expert in particular subjects often gather disciples, and so pass on their knowledge. Most people learn through example, and by doing the thing they wish to learn. Book-learning is not much valued in this society, but the majority of people learn to read on their own, simply for the pleasure of reading stories.

Because people switch jobs and move frequently, most people become proficient in most types of work. The use of complicated technology in everyday life is minimized, precisely to make this flux and flow of people easier. This constant flux creates a certain homogenization, and so discourages the creation of classes or rival factions.

Decisions which affect groups of people are always made after lengthy discussions. Unanimous consent to decisions is the social ideal, and great pains are taken to work out compromises. When there is a conflict, manners dictate that the minority accede to the wishes of the majority. Of course, anyone is free to leave any place at any time, so there is a safety valve for resentments.

The whole future world operates in the same way. Although there are still differences of language in various geographic areas, there are no longer any governments, armies, guarded borders, or currencies to inhibit the flow of people, goods, and services.

William's trip upriver is pleasant, and he meets many people and sees many things. Toward the end of his journey, he meets a beautiful young woman named Ellen. Ellen is strong, unafraid of hard labor, and forthright in her speech — very different from the Victorian society ladies William has known. Ellen guesses that somehow William is unique, that somehow he is a link with a past age of oppression. There is a strange bond between William and Ellen, which in other circumstances could have become love. Dick, William, and Ellen arrive at Dick's destination, which turns out to be an old house at Kelmscott. In the gathering dusk, William finds that he is suddenly invisible to his companions. Ellen throws a piercing, bittersweet glance in his direction, and then all is chaos until William finds himself in bed, with morning sun coming through the windows.

The historical relationship between *News From Nowhere* and the varied permutations of Marxism has been odd. Leftist praise for Morris's

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Introducing Carol Low!

Education Into Libertarian Culture Schools: Time to Rethink Them

by Carol Low

Schools have been given total control over the lives of families whose children attend them. If the child is in school, he is bound to obey the authorities therein over and above his parents. He is trained to certain behaviors, he is tied to a certain schedule, and an attempt is made to teach him certain subjects. If the child attends public school, you as his parent have no influence whatsoever over the process of his schooling. If you have selected a private school, perhaps you have some degree of control. But the end result can be quite similar: the compulsory education laws force you to submit your child to a set number of hours of indoctrination outside his home environment. There are many reasons for the state to want to keep your child away from you for so much of his childhood. The reasons that should compel you to prevent this are infinite. I've selected a few of my favorites, things which you've likely heard smatterings of elsewhere, to remind you of where it is that your kid is going each day. And then I'll suggest some ways out.

To begin at the beginning, in schools, children are organized into groups. The groups are most often delineated by age, with subsets for ability, or lack thereof, and behavior, as well as mental or physical disabilities (read "differences"). These arrangements are often arbitrary and always created for the convenience of teachers and administrators. They are also illogical and potentially harmful.

Look first at the segregation by age. It is based upon an irrational set of assumptions: that each child who has reached a given age is ready to learn a given set of facts; that she has not been ready to do so previously; and that a given group of children of the same age can and will absorb this set of facts at the same rate of speed. As a teacher, I can easily say "humbug" to this entire package, based upon my experience. For those less familiar with how children learn, let me present a commonly overlooked comparison. Many children attend "extra-curricular" classes such as swimming, gymnastics, or music lessons. Do we find them grouped by age? We do not. It is obviously nonsense to assume that each child of a given age has the same skill at any of these activities as every other child of the same age. The groupings are made by levels of attainment and tests are administered periodically to determine a child's readiness to move to the next level. A child works on a skill until she masters it, and then moves on. There may be a suggested time frame, but it is not carved in stone, and the child has not "failed" if she does not master a skill in set time. And it is recognized that all six-year-olds are ready to learn to read? And that no five-year-olds are? And that it takes precisely x weeks in which to learn it? There is a reason for this attempt at homogenization of our children's learning patterns. And it is not the expansion of their minds, Comrade.

Educators are becoming ever more more intrusive into our children's lives. They continually create even more subtle distinctions to use in the sorting of children. Children are given labels which they carry around in their files for the duration of their schooling. First, there is the ubiquitous "third-grade." Innocent enough, unless the child happens to be 10 years old. Then there are the more insidious epithets: "underachiever," "gifted," "handicapped," "hyperactive," "special," "average," or "learning disabled." Children find themselves placed into niches by the words inscribed in their files; niches from which there is often no escape. Treated like the failure or troublemaker his file purports him to be, any child will obligingly act the role.

Chaim Ginott said "Labelling is disabling."¹ Even a child who is labelled in a seemingly positive way suffers from it, constantly trying to live up to outside expectations and often incurring the scorn of peers in the highly competitive school environment when singled out for words of praise. Another child, who is segregated for "special help" when it is determined by the powers that be that he is different from his peers, may or may not learn more in the new setting, but he has been doomed to follow a separate path, possibly for life. All children are "different" and

need to be treated as such. This is not "abnormal," it is a fact of life — it is part of what makes life a challenge.

There is seldom relief from this sorting and labelling even in a private school. Most rely on the age-based grading system and many create even more subsets in the name of "individual attention" than the public schools. Only a minority free themselves from the common mold. These ungraded schools can be of several sorts: from the one-room school — necessarily a small institution; to a larger structure, where children are sorted by means other than age — such as interests or abilities; to a system where they move about from one interest group to another. Amazingly, children and adults alike, who participate in these alternatives often find themselves referring to "third grade," perhaps in self defense. One is so often asked "What grade is he in?"

Other aspects of the compulsory schooling mess are equally invasive. We are all familiar with the notebooks carried by teachers to prove to administrators and taxpayers, and possibly even parents, that they know what to teach. The "lesson plan" and its big brother, the "curriculum," represent yet another misassumption on the part of modern "educators:" that the education of children can be accomplished via a preordained sequence and in a set time period. Children are different. Their learning abilities are different, their interests are different, and the ways in which they learn are different. Schools put the burden upon teachers, parents, kids, and the "homework" monster to compensate for these differences. This is an evasion of the facts. The evident inequalities in interests and skills among a group of kids is normal and natural. As far as homework is concerned, if the schools cannot accomplish what they deem necessary in the inordinate number of hours allotted to them out of the lives of our children, something is being said about their goals and methods. Are those kids being paid overtime for the long hours they must spend outside of the classroom trying to create equality where there is none? No, they are being deprived of their childhood — time to play and relax, and time to participate in the work of the home. It is no wonder that kids balk at household chores which ought to be a fact of life: they are fighting to regain control over some portion of their lives.

Stealing all of this time from children does not, of course, create equality. And stealing all of this money from taxpayers does not create education. But the schools have means by which to "prove" that education is occurring: grades and tests. Each bit of work performed by a child is subjected to careful scrutiny and decorated with red marks where the child has strayed from the desired result. No consideration is given to the importance of the child's ego in the learning process. If his errors are consistently accentuated in red, the feelings of inferiority thus produced will do more to undermine his progress than will have been gained by the use of this gross and simplistic method of demonstrating the error of his ways. Rather than having her every error archived, a child needs an opportunity to discuss the relative merits of various solutions and revise her work accordingly, thus preserving a piece of work of which she can be proud, and reinforcing the correct response.

Tests put even more pressure to perform onto the students. The artificial conditions under which material must be recalled and put to paper bear very little relation to the information actually contained in the mind of a particular child. And the fact that he may have "crammed" for the exam exacerbates the problem, since the material is filed in short-term memory for the test and a significant portion is lost immediately thereafter. Largely, all that a test discovers is whether or not a child is good at taking tests. In truth, it is not difficult for an astute teacher to determine whether a child has learned her lessons, either by observing her written or oral work, or discussing the subject matter with her. And the fact that the child has not learned the material in the predetermined time frame is hardly grounds for punishment, but rather demonstrates the need to rethink the teaching methods and the appropriateness of the

material to that child. As Thomas L. Johnson asks in *The Real Academic Community*², when a student, who ought to be a *client* of the school, does not receive the education for which he (or someone) has paid, is it not the teacher who is at fault for not providing the contracted service, rather than the child who has “failed?” This argument suffers in the compulsory schooling situation because the taxpayers are doing the paying and the students are prisoners, not clients. The fault, however, is with the system, not the logic.

As the children progress from grade to grade, the failure to have learned prior material results in failures to learn future material. Now the question becomes, why learn this stuff at all? The prerequisites for graduation created by legislators and educators take little, if any, account of the future path of a given child. Each student is simply plugged into the system and expected to emerge having learned the standard pile of drivel. Why, exactly, is every child taught history and geography, but not archeology, astronomy, physics or chemistry? How do the bureaucrats decide which subjects ought to be force-fed to every student? Even parents who put their children into private schools to improve their chances for an individually tailored program of study are often blockaded by state requirements for a certain number of hours of this or that and a conventional wisdom that preaches the necessity for a “well-rounded” education.

What, exactly, is a well-rounded education? Traditionally, it has come to mean an overview of selected subjects. This may be fine as long as it is the student who makes the selection. But when third parties begin to assume the right to decide, then, once again, coercion interferes in the learning process. A child must be presented with options and allowed to let his interests lead him in his quest for knowledge. This may mean that one child learns less arithmetic than another, but it also means that he learns considerably more geology, or whatever other subjects his passions lead him to explore.

It is found, in such alternative schooling environments as Montessori schools and home “schools,” that when children are allowed freedom of choice, a very well-rounded and complete body of knowledge is most often the result.³ When a child is studying material of interest to him, the need is eliminated for endless repetition. When each child is working at her own pace, there is no such thing as “but the class isn’t ready for division yet, so please do another page of multiplication tables.” It is the artificial learning environment and unrealistic expectations created by the schools and their curricula which force children to spend so very many hours trying to learn things which should take only minutes.

About those hours! Above and beyond the outrageous coercion used to teach drivel to our children, or to cause them to pretend to have learned the drivel just long enough to perform satisfactorily on various tests, there is another package of external control involving scheduling and attendance. The compulsory education laws involve sentencing of children to attend school for 6 hours a day, 180–200 days a year, for ten or more years (depending on the specific regulations in your state). There is no parole, no chance of reprieve, no time off for good behavior. Not even vacation pay! Taking a six-year-old child out of his home and requiring him to sit silently and motionless for the best part of 6 hours is akin to taking an adult out of his home and putting him in prison...on a chain gang. Throwing in a couple of “recesses,” a lunch hour, and occasional gym classes does not compensate a small child for having been forced into a behavior which is totally contrary to his nature.

Little wonder that discipline is a problem in schools. The child is in no way permitted to follow his own instincts regarding his survival. Should he need to use the washroom, he must wait for that time euphemistically known as “toilet recess.” If he feels ill, he must obtain the permission of the authorities to be sick enough to leave school. He must be escorted home, regardless of his age or the degree of his illness. He must obtain a note from home “excusing” his illness in order to return when he is well. If he is late for school, he must present a parental note excusing his “tardiness.”

***“The compulsory education laws
involve sentencing children to attend
school for 6 hours a day,
180–200 days a year,
for ten or more years...”***

In school, he is told what work to do at what time and for how long he may do it and how much he is expected to complete. If during that time allotted to arithmetic he is caught feverishly studying a science text, he is not praised for his interest in science but reprimanded for his disobedience.

How can children possibly grow into responsible, rational adults when they are treated as slaves for ten or more years of their lives? It becomes obvious, once more, that the aim here is not the education of our children, but the “civilizing” of them.⁴

Children are treated as non-persons in classrooms and then, ignoring the obvious paradox which has been created, they are expected to learn something! And they are expected to learn it as it is doled out in daily 45 minute doses: 45 minutes of reading, 45 of science, 45 of math, 45 of social studies (whatever that is), 45 of art, *etc.* Imagine an adult in a place of business, sitting at a desk, deep in concentration. A bell rings and a voice of authority booms “now, please put away your accounts receivable and work on payroll.” In 45 minutes, the inescapable voice insists, “charts and graphs time.” Obviously, the individual will get less accomplished in this fashion, having his concentration broken and switching his attention

hither and thither.

Why the assumption that children are different? “Shorter attention spans,” say those who are presumed to know. But everyone has seen a child sit in a sandbox for hours, oblivious to all distractions, including hunger, rain, impending darkness, and the shouts of his peers to join that at another activity. If he does not feel this way about his schoolwork, then the fault is in the work, not the child’s attention span!

Clearly, the authoritarian school is not the kind of environment in which to promote learning. As human beings, dependent for our very survival upon our ability to reason, we need to develop the ability to think independently. Conditioning a child to respond to bells and authority figures does not encourage her to assume responsibility for her own life. If we must put children into schools, why must they be treated as slaves or prisoners instead of clients? What difference can it possibly make to their education if they are late for class or miss a day as long as they learn the requisite material? None. But it can and does make a difference in the production of obedient worker-citizens. And it can and does undermine the sense of personal efficacy of a child to have to beg permission to be sick! Were education the goal here, it would make much more sense for children to make such determinations for themselves — taking full responsibility for the consequences from the youngest possible age. To develop into independent, thinking, *human* adults, children must be treated as people — with respect for their needs and acceptance of their differences.

That poor little babe, equally prevalent in storybooks and reality, who says, “I can’t go to school today, my stomach hurts,” is doing two things. First, he is defending himself against a situation that is too much for him. Second, he is adapting — he has learned to lie because the truth doesn’t work. Why is this such a common scenario? Because children have an internal pace of their own at which they need to grow, develop, and learn; and it does not often correspond to that set so arbitrarily by the government.

The families of children also have needs which are impinged on by the education leviathan. The school calendar, extending as it does, from September through June, with two short breaks for winter and spring holidays, forces the lives of families into a set pattern. Why is Disneyland mobbed when you are there? Because school’s out and everyone else who wants to see Disneyland is tied to that same calendar. How seldom it occurs to us that there is no objective reason for this regimentation!

Even private schools operate on the standard school calendar to avoid making waves. Pity the family in which the adults are tied to their businesses during the allotted school vacation times. Even if we accepted the government edict that 200 days per year of schooling are necessary, why do we so easily let law and convention dictate which 200 it must be? Why has the market not created a demand for schools which schedule

***“If...he is caught feverishly studying
a science text,
he is not praised for his interest in
science but reprimanded
for his disobedience.”***

more creatively, allowing parents more freedom of movement with their children?

How nice it would be to call a friend and invite him to bring his family and spend a few weeks in May and not hear “But the children are in school until June 13.” No, he cannot simply phone the school and request his child’s assignments for the time of the proposed trip. In a public school, an absence of this length without a doctor’s note proving illness, and thus unavoidable absence, results in the child’s failing the grade, not to mention no end of trouble with a person known as the “truant officer.” Private schools may or may not be able to adapt to this situation, but what they cannot do is afford to refund your friend’s money for the missed time. So the visit waits until school is out. And the possibility that the adventure might do more to further a child’s education than his remaining in school is not even considered by the authorities.

There is, in every human being, a higher authority than the school: the internal drive to grow and progress. Given their heads, children will choose to learn. Sometimes they are driven by the desire to explore their environment, sometimes by the need to read, sometimes by the quest to understand how things work. Sometimes they need time off — not necessarily at Christmas, but when their brains and their bodies are temporarily sated in the striving for knowledge and the organism requires a break in the routine to solidify the progress of the preceding period — much as sleep is thought to serve on a daily basis. Not everyone can or needs to learn the same things and not everyone operates on the same schedule. We should provide for the education of our children in accordance with this understanding of how learning truly occurs.

The most obvious option is the private school, if you can afford to pay for your child’s education twice. Most private schools retain many of the drawbacks of government schools. It requires patient research to select one which is less rigid and authoritarian and more child-centered. As a generalization, I lean toward Montessori schools. There are obviously variations in the quality of such schools, but there is a basic set of goals being pursued: respect for the rights of individual children; “internal discipline” based upon respect for the rights of classmates, as opposed to the artificial, militaristic discipline in a typical public school; free choice of work; self-correction of errors; heterogenous class composition; sorting of children by three-year developmental levels, rather than strictly by age; and the particularly appealing Montessori tenet of guiding rather than teaching. The Montessori system has its anachronistic and extraneous practices, but, as a whole, if one is forced to place a child in a school, a Montessori environment is a good bet for refusing to succumb to the usual authoritarian practices.

A more radical alternative lies in uninventing the school altogether, as Thomas Johnson has done in his scenario for “education businesses.”⁵ Briefly, an education business sells instruction, not degrees. Courses are offered via a free market approach — on a demand basis to anyone willing to pay. Tests are optional. Any certification which a client might need or desire must be obtained elsewhere, so that the instructors hold no whip over his head, but must themselves remain competitive to keep their clientèle! The choice of program is at all times up to the client, as is the scheduling. Alas, this option is not yet available to our young ones. So we must go yet a step farther and uninvent the entire concept that children need to learn in an environment that is not their home.

If you want to offer the best opportunity for your child to grow up freely, do not relinquish the responsibility for his education to the government, or to anyone else for that matter. The final option, “un-schooling,” requires a sizeable commitment from parents, but nothing like the 200 days a year, six hours per day, which officialdom would have you believe. Nor does it require the huge amount of money currently being spent per pupil either publicly or in private school tuition. What it does require is patience, ingenuity and a sizeable dose of confidence in yourself and your child. Forget all the excuses. If the cause of liberty and the lives of your children are of value to you, do something. Accept fully the responsibility of parenting. If your children are in private schools, look again. Are they being subjected to much the same parcel of coercion which public schools deliver? Save yourself a lot of money. Take them out.

I know that I will not be asked (please, please) how unschooled children will find social interaction. If I were, the answer would be, just like anyone else — by choice, not by enforced association. But, I will surely be asked how they will learn. How did they learn to walk? Children are born to learn. Provide them with a stimulating environment,

get the obstacles out of their way, avail them of resources to help them expand their knowledge. They will learn. Guide them, assist them, share with them, and enjoy them. *Do not presume to teach them.* Learning is strictly a private affair, occurring in the head of the learner. Encourage independence and self-reliance. Make them part of the whole life of the home and family. They will learn by example. They will learn by doing. They will learn by the impetus of their own insatiable thirst for knowledge. Involve your children in cooking, carpentry, gardening, housework, planning schedules and trips, sewing, child care, earning money, and whatever else the life of your home entails. All of these will contribute to their education. Will they learn to read and write and add? Yes, if reading, writing and adding are seen as necessary and valuable in their environment.

Now I will be asked if the children will be bored. Sometimes, but less often than they are in school. Use the removal of the yoke of schooling to free up your lives for adventure and you will seldom find that anyone is bored. Swim together, skate together, shop, travel, go to museums. Plan projects that you would never attempt if you had to do them alone: learn to garden or raise animals, remodel your family room, plan a trip to the Grand Canyon for a week or two. Encourage each child to participate to the fullest extent of his interest and ability. Do not limit him with those devastating words “Let me do it, I’m bigger.” Use your ingenuity to find a way for him to do it. The Montessori principle that too much parental assistance makes the child a slave to his dependency is all-important in home-schooling. What you don’t need is a house full of “Mom, make me a sandwich,” “Dad, take me outside.” Free yourself and your children by providing the knowledge and the means for them to be self-sufficient. They will learn.

Will you grow tired of your children’s constant presence? At times. But the more active you are, as a group and separately, the less this will be a problem. Many homeschooling parents begin to renew their own education — taking up new skills with their children — piano lessons, drama, perhaps a foreign language. Start a home business and put everyone to work. There will be those who accuse of you exploiting your kids, but you will see them experience the joy of living a productive life, of no longer being totally dependent upon you for their every need. You will see them blossom into truly interesting and exciting human beings rather than robots produced at the government factory from which the bells can be heard several times a day.

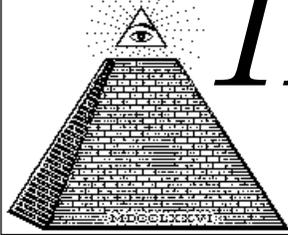
Are you, a non-teacher, capable of teaching your child everything she needs to know? No. But then, neither is anyone else. What you are capable of is guiding her with love and acceptance, so learn those things which interest her and are important to her. There will be subjects for which you will hire a teacher or take her to classes. But many things can be learned as part of the work of living, with simple materials, and an available library.

A final, and most frustrating question. What if you simply cannot afford to stay home with your kids? What if you cannot even afford a private school? Love them, support them, let them know that their inner peace and happiness mean more to you than a straight-A report card. Be straight with them about what school is and what it means. Help them to take the whole sordid mess with a grain of salt. Interfere for them where you can, be there to support them when the pressure is too much. And when you can, free them. If liberty is the goal of your life, where best to start to live what you believe than by giving your children’s lives back to them?

- 1 Ginott, Chaim. *Teacher and Child*, pp. 99-103. Macmillan Co., NY. 1972.
- 2 Johnson, Thomas L. *The REAL Academic Community and the Rational Alternative*, p. 110. Lee Editions, Fredericksburg, VA. 1980.
- 3 Holt, John. *Teach Your Own*, p. 60. Delta/Seymour Lawrence, NY. 1981.
- 4 Spring, Joel H. *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State*, p. 47. Beacon Press, Boston, Mass. 1972.
- 5 Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 107-142.

Additional Recommended Reading

- Maria Montessori—*The Secret of Childhood*, 1966, Ballantine Books, NY
 A.S. Neill—*Summerhill*, 1960, Hart Publishing Co., NY
 Postman & Weingartner—*The School Book*, 1973, Delacorte Press, NY
 William F. Rickenbacker—*The Twelve Year Sentence*, 1974, Dell Books, NY
 Schrag & Divoky—*The Myth of the Hyperactive Child*, 1975, Dell Books, NY
 Silberman, Charles E.—*Crisis in the Classroom*, 1970, Random House, NY



Illuminating Discords

by Robert Anton Wilson

Letters from Ireland

Counter-Economic Culture of Ireland & Pregnant Irish Bulls

There is in mankind a certain
 *hic multa*
 *desiderantur*
 and this I take as a clear solution of the matter.

Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*

The eclipsis in the above is Swift's, not mine; and this an unusually clear bit of exposition to have emerged from the land which invented the Irish Bull and owns the international copyright on Celtic Twilight. Some consider Swift the first modern Irishman, and certainly is the first modern Irish intellectual, which is why nobody outside Ireland understands him and the Irish, of course, do not even try to understand him: they are satisfied to merely admire, in the original Latin meaning of that verb. It was an Irish playwright (Wilde) who invented the theory of art as Mask, and an Irish poet (Yeats) who developed the notion that reality is another Mask, and an Irish philosopher (Berkeley) who created an ontology so superb that the clearest-headed Scotsman who ever lived (Hume) said in awe that it was as impossible to refute it as to believe it.

An Irish Bull, of course, is unlike any other bull in that it is pregnant. The late Mayor Daly of Chicago, who was only Irish by ancestry, almost introduced the Irish Bull to American politics a few times, but the best he could manage was "The police are not here to create disorder; they're here to maintain disorder." However delightful that might be to anarchists, it lacks the true element of total surrealism in the Bulls bred on the sacred soil of Tara itself. There are fictitious Bulls part of the folklore ("Pat, are you alive or dead?" "I'm alive, but I'm too stunned to talk") and the Bulls that actually got into the records of the British Parliament when Ireland still had representatives there ("Children too young to walk or talk are rushing about the streets uttering terrible profanities": attributed to H.C.E. Childers) and the Bull specially trained to gore logicians (of which the classic is Swift's astrological demonstration that Partridge, the astrologer, was dead, which is so ingenious it almost persuades one to ignore Partridge's objection that he was still alive) and the Bull genetically engineered to stop old arguments and start a new argument, known as the Wilde Bull ("Religions die when they are proven to be true") and, of course, the Bull in the China Shop of Literature, known as *Finnegans Wake*.

Probably, the origin of the Irish Bull was the Penal Laws of 1604, which were passed by the British after they had been in Ireland for over 400 years and had learned something of how to deal with Irish logic. It can be said with some accuracy that the Penal Laws did not prohibit the Roman Catholic religion but merely made it impossible; and the Irish response was not to disobey the laws but to render them unenforceable: and so there was born what the American critic, Hugh Kenner, calls the Irish Fact, which is not a fact in any sense known elsewhere but is not quite a lie either. The Irish Fact is the father of the Irish Bull and the Irish Bull, being pregnant, is the mother of Irish Literature. (If you can understand that at all, you can survive a visit to Ireland without going mad. If you fully understand it, you can live in Ireland for four years, as I have, without climbing the walls and chewing the ceiling.)

It was during the Penal Laws, when priests were illegal (and the punishment for those caught in Ireland was breaking-on-the-wheel which was so gruesome you can only see the like of it in a Brian de Palma movie, if you have a taste for sadism) that the Jesuits evolved their famous equivocation when captured and interrogated. This was the marvelous statement (which will delight any Jesuit, and any Irish person,

to this day), "I am not a Catholic priest and if I were I would lie about it." If you think that is a lie, you haven't studied logic, and you do not begin to appreciate Irish Logic in particular.

It was that Jesuit equivocation, I think, which inspired the Irish Bull, and the Swiftian irony (which usually has a different target than you think it is aiming toward), and the Wildean paradox, which is a profound insight disguised as a joke: Oscar's most famous reversal of the expected, "Nature imitates art," contains most of the sciences of ethnomethodology and transactional psychology in embryo as it were. To say what you mean and to mean what you say are considered virtues in England, but the Irish, as the oldest surviving victims of English virtue, prefer the fine art of saying what they don't mean and meaning what they don't say.

Thus, Wilde's best play has a title suggesting it might be about the importance of sincerity or frankness, but it is actually about impersonators impersonating impersonators. Thus, Yeats's best poems all obsessively pursue, with Hibernian intricacy, the Buddhist question of whether the Self is a Mask for something else or something else is a Mask for the Self. Thus, Joyce offers us the world's most realistic novel, *Ulysses*, and salts it with such realistic dialogue as:

—What's the best news? —I seen that particular party last evening.

This is two minor characters talking, it is virtually all we hear of their conversation, and it seems to carry the tradition of "realism" to the point of absurdity or self-caricature. (We overhear equally gnomic fragments every day, but why include them in a book?) On second reading, we may note that one speaker is a policeman, and a hypothesis dawns: the other speaker may be an informer, and the Good Lord knows, as any Irishman will tell you, there were God's plenty of them in Dublin in Joyce's day. On third reading, the hypothesis remains a hypothesis: the conversation may be totally innocent. Joyce isn't telling us.

Actually, in ordinary Dublin speech even today a handy Hibernianism, "your man," replaces the attempted elegance of Joyce's speaker's "that particular party." I have actually heard such conversations, in Dublin pubs, as:

"Your man was in earlier." "Oh, indeed. Any trouble?"

"Devil a bit. All sailing smoothly, there."

This might be two members of the Provisional I.R.A. talking about an arms shipment; it might be two gents involved in bringing hashish over from Amsterdam; and it might just be the Irish habit of elusiveness. One always never knows. As Joyce says in a letter, Ireland like Sicily is ruled by the law of *omerta*: that is the legacy of 800 years of occupation by a foreign power.

The Irish say the 800 years, Hugh Kenner has noted, the way Jews say the six million.

The Irish use of the word "cute" is almost unknown in America, except in the novels of Raymond Chandler, who had an Irish father. Whenever the cops accuse of Philip Marlowe, Chandler's private eye, of being "cute" they mean what the Irish mean: a "cute" man in Ireland is one of whom neither God nor the Devil can be sure what he means or intends. Chandler's Marlowe is so cute that the reader is as uncertain as the police, usually, about what Marlowe is actually thinking or planning.

Frank McShane once tried to apply Yeatsian analysis to Chandler and decided that, in *The Big Sleep*, Rusty Reagan is Marlowe's Anti-Self. Marlowe wears a Mask of flippancy, Reagan one of melancholy; Marlowe is painfully honest, Reagan is an ex-bootlegger; Marlowe will not marry, he says, because he cannot support a wife decently, but Reagan married a rich woman and let her support him; *etc.* These opposites are alike in that nobody in the book, and no reader of the book, can ever feel sure of actually understanding their motives: they have both disappeared behind their Masks, like the artist in Yeats's theory.

Rusty Reagan, oddly, was once an officer of the Irish Republican Army.
 —Robert Anton Wilson

Through Blackest Libertarian Cultures

[Continued from page 8]

lar encouragement in, NLN went offset, global, and had the most frequent publication rate during 1973 and 1974. For some reason, circulation rose drastically.

In the spring of 1972 Laissez Faire Books opened in Greenwich Village, a block away from my office at NYU's Chemistry Department, and quickly became "Movement Central."

New York, 1973–75

The story of the impact of the coming of the "Libertarian Party" to New York has been told in detail in these pages, from the early near-unanimous scorn (including that of Murray Rothbard) to the breaking of ranks by Clark, (Walter) Block and then Greenberg, to the nomination of Fran ("Other Girls are happy to be chosen Miss America, but I am thrilled to be your candidate!") Youngstein for Mary and Rothbard's sudden conversion thereafter. But, it may be admitted here for the first time, quite a bit was going on culturally as well to change things radically.

The spring of 1973 saw the last gasp of old-style libertarianism at the Atlanta Southern Libertarian Conference. The "New Libertarian crowd" drove down to Atlanta to accompany **SEK3**, paid speaker. The "hippie" lifestyle still held sway and we crashed on organizer **David Rosinger's** floor with Abby's Florida group. Earlier, her feminists had ridden around Atlanta whistling and yelling sexist remarks at passing Southern manhood. The arrival night was spent with much mingling of the two groups and consumption of the usual suspect substances.

(The next day I got "up" to deliver my address, was introduced as the representative of the "New York radicals" and remember little else. Several of my friends still insist it was the best speech I ever gave.)

Spending an evening touring the Atlanta Underground was a popular idea. NL's John Pachak insisted on getting an autographed ax-handle from ex-Governor Lester Maddox's store "to groove on." **Mike Holmes** attended as one of the few early LP supporters and started a tradition by being roundly trounced by SEK3 in a debate on the new Party Question, losing his few members there.

The *banneristi* grossed nearly everyone out but we all got along amazingly well (including Mike). "Black Abby" Goldsmith was moved to remark, after David Kennison's "perceptual reaffirmation of one's self-concept" lecture that it was the first slide presentation on sex that ever bored her.

In November of 1972 I joined John Pachak on the sixth and top floor of an East Village apartment building near Avenue C on 11th Street; I had apartment 24 and he had 22. This became the origin of the Anarchoslum (surrounded by Puerto Ricans), the predecessor of California's more upscale Anarchovillage. At one time or another all four apartments were occupied by me, The Thornton, John, "Mad Dwarf" Mike Moslow, John Caulfield, Tony Saglimbeni (a hulking Sicilian with a sinister speech impediment and a heart of gold), and, briefly, Nona Aguilar, my first great inspiration and later first heartbreak. Others dropped by frequently from NYUSFS and NYULA.

One day a Jehovah's Witness climbed up the five flights of stairs to knock on the door of Tony and Mike Moslow, who was created, we postulated, by magic coffee thrown on flaming cigarettes at an SF con (and was constantly trying to replenish his substance). Mike gave the poor missionaries his speed-freak-like rap on Odinist paganism, only to have huge Tony burst out in his shorts swinging his war-axe, crying "Odin! Odin!" We were never bothered by door-to-door solicitors again.

But the sixties were dying. Only the April 15 "Tax Is Theft!" demonstration I organized at the Wall Street IRS office continued through 1975, and many partyarchs joined in (as well as YAFers, War Resisters, and sundry socialists). Although the police pressed us several times "against the wall," we somehow managed to talk our way out of all arrests — even that of **Kenneth Kalheim** (now in a kibbutz in Israel) who walked into the office and set up a literature table. Jerry Klasman, a founder of NY's Free Libertarian Party along with Ed Clark, helped by looking like a middle-aged journalist and by constantly snapping photos when the stats began to play rough.

Many of us flew to Dallas after leaving the fledgling New York party in shambles (briefly estranging Rothbard and me), hoping to do the same to the national LP. But the party's National Convention was not only little like the non-party Atlanta con, but even unlike the freewheeling LP con

in Cleveland the previous year as well. Cultural conservatism was as prevalent as backward, minarchist politics and we walked out taking smaller numbers with us.

Hunter College's LA (**Bob Patton**, LeFevrian, John Caulfield, and **Frank Werth**) continued the libertarian conferences with an ever-higher proportion of anagoric anarchists (communists, syndicalists) and then quit after we left. The New York FLP lost many members to us, and others (like fun-loving Jerry and **Linda Klasman**) just dropped out, or, as we put it, Browned out à la Harry Browne. **J. Neil Schulman** threw two "CounterCons" (*i.e.*, Counter-Economic Conferences) in the nearby Berkshires in '74 and '75. One attendee was kicked out of the Lancaster, Pennsylvania LP, where he was treasurer, for allegedly attending "a training camp for saboteurs of the party." By 1975 I had synthesized agorism out of counter-economics and libertarianism as the answer to partyarchs and Browne, and was itching to head West to join the high-density libertarian population of Southern California.

Southern California, 1975–87, and the World

The tale of the Anarchovillage will need another issue to be fully told, and space is running out. Someone else will have to write the history of the anomalous condensation of libertarians from 1979–81 in San Francisco around the CATO Institute, *Libertarian Review*, and the Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS, or "sleaze"). Perhaps Murray, Milton Mueller, Jeff Riggenbach and/or Tory Varga would like to contribute to a future issue of NL?

In the remaining space, a few other clots of libertarian culture I've seen recently should be mentioned for some sense of completeness:

- The new New York "anarchoslum" gathered around **Richard Onley** and **Sean Haugh**, both libertarian SF fen from Oklahoma recruited originally through *Frefanzine*. Up near Columbia University, Onley and Haugh both work at Laissez Faire Books and call their apartment the Oklahoma Embassy. Those attending the party at the end of May to meet me included **Mark Sullivan** (whose credentials would fill this column but include working at the Henry George School and LF Books, gay libertarian activism, MLL and publishing *The Storm*, dedicated to Henry Mackay and Benjamin Tucker), **John J. Pierce**, SF historian and former section editor of *Renaissance* which was published in NLN during the early '70s; **Brian Burley**, New York paleofan and "alternate family styles" organizer; **Ginnie Fleming**, fanzine editrix; modern NYUSFS fan and artist **Nina Bogin**; the new *Frefan* editor **Michael Grubb** up from North Carolina (see below); and Neil Schulman plus those I regretfully forgot.

- Though I have yet to visit them, honorable mention should be given to **Arthur Hlavaty** and **Bernadette Bosky** for their *very* cultural libertarian group (mainly Discordian) in the North Carolina academic "triangle" near Duke University. They have several people I have not had the pleasure of meeting, as well as Sean Haugh (until his recent move) of MLL, Mike Grubb, and an old ex-Anarchovillager, **Beth Schwarzin**. Some of their exploits are chronicled in *The Dillinger Relic* (an *Illuminatus!* reference) and several APAs.

- Speaking of the South, I met several old libertarians in Atlanta during ConFederation Worldcon last year; David Rosinger (still around) and **Brad Linaweaver** and his gorgeous, hard-core wife **Cari** are still trying to gather together. Meanwhile, several Atlanta libertarians of the "middle years" (1973–86) moved to the Southern California condensation including **Gail Higgins**, **Art & Sharon Smith**, their daughter **Dagny** (now returned to Atlanta), and others.

- I've already written up the Libertarian International's World Convention that I was kindly flown to in 1985; the attendees from Scandinavia, Britain, Switzerland and elsewhere were fascinated by my brief, rapidly-spoken (in English!) movement history (some of which is above). Two young Swedish girls wanted to know how to become my groupies (alas, the distance!), and the Young-Republican types from Denmark (from Mörgens Glistrup's Progressive Party) kept supplying me with beer and drinks perplexedly trying to pump me for more tales. I also got to meet Chris Tame again and the fascinating **Brian Micklethwait** who is the Monty Python (pick your favorite) of libertarianism.

- From **Martha Olijnyk** and **Bob Cummings** of Toronto, I have heard a few tantalizing anecdotes of the Toronto libertarian condensation; although partyarchs (except for a couple of honorable exceptions such as **Ian Young** and Steve ___), Martha and Bob are quite fannish and have kept up the SF cultural part of the movement through their bookstore and

party periodical which doubles as a movement zine. The Eastern Canadians seem fairly conservative otherwise.

- Though I have little information about the Northwest, alas, there seems to be tales to tell of the Vancouver movement and the Seattle one. Perhaps some of them will write in?
- And then there is Chicago, which had a small group even back in my UW days, around **David Friedman** at the University of Chicago and **Joe Cobb**, former editor of *New Individualist Review* going all the way back to the mid-1960s. Later, **Bonnie Kaplan** ran *None of the Above* as a meeting ground for anti-party and even some partyarchs through the late 1970s.

As of my visit last month, the Movement now seems to revolve around *Nomos* magazine and to some extent, UC. A year and a half earlier, I visited **David Ramsay Steele** and his wife, **M.L. Rantala**, and met mostly the students and Illinois partyarchs. David & Rantala are far more radical than the rest. I also first met *Nomos*' founders, Joe and Diane Bast and someone from the Heritage Institute.

In July 1987, at **Carol Low**'s new suburban Chicago home, I met a quite different crowd, still more culturally conservative than New York and California but considerably more advanced politically. Besides Carol, who is ready to be inducted into the Anarchovillage, I was considerably impressed by **Stephen Reed**, **Cynthia Bergquist** and **Tim Griffin**. Even the LPI newsletter editors seemed more advanced.

Finally, it should be noted that Southern California anarchy is as varied as ever. Besides the Anarchovillage and the many libertarians and agorists who flock to our meetings from as far south as Laguna and north as Ventura, there are those who interact relatively little with us, save at FoFCons. Some, like Bob Poole's *Reason* magazine and foundation in Santa Monica, have pretty much left the movement, and are quite conservative culturally. In fairness, we have had little contact with San Diego's libertarians, though there seem to be several there and, alas, most of their events are centered around party-run supper clubs.

Nancy Neale (and her globe-tripping husband, **Geoff**, when in town) have one of the last mixed party/anti-party social sets in the infamous San Fernando Valley (like, for sure and totally). Orange County libertarians used to mix that way at the old LSCOC until **Jack Dean**'s purge of smokers and their non-smoking allies turned it into an almost-pure partyarch club again (a move aided by Bob LeFevre's demise). Two anti-party groups have grown up around OC businesses: **Larry Samuels** Athena Graphics and Hargisland, as we call it. Activists based around Athena include new and old SLL (Society for Libertarian Life) including **Tim Kuklinsky**, **Danny Twedt**, **Janis Hunter** and **Howard Hinman**, now of the Anarchovillage. While **Samuels** is fairly culturally conservative (and has turned into a family man with hard-core wife **Jane Heider** and new son), the rest of the Athena crowd is anything but; Danny is a throwback hippie, Janis was our token punkette, and Tim has some very kinky habits.

Historical note should also be taken of **John Robertson**'s attempt in the early 1980s to recruit organized Swingers in Newport Beach into the libertarian movement. Oddly enough, the swingers thought us a bit too far out. Even this brief survey does little justice to the widespread population of Orange County libertarians; a history of the *OC Register* group (the county's largest daily paper and once very libertarian) may yet be written by **Alan Bock** and Jeff Riggerbach. And then there was Bob & **Loy LeFevre**'s older but highly enlightened social set.

Hargisland is centered around counter-economic financier **Anthony Hargis**'s office in Costa Mesa and his wife, **Jane McLaughlin**'s Morningrise Printing, an employer of many new libertarians, including a few Anarchovillagers. Again, while Anthony & Jane are as culturally conservative as...bankers, the rest fit in quite well with the Anarchovillage avant garde and, as I pointed out, have considerable overlap.

Anthony & Jane are following several agorists into a new cultural frontier: parenthood. Earlier pioneers mentioned above who have reproduced include Victor Koman (I'm godfather to daughter Vanessa, a blonde, blue-eyed looker who inherited her parents' better attributes), Geoff & Nancy Neale (daughter Marina), and, way up north and tying us back to the beginning of this cultural history, **Dan Rosenthal** and his artist wife (the famous Rothbard poster showing his pages flying out of his typewriter to form a black flag) **Deanne Hollinger** (son Jesse). Carol Low has three children at last count. And on that note of a future movement somewhat assured, I leave the travelogue. . . . but remain, by happy choice, in deepest, Blackest Libertarian Culture. —SEK3

Another Left Libertarian Man of Letters Recovered
Oscar Wilde, The Soul of Man Under Socialism
 (Chicago, IL: The Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co., 1985), 62 pp., pb, \$3.50. Available from the publisher at 1740 Greeleaf Avenue, Suite 7, Chicago, IL 60626.

Reviewed by **Jared C. Lobdell**

Both the title and, in a way, the name of the publisher of this little book are to some extent misleading — the title because it uses the word *socialism* in almost a purely Kelmscottian sense, the name of the publisher because the Charles H. Kerr Co. is and has been for a century a socialist publisher, most often a radical socialist publisher. But even though Oscar Wilde was the only man-of-letters in England willing to sign the petition in defense of the Haymarket martyrs, this is a pæan neither to the violent transformation of society nor to the socialist state.

It is not in fact a pæan to any kind of state, but to the lonely figure of the artist producing beautiful things. "All imitation in morals and in life is wrong." And again, "Individualism. . . is what through Socialism we are to attain to. As a natural result the State must give up all idea of government." And yet again, "All modes of government are failures... democracy means simply the bludgeoning of the people by the people for the people." (These comments are all on pp. 22–23.) This last remark brings me to a point of considerable interest in the Wildean view of socialism — Wilde's dislike of, and opposition to, the people.

This dislike reinforces and is reinforced by his dislike — even perhaps hatred — of imitation. He loathes the idea of Public Opinion (his capitals) dictating to the artist, and he sees the artist as leading the way to the future: "For the past is what man should not have been. The present is what man ought not to be. The future is what artists are." (p. 53) How dangerous this view was to him was made evident about the time this pamphlet was first published in 1895: it remains to ask whether it is dangerous to us, or useless, or useful, or advisable. In short, is this brief work of anything other than historical interest?

I think so, but perhaps as much as a cautionary tale as it is as an acceptable political argument. It argues, in essence, for what we might call a culture built on Libertarian (indeed, extreme Libertarian) principles, in good solid prose by a first-rate writer. But without reference to natural law, the cult of the individualist artist as producer of beautiful things can easily become the cult of the individualist artist as producer of hideous things. It also argues, essentially and almost explicitly, for the collective use of machines to perform the tasks that otherwise enslave humanity (including, one assumes, the production of machines). The State is thus the collectivity that provides and maintains the machines. But, ninety years into the future from Wilde's day, we can see that this answer is too easy — we who deal with computers throughout our waking lives, and perhaps in our sleep as well.

The answer is too easy — and the argument for a Libertarian culture is perhaps too easily made; but both questions must be dealt with if the Libertarian alternative is to be fully developed, either in these pages or elsewhere. Now Wilde, it is true, seems to accept some kind of natural law by which the beautiful will drive out the ugly — a kind of reverse Gresham's — and he seems to accept the idea of progress (from Utopia to Utopia) as part of this natural law. I take this to be either an extreme case of Late-Victorian optimism (even H.G. Wells knew better) or simply a rallying cry. As political analysis, it will not do, though it may serve to place Wilde on the side of the angels. Similarly, the idea that machines will serve humanity rather than those who program them is naïve and sentimental optimism.

Of course, they could be programmed for the benefit of humanity, presumably by Plato's Philosopher King, and indeed there is lurking behind Wilde's pæan to Individualism a real hatred of the people — and not just lurking, either: "And as for the People, what of them and their authority? . . . Their authority is a thing blind, deaf, hideous, grotesque, tragic, amusing, serious and obscene. . . . All despots bribe. The people bribe and brutalize." (p. 52) Plato could not have put the *mobile vulgus* in its place any better. And if the machines are not to have authority over the people, and the people are not to have authority over the machine or anything else, we are perilously close to dragging the Philosopher King out of the Cave into the broad blaze of day, where he will be revealed to be a King of Straw.

If for nothing else — though there is much else good about it — we can thank this republication of Wilde's essay for reminding us that there must be a better answer, and we had best be about finding it. —JCL

REVIEWS

To Manners Born

The Cat Who Walks Through Walls:

A Comedy of Manners by Robert A. Heinlein (soon to be a mass market paperback from Berkley).

Reviewed by Brad Linaweaver

The Cat Who Walks Through Walls is a sequel to everything. Libertarians will happily note that the world of *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress* is still in business, albeit with a surfeit of post-revolutionary troubles. There is no such place as Utopia (as the name says). The repertoire company from *Time Enough For Love* is on hand, along with folks we've met in more recent books, such as *The Number of the Beast*. In keeping with the trend of what has come to be known as THE LATER HEINLEIN, RAH delights in bringing together characters from his various fictions and allowing the social dynamic to work.

There is one important difference between this and other Heinlein novels. Before continuing, I should warn those yet to read the novel to skip this paragraph if they don't want the dénouement spoiled. Heinlein has extended the solipsist argument so far that we pop out the other end! The characters realize that they are in a novel; and they know their own mortality in the most humbling way possible, as creations of someone else's giant ego. (Like J. Neil Schulman, I can't resist comparing the thought of the great skeptic Heinlein with that of the Christian logician, C.S. Lewis. In one of his essays, Lewis makes the point that the advent of Christ could best be understood metaphorically — as God writing himself into his own novel!) We've had intimations that Heinlein might go this far as far back as THE EARLY HEINLEIN. And now he has. Some fans may be unhappy with the result. They may feel that the novel does not end, or that it ends badly.

My friend, "Big" Lee Haslup, observes that the title is truth in advertising. He says that it is "the uncertainty principle of modern physics applied to fiction." The open-endedness is the point, but it also frustrates the conventional minded. Although Romanticism has always been the *leitmotif* of Heinlein, it doesn't follow that conflict may only be resolved in the comfortable embrace of the cliché. As in life, we must fight for what we believe, regardless of outcome — a truth of special significance to enemies of the State.

The hero of *Cat*, Richard Ames, alias "Captain Midnight," is one of Heinlein's best portraits of an able man living by a strict ethical code, and constantly in hot water with mindless Authority, an inevitable consequence of his unwillingness to knuckle under. Not all is confrontation in his life, fortunately. Nothing reforms a rogue so swiftly as marriage, monogamous or otherwise. Ames is a daring adventurer, and no stranger to recklessness, but he is tailor-made for the nuptial bed because he has good manners.

In Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan*, Mrs. Erlynne gaily announces, "...manners before morals!" For Bob Heinlein, the choice is never so marked as that, because his manners and morals are inextricably tied together. One example is a temporary falling out between Ames and his wife, Gwen, over a practical application of TANSTAAFL. The man who originated the acronym most often on the lips of the anarchistically inclined now demonstrates how much the notion depends on consideration for other people, the bedrock of any manners worth the name.

Consider that the villainy of the character Bill is a small and petty thing, growing out of an incapacity to even consider another's rights or feelings. The question to be asked is: can such a person be reformed? From the seed of bad manners actual evil grows. This theme is rarely to be found in fiction, and the portrayal of Bill is all the more appreciated when one remembers that Heinlein does not enjoy putting bad guys at center stage.

As for art, this novel could be — although we hope not — the perfect summation of all that has gone before, the *coda* of the works. And lest the reader falsely concludes that *The Cat Who Walks Through Walls* is in any way dry or over-analytical, he is confusing this review with its subject. There is one scene of Richard and Gwen attempting to land a

shuttle craft on the moon under very difficult circumstances. (What else can you expect with a vehicle from Budget Jets?) It is as exciting as anything ever done by the master. Heinlein will never lose his touch.

(Note: One wishes that artists would pay more attention to the text they illustrate. Michael Whelan does one of his typically excellent renditions for the cover, except that he has failed to notice that Ames is black.)

—Brad S. Linaweaver

The Great War Syndicate by Frank R. Stockton. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1889.)

Reviewed by Jeffrey Rogers Hummel

Every American high school student is familiar with, or at least used to be familiar with, the cliff-hanging short story, "The Lady and the Tiger." But the author of that story, Frank R. Stockton (1834–1902), is otherwise almost unknown. From most perspectives, his obscurity is understandable. Stockton was a very popular novelist and short-story writer of the late nineteenth century. From one significant perspective, however, Stockton's obscurity is mysterious. For this contemporary of Jules Verne qualifies as one of America's first, if not America's first, science-fiction authors. And one of his more popular science-fiction novels, *The Great War Syndicate*, uses libertarian themes to deal with a problem, national defense, that still troubles libertarians.

The Great War Syndicate is set approximately in the same period in which it appeared, America's heyday of limited laissez-faire, after the Civil War and before the Progressive period, when the captains of industry were still popular heroes. Stockton imagines a war between United States and Britain, brought on by the cupidity and stupidity of both governments. The U.S. government, however, is financially and militarily unprepared to wage war. So, instead, a syndicate of twenty-three of the nation's most prominent businessmen contract to fight the war for the U.S. — at a profit. The Syndicate offers to "assume the entire control and expense" of the war, with a sliding scale of forfeits and bonuses. The quicker it wins the war, the more money it makes. One particularly noteworthy contract stipulation expressly forbids any military action whatsoever by the U.S. government's land and naval forces.

The Syndicate, in short, is a group of enterprising entrepreneurs who, while realizing that overall war is very bad for business, decide to make the best of the situation. They reason that their "success would be a vast benefit and profit, not only to the business enterprises in which these men were severally engaged, but to the business of the whole country. To save the United States from a dragging war, and to save themselves from the effects of it, were the prompting motives for the formation of the Syndicate."

Calling in the country's top scientists and engineers, the Syndicate devises several entirely new weapons. The first, a "crab," is a semi-submerged vessel equipped with a pair of huge underwater claws. The second, "a repeller," is a more conventional ship protected by new, highly advanced, nearly impenetrable armor. The third, the "instantaneous motor," is a strange projectile with literally the destructive power of modern nuclear weapons. All the Syndicate's weapons are manned exclusively by civilians.

Flotillas of crabs proceed to paralyze British war ships by tearing away their screws and rudders in a series of bloodless engagements. The repellers meanwhile demonstrate the appalling destructive power of instantaneous motor projectiles upon deserted sections of the Canadian and then British coast. Hopelessly outmatched, the British government sues for peace well within the contract's initial twelve-month limit. In the whole impeccable operation, the American army and navy play absolutely no rôle, except when one bellicose U.S. captain breaks the rules and tries to sail against the British, whereupon one of the Syndicate's crabs tows him helplessly and unceremoniously back to port. Moreover, there is only one casualty on either the American or British side: "Thomas Hutchins, while assisting in the loading of coal on one of the repellers, was accidentally killed by the falling of a derrick."

At the war's end, the Syndicate forecloses any effort by the U.S. government to monopolize the new weapons by signing a defense contract with the British government as well. The British and the U.S. governments consequently become allies and proceed to disarm, followed by the rest of the world's governments.

The Great War Syndicate's libertarian message is not completely unblemished. Stockton takes no notice of the taxes that the U.S. govern-

ment must collect in order to pay for the Syndicate's services. Stockton also shares the Anglo-Saxon cultural and racial biases of his day. At the novel's conclusion, the Anglo-Saxon alliance, with its control over the Syndicate's powerful weapons, imposes peace and harmony upon a grateful world, in much the same way that Americans expected to, with the atomic bomb at the close of the Second World War. Thus, the Syndicate, while resembling a private protection agency, can just as easily be interpreted as an early fictional representation of the modern military-industrial complex. Without being fully aware of the fact, Stockton provided one of the earliest predictions of American global imperialism.

The novel's literary weaknesses are even more serious. Written in the form of a bad newspaper report or textbook history, it has no individual characterizations. The Syndicate remains throughout an anonymous group of faceless entrepreneurs. As a result, I have felt no reservations about revealing Stockton's story in toto. Although some of his science-fiction short stories have recently appeared in Richard Gid Powers, *The Science Fiction of Frank R. Stockton: An Anthology* (Boston: Gregg

Press, 1976), I can safely predict that *The Great War Syndicate* is unlikely to be reprinted. Anxious readers must try to find it in their libraries.

Nonetheless, this short novel deserves to be rescued from its near-total obscurity. Despite its literary and ideological flaws, it still has an indisputable place within the vast heritage of libertarian fiction.—**JRH**

Jeffrey Rogers Hummel was our star revisionist historian in NLI16 and cover boy. He remains the last of the "Left Partyarchs" who try to hold Left Libertarian positions and still remain within the LP. He expects to return from exile in New York City to California in 1988.

Only Jeff could combine culture, revisionist history, science fiction and win the Kenneth R. Gregg Award for Anarcho-Obscurity Above and Beyond the Call of Duty in one short review. We await his next.

For more on Brad Linaweaver, our relatively new Assistant Editor, see the Libertarian SF Writers' Mafia Agora column on page six, of which he is the main contributor.

Jared C. Lobdell (page 27) continues his competition for the status of the "William F. Buckley of Libertarianism" with Brad. —**SEK3**

MORRIS [Continued from Page 21]

work seems hypocritical when one compares his ideal with the actual practice of Marxists in the twentieth century. Certainly, Pol Pot's nightmare police state could not have been less like Morris's gentle, dreamy, garden-land. Marxists have tragically failed to see that coercive means do not result in liberty.

Even though Morris considered himself a Marxist, his work contains many elements which are libertarian. The absence of government is the most obvious libertarian feature. In Morris's ideal world, no one is coerced for any reason but self-defense, and that is an ideal held by most libertarians. Another aspect of Morris's utopia which corresponds to libertarian notions is the utter fluidity of its economy. With all work arrangements a matter of voluntary agreement, and no hidden costs foisted on the community by state intervention, the "invisible hand" of the market allocates goods and services in the most efficient possible manner. (The absence of money should not blind anyone to the fact that what Morris describes is indeed a market in which ordinary self-interest still governs the interchange of goods and services. Whether the inefficiencies of barter might outweigh the benefits of non-regulation in his world is debatable.)

Morris's concern that all humans be treated as responsible, self-sovereign individuals is a very libertarian concern. Modern society has come to accept, in most ways, the equality of adult men and women.

What still seems astonishingly radical is Morris's proposal that children also have sovereign rights — as much right to choose their associations and activities as any adult.

Morris's concern that people take responsibility for the environment and the spill-over effects of manufacturing and construction activities is very post-Victorian and very libertarian. He thought and libertarians think that people should not be invaded by pollutants without granting the polluter permission to do so.

There are numerous objections which can be raised to Morris's projected ideal society. Yet what are important are not the improbabilities of Morris's projection, but the things which make it sweet and lovely. The universal friendliness, the unspoiled, natural environment, the variety of pleasant activities, and the plentitude of leisure are values which appeal to civilized, regimented people. Republicans appeal distantly to such values when they talk about small-town America, and the American dream. The Democrats have forgotten to make appeal to these values, and are trying to re-learn the technique from the Republicans. As libertarians, let's take some leaves from Morris's garden of Eden. Let's concentrate on the good things we want, and not forget that, as Morris said, "the purpose of revolution is happiness."

—**Don Cormier**

Don Cormier has been moved to come "out of the closet" in search of the above values with this article and a membership in the Movement of the Libertarian Left. —**SEK3**

ROCK & ROLL [Continued from Page 19]

government are "liars, cheats, and frauds. Anybody in government has to be. It's the only way they can survive."

While Americans by nature are not as ideological as their British cousins, a similar theme runs through the writings of this country's most popular rock critics. In his new biography of Michael Jackson, *Trapped*, Dave Marsh takes Jackson to task for not shouldering the burden of racism and using his enormous popularity in the political and social arena. Along with the *Village Voice's* Robert Christgau, Marsh sees himself as representing some elusive working class values and he feels popular music should reflect those values.

Then there's the opposite end of the spectrum — rabidly right-wing bands who cower in the shadow of libertarianism if only because one of the guys in the band wears an encircled A. Bands like New York's Stormtroopers of Death or Los Angeles' Vandals may seem non-conformist in appearance but actually put forth Reaganite values in their songs and interviews. Another band, The Mentors, takes it to such an extreme that it has to be a joke though they insist otherwise.

In terms of sexuality, rock would seem to foster libertarian ideas but the contrary is often true. Two of rock's most outspoken gays, Tom Robinson and Jimmy Sommerville (formerly of Bronski Beat), have been living in East Germany and joining the British Communist Party respectively. According to them, freedom of choice in sexual affairs is totally devoid from freedom of choice in the marketplace. Back on the home front, people like Dee Snider can stand up to the Senators on freedom of speech, but, in interviews, conveys an anti-gay bias that

would, if acted upon, deny others their freedom of choice.

Sure, a lot of all this has to do with plain ol' adolescent shock. Early punks wore swastikas. The Redskins, a militant British skinhead band, play in front of a Russian flag and the Red Wedge show their socialist good sense by naming themselves after a painting by constructivist El Lissitzky. For libertarians who don't keep up with pop, none of this is as important as debating the finer points of free trade and natural rights. But, let's face it, many more people — and certainly young people — are going to listen to Paul Weller and read Marsh than will even hear of Murray Rothbard's *For A New Liberty* or Karl Hess' *Dear America*. And don't even bring up Ayn Rand; the woman's a dead issue (no pun intended) with anyone under 30 who has any idea of what's going on in the pop world.

And even if these are just a bunch of kids plundering the latest fashion, they will be adults soon enough — with their values no doubt shaped by what's come before. It has been these kids who have made disarmament, apartheid, and militant vegetarianism such a political force in Holland, England, Germany, and increasingly, the U.S. Until libertarians are able to tap into rock's incipient rebelliousness and hew off its tendency to see its salvation in the old guard Left, pop music will be delivering the same message, time and again. Like the song says, Meet the new boss, same as the old boss. Amen.

— **Cary Darling**

Cary Darling is the Assistant Editor of Bam Magazine, the Los Angeles correspondent for Rock Australia Magazine and has contributed to the Los Angeles Times and the L.A. Weekly, among others. He became NL's regular rock columnist in our now-famous NLI10: Punk: Anarchy Rock? issue. — **SEK3**

Dialogue [Continued from Page 12]

emerge from — or lead to — a devotion to the spontaneous order and incessant change of the market. An appreciation of the extent to which it is true that no two individuals are alike has led many — Stephen Pearl Andrews and Roger J. Williams are examples — to hold libertarian convictions, on the grounds that politics is inevitably Procrustean, attempting to force individuals of all imaginable shapes and sizes into standardized holes. And a fundamental belief that the individual is more important than the collective has led many to look at individuals more closely, with the result that their infinite variety has become inescapable. And, of course, the whole point of style in literature, at least when it is pursued as an end, or partly as an end, in itself, is to stress one's own (the author's) individuality, to develop a way of writing which so reflects one's uniqueness that an attentive reader can accurately guess the authorship of a passage merely by reflecting on, or analyzing, the style in which it is composed.

Of course, an individual who is devoted to variety, novelty and individuality might well be drawn toward a particular social group, not because it was composed of individuals like himself, but because it was composed of individuals *unlike* himself — because it encompassed variety and individuality to an uncommon extent within its boundaries. On the other hand, it might be argued that a society of eccentric individuals who are bound together by a common respect for variety and

novelty is, for that very reason, a homogeneous society. It might be argued, in other words, that the kind of libertarian whose commitment to liberty arises from an appreciation of variety and novelty is, like everyone else, drawn to people who resemble him; for he is drawn to others who, like him, appreciate the unique, the individual, the *sui generis*.

It seems to me, at any rate, that it is impossible, or at least extraordinarily difficult, to answer the question Chris poses: what degree of homogeneity is necessary for culture to arise? And it seems to me that the impossibility of answering the question stems from the very nature of spontaneous order. It is impossible to predict. All we know is that, just as prices and rules of exchange emerge spontaneously from the voluntary interactions of individuals, so culture arises spontaneously in the same contexts. And those cultures which are based on value judgments compatible with libertarian thought may reasonably be spoken of as libertarian cultures.

—JR —CJU—JCL

Will this Dialogue continue? Depends, as in the case of the Natural Law/Natural Outlaw Debate, on reader response.

The view of the Anarchovillage expressed in this article is subjective and not shared by the denizens. Small apartments, indeed! —SEK3

John Russell [Continued from Page 18]

Russell The facts: Eastwood's Co. employs a lot of people on an ongoing basis through the years. It accounts for at least one million dollars in revenue, per week, for Warners — every week. He runs a first-class operation, inspiring intense loyalty in those who work for and with him. He's quiet, hard-working, never spares himself. How many actors have accomplished all that? Damn right I like to work for the bastard — and hope to again!

NL (SEK3) Other interpretations exist about the "decadence" you correctly perceive in modern films. Some such films, to be sure, are quick-buck and quickly forgotten. But Jeff Rigenbach in *NL*, for example, argues that decadence is a sign of collapse of a statist system and that *more* freedom exists in that state of culture than any other. Certainly, one of the highest common denominators of modern films is the lack of respect for *statist* authority, particularly the State's police, army, and drug enforcers, ranging from *Convoy's* Smokies to *Rambo's* superior officers to *Dirty Harry's* district attorney to the obligatory smashing of police cars in every summer teen flick. SF films are strongly anti-statist: from the anti-imperialism of the *Star Wars* trilogy to the individualism of Lieutenant Ripley in *Alien* and *Aliens* and Jonathan in the dystopic *Rollerball*. True, few films (maybe *Harry's War* against the IRS and *The Formula* for Revisionist interpretations of Power Elite rule of the State) concern property, economics and power relations.

But don't films, at least since the 1960s, show a healthy disrespect for the symbols of statism?

Russell A fascinating list you've compiled!

NL: Did not films reflect the prevailing anti-war and anti-statist culture of American in the Roaring Twenties and then turn around in the Depression Thirties to become slavish lapdogs of the State during the

Second World War and Cold War, cycling up again in the 1960s (my favorite image is Kris Kristofferson, as beleaguered dope marketer *Cisco Pike*, not only foiling the corrupt narc but shooting his helicopter out of the sky as an act of desperate, but clearcut, self-defense at the climax of that film)? And, finally, were not Westerns the one bright ray of individualism that ran through the Statist Thirties and Forties, when even Basil Rathbone and Nigel Bruce were giving nauseating panegyrics to the warring States at the end of every Sherlock Holmes episode?

And, to put it all together, were not all these — the anti-War films of the 1920s and 1960s, the Westerns of the 1930s and 1940s, and the modern assumption, "of course, you have to go around the State if you want to get any real justice" all contributing to a libertarian culture, or, if you prefer to be cautious, a libertarian aspect to our present culture (not just American, I can assure you) or maybe even an embryonic libertarian *subculture* yet to grow?

Russell That is a super-long question/statement. The first response that occurs to me is, quite simply, that the State and its proponents are real, neat, handy antagonists...when used as "bad guys" or bad institutions. (Short of preaching sedition or "violent overthrowing of the government").

Secondly, considering ethnic sensitiveness to being shown in a bad light...one might note that in science fiction all you have to do is make an alien (*i.e.*, not of this world) the heavy (bad guy) and nobody complains.

Thirdly, as a former Marine in World War II (which this country overwhelmingly supported), I expected and was damn glad films showed us and our country in a favourable light. Compare that with the general indifference toward Korea, or later the degree of hostility toward Viet Nam. Make up your own mind as to whether films/the media influenced opinion on these last two major conflicts. —JR

Letters [Continued from Page 4]

Wilson's *Wheels Within Wheels*, which won the very first Prometheus Award given by LFS. Konklin reports that I "attacked" Neil Smith in my review and he refers to some kind of "wars" between us and even suggests a "conspiracy" between me and *Prometheus* editor Victoria Varga.

Sheer paranoia. Sam, there was no attack, there are no wars, there's no conspiracy, there is, of course, No Governor — and I am not a crook. Trust me.

But before I present my side of the argument, let me drag in a couple of related charges against me and deal with all of them in one place. In the Fall 1986 issue of *Prometheus* a Smith fan, D.R. Blackmon, also decries my "attack" on Smith's *Tom Paine Maru* and *The Gallatin Divergence* in *Prometheus* reviews, and Blackmon implies I'm some kind of communist, fascist, or low-I.Q. democrat for my efforts. Blackmon also castigates me for not knowing that *Maru* was "butchered by Del Rey" (I didn't) and for not mentioning "The North American Covenant" from *Divergence* — a set of libertarian principles which in fact I ran in *Room 101 Annex*, my contribution to the libertarian [SF] APazine *Frefanzine* in June 1986. As a matter of fact, I signed the "Covenant" before Blackmon, he being the 19th signer, I being the 17th.

Another criticism of my negative reviews is to be found in the letter of J.L. Halsey in **NEW LIBERTARIAN 16** — Halsey's letter commenting on my own letter

in **NL15**, in which I mentioned that Robert Anton Wilson had apparently taken offense at my review of *Schrödinger's Cat* in *Science Fiction Review* several years ago. Halsey's attitude is "If you can't say anything good about it, don't say anything at all," which, if strictly followed, would eliminate the most interesting material altogether and assure that everything is positively dull. Halsey also thinks I should always say good things about Wilson's work simply because of some nice things Wilson said about my book *The Illuminoids*, both in the introduction to *The Illuminoids* and in Wilson's *Cosmic Trigger*. Ha!

To put this business in a larger context, I should note that I often reprint my reviews and other material in my *Room 101* contributions to *Frefanzine* — and that most of the 40 to 50 *Fref* contributors have been indifferent or even hostile to my plugs for the LFS over the years. *Frefanzine* criticism of LFS and the Prometheus Award is generally to the effect that it is wrong to give an award for "political correctness" — a criticism I agree with and go out of my way to compensate for. If we award our prize to a badly written book only because it's by one of "us" and follows some kind of "party line," please count me out. That's why it's greatly to the credit of the LFS that when we found no book that was both "libertarian" enough and well enough done in 1985, we gave the award to None of the Above.

[To Be Continued. To answer Neal so far: I have no use for Opinions, merely "facts" and "truth." Why is he wasting our time with positions he is not willing to stand behind? Should Neal be counted out? Tune in next month... —SEK3]

Calendar

of Libertarian Social Events

Codes: Agorist Ratings: -1 = statist; 0 = non-libertarian; 1 = mixed at best; 2 = mostly partyarch (political) but redeeming features; 3 = mostly libertarian; 4 = counter-economic and/or hard-core libertarian; 5 = pure agorist. Only programmes rated, not clubs, speakers or venue.

Times are PM unless otherwise stated. (c) for cocktails, (d) for dinner, (p) for programme, and (a) for announcements. Price 1/Price2 = Dinner & Speaker/speaker Only. GoH = Guest of Honour.

October 16–17 Mises Institute Fifth Anniversary Gala Celebration and tribute dinner to the great Henry Hazlitt with a major academic conference on Ludwig von Mises's contributions to economics, history, philosophy, political science, and the fight for liberty. [3–5] || At the University of Houston, Houston, Texas. Contact MI at 322 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Washington, DC 20002 • (202) 543-7696.

October 26 Libertarian Open (last Monday) Continuing the Libertarian Culture series with Two Acts: Anarchoprestidigitator **Victor Koman** does Libertarian Magic! **Jane Stilwell** does Libertarian Stand-Up Comedy! || 6:45 P.M.–9:45 P.M. \$10/\$5 with Ticket. In the new seminar room of The Agorist Institute, Suite 203, 236 East Third Street, Long Beach. Reservations: leave message at (213) 590-0486 (Kent Hastings). [5]

November 3 (First Tuesday) *Albert Jay Nock Forum & South Bay Supper Club* presents co-facilitator **Dick Eagleson**, computer programmer, on "Laissez Faire on the High Seas." [3.4] || 6:30 (c), 7:00 (d), 7:45 (a), 8:00 (p). Dinner off menu at Acapulco Restaurant, 733 East Broadway, Long Beach. \$6 without reservation, \$4 with, \$3 with and attended last time; bonus for bringing virgins. This co-facilitator friendly to Agorists, the other violently opposed.

November 4 (First Wednesday) *Free Marin Forum* presents ?, speaking on "?" [?] || 6:30 (c), 7:15 (d), 8:15 (a), 8:30 (p). \$18/5 at Clarion Hotel, 1010 Northgate Drive (Freitas exit off Hwy 101), San Rafael, Calif. You must reserve 48 hr. prior with Dan Dougherty (415) 457-1411; send check to Free Marin, Box 367, Kentfield, CA 94914-0367.

November 13–15, 1987 Future of Freedom Conference at the Pacifica Hotel, Culver City (near LAX). Panel debate Friday night "Should the Constitution Be Ratified? Joint con with Marshall Fritz's Advocates. MLL will have table. [?] || Write for information and registration: Dagny Sharon, entrepreneur, P.O. Box 224, Long Beach, CA 90801 • (714) 531-1807.

November 23 C.O.©.L. Club meets to discuss more open libertarian gatherings and status of Libertarian Open. Open meeting, no charge. [5] || 6:45 P.M. At The Agorist Institute, 236 East Third Street, Suite 201, Long Beach, CA 90802. Phone (213) 590-0486 if you're attending.

November 30 (Last Monday) *Libertarian Open* presents *A Musical Night* of Revisionist, Libertarian, Celtic Music with **Michelle Feldman** and her (all-woman) quartet. || 6:45 P.M.–9:45 P.M. \$15/\$5 with ticket. In the new seminar room of The Agorist Institute, Suite 203, 236 East Third Street, Long Beach. Reservations: leave message at (213) 590-0486 (Kent Hastings). [5]

December 1 (First Tuesday) *Albert Jay Nock Forum & South Bay Supper Club* asks **Butler Shaffer** For "Crutches for Psychological Cripples." || 6:30 (c), 7:00 (d), 7:45 (a), 8:00 (p). Dinner off menu at Acapulco Restaurant, 733 East Broadway, Long Beach. \$6 without reservation, \$4 with, \$3 with and attended last time; bonus for bringing virgins. One co-facilitator friendly to Agorists, the other not.

December 2 (First Wednesday) *Free Marin Forum* presents — still unknown at press time. [?. ?] || 6:30 (c), 7:15 (d), 8:15 (a), 8:30 (p). \$18/5 at Clarion Hotel, 1010 Northgate Drive (Freitas exit off Hwy

101), San Rafael, Calif. You must reserve 48 hr. prior with Dan Dougherty (415) 457-1411; send check to Free Marin, Box 367, Kentfield, CA 94914-0367.

December 5 Benefit/Auction of Libertarian, Anarchist & Objectivist Collectibles for The Agorist Quarterly. Hostess: **Wendy McElroy**. Site host: **Brad Rodriguez**. 8 P.M. until Sold. In Lakewood, California; invitations available from AI, 236 East Third Street, #201, Long Beach, CA 90802. Food & refreshments provided. [5.0] || Happy 33¹/₃ Birthday to Victor Koman, too!

December 7 The Encyclopædia of Libertarianism and Anarchism special progress report meeting. Phone or write if you wish to attend; participants only, please! || 6:45 P.M. At The Agorist Institute, Suite 203, 236 East Third Street, Long Beach. Reservations: leave message at (213) 590-0486 (Kent Hastings). [5]

December 26 Boxing Day Party either at The Anarchovillage or L.A.-area motel. Contact the usual suspects.

MARK YOUR CALENDARS EARLY!

January 5, 1988 — Stanford University Libertarian Course EES 287 "Voluntary Social Systems" with Professor **Ronald A. Howard**. You should register earlier. [3] || Winter Quarter, Tuesday & Thursday 2:45–4:00, 1–3 units (depends on amount of work done). Dept. of Engineering-Economic Systems, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305–4025 • (415) 723-4176.

March 29 — Stanford University Libertarian Course EES 238 "The Ethical Analyst" with Professor **Ronald A. Howard**. You probably should register earlier. [3.5] || Spring Quarter, Tuesday 1:45–3:45, 1–3 units (depends on amount of work done). Dept. of Engineering-Economic Systems, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305–4025 • (415) 723-4176. — JKH, info

April 15–16 Mises Institute Conference on the economics, history, constitutionality of the income tax. [3–5] || In Washington, D.C. Contact MI at 322 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Washington, DC 20002 • (202) 543-7696.

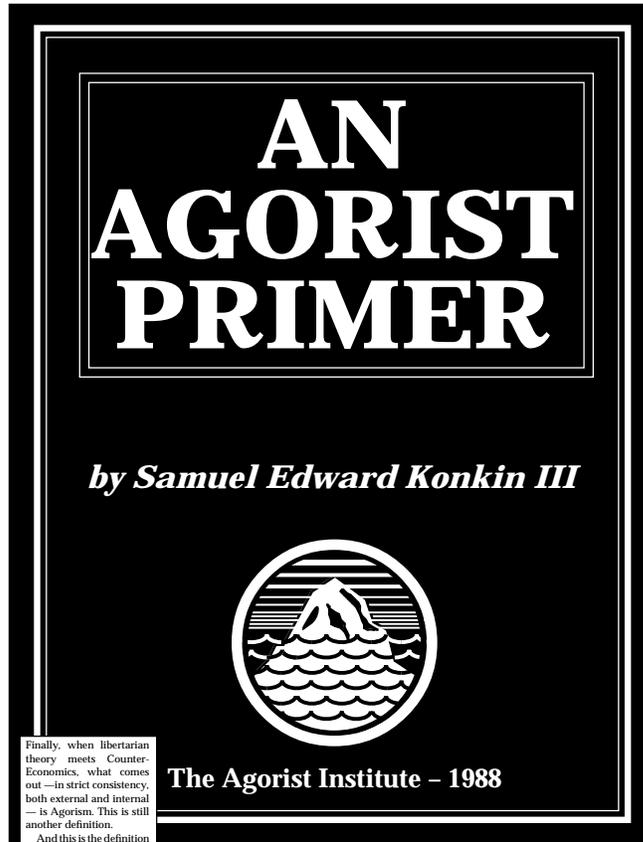
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- 2 **After Apartheid: The Solution for South Africa** Frances Kendall & Leon Louw [? = unread at press]
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- 4 **A Conflict of Visions** Thomas Sowell [2]
- 5 **Economics in One Lesson** Henry Hazlitt [4.1]
- 6 **The Jehovah Contract** Victor Koman [5.0]
- 7 **How The West Grew Rich** N. Rosenberg & L.E. Birdzell, Jr. [2.9]
- 8 **How to Raise Your Self-Esteem** Nathaniel Branden [1.1]
- 9 **History of the Jews** Paul Johnson [0]
- 10 **The Passion of Ayn Rand** Barbara Branden [4.0]
- 11 **The Discovery of Freedom** Rose Wilder Lane [4.5]—a classic! (As is Hazlitt's, #5)
- 12 **Economic Liberties and the Judiciary** Edited by James A. Dorn & Henry G. Manne [2]
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