

Federal Reserve Note isn't a 'Dollar'

The "dollar bill" of today is a self-professed tissue of lies, for at the top it proclaims it is a "Federal Reserve Note," and at the bottom it describes itself as "One Dollar." It cannot be both.

In fact, it is neither. Congressional statute defines the dollar as a certain mass (412½ grains troy weight) of silver of specified purity. Since there is no silver in the "dollar bill," it is not a dollar.

Less well known is that the "dollar bill" is not even a Federal Reserve Note. A note is a written promise of payment. There is no promise—and no sentence, for that matter—on the "dollar bill." Nor is it federal, since the "Federal Reserve

Bank" is 100 percent privately owned. So the "Federal Reserve Note" is neither federal nor a note.

It is not the businessman, or the workers, or the Arabs who cause inflation: It is the politicians. They can stop it at any time they want - not through price controls or guidelines or wage ceilings - but by shutting off the printing presses and closing down the Federal Reserve. Until they do, we will continue to suffer from ever higher prices and an ever higher cost of living. (Ed.)

LIVE & LET LIVE



LIBERTARIAN PARTY
OF NEVADA

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LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF NEVADA NEWSLETTER

SEPT. '79

THE 1979 LIBERTARIAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTION

Highlights

The major purpose of the 1979 National Convention is to nominate the Libertarian Party candidates for President and Vice President of the United States to run in 1980. At this writing, two contenders for the Presidential nomination have formally announced their candidacies: Ed Clark of California and Bill Hunscher of New Hampshire.

The Presidential balloting is scheduled for Saturday morning, September 8.

Other elections will be for LP National Officers and seven At-Large members of the LP National Committee. Those elections are scheduled for Sunday, September 9.

While only delegates are entitled to vote in these elections, the drama of the Presidential nomination will be a sufficient draw that no other event is scheduled for Saturday morning.

Choosing other "highlights" from among the crowded schedule of speakers and events is difficult. Major speakers will start each Convention day with a breakfast address.

Other major food-related events include the Presidential banquet on Saturday night, after the Presidential nomination; a "Celebrity Cocktail Party", with noted entertainers mingling with the attendees; and a "Three Party Party" to celebrate the dynamic growth of the LP as a whole.

Special events which attendees may choose include a "Liberty Night" at Disneyland and a tour of Universal Studios.

Both announced candidates for the Libertarian Party Presidential nomination, Ed Clark and Bill Hunscher, are continuing their quest for delegate votes by attending state conventions and other party functions across the country.

Hunscher, who started his campaign in January, estimates that he has visited nearly 40 states during his campaign. Clark, who announced his candidacy in February, has stepped up the pace of his campaigning, and often appears in tandem with Hunscher before Libertarian groups.

Michael Emerling, previously Campaign Manager for Hunscher, resigned from the campaign in May, citing "professional reasons" and disagreement over approach,

Libertarians from all over the United States (as well as several foreign countries) will converge on the Bonaventure Hotel in downtown Los Angeles on September 6-9 for the 1979 Libertarian Party Presidential Nominating Convention.

The Convention is planned to be the largest single event in the history of the libertarian movement, with a projected attendance of 2,000 to 3,000 persons.

Each day of the Convention will feature major speakers and panel discussions, running concurrently with the General Session, which over 600 delegates are expected to attend.

For two days prior to the opening of the Convention, major Convention committees—Platform, Constitution, By-Laws, and Rules, and Credentials—will meet. These sessions are open to all Libertarians.

"TOWARD A THREE PARTY SYSTEM"

SEPTEMBER 6-9, 1979

level of responsibility, and major goals among other reasons.

Emerling has been replaced by Ken Sturzenacker, former Chair of the Illinois LP, who had been Media Co-ordinator for the Hunscher campaign.

The contest for the nomination has had a beneficial effect on media publicity for the LP; whenever one or the other of the candidates appears, newspaper articles and radio spots invariably follow.

Clark has introduced the subject of campaign structure and organization into his presentations, describing his proposed structure should he win the nomination.

According to Clark, many of the key decisions in his campaign would be made

LIVE & LET LIVE



General Information

Costs: A full Convention Registration Package, including all food events, parties, Libertarian Night at Disneyland, speakers, and panels, is available for \$195.00, a considerable savings over individual item costs.

Another package, for \$100.00, includes all speakers and panels, but not food events or parties.

Basic Registration is \$20.00 (\$5.00 for students), which allows access to the General Session and the Exposition Hall.

Optional events (except with the full package) include the Celebrity Cocktail Party for \$25.00; the night at Disneyland for \$16.00; and a V.I.P. Tour of Universal Studios for \$18.50.

Hotel: Prices at the Bonaventure are \$39.00 for a single room, \$49.00 for two people, and \$10.00 extra charge for a roll-away bed in a room. (These prices were confirmed in 1977, and represent a sizeable savings over 1979 rates.)

Another nearby hotel, the Alexandria, is available for Convention attendees. Prices are \$16.50 for a single, and \$20.00 to \$27.00 for two-to-four people.

Weather: September is often the warmest month of the year in Los Angeles, with evening temperatures in the 60's and daytime temperatures well above that. The likelihood of rain is virtually nil.

by a "Campaign Committee" of experienced Libertarians, including former Hunscher supporters.

In addition, Clark would like to establish campaign co-ordinators on a state and regional basis, with the latter structure remaining in place for the Libertarian Party after the 1980 campaign.

As a final note on the Presidential race a "Committee to Draft Allan Vogel for President" has formally registered with the Federal Election Commission; the Committee was formed by two LP members from Kentucky and Texas.

Vogel is a longtime Texas activist who ran for Mayor of Houston in 1977 and was the LP write-in candidate for Governor of Texas in 1978.

Vogel has neither endorsed nor disavowed the draft effort at this writing.

SLS Rally at UNLV

On Tuesday, May 1, two protest rallies were held on the campus of the University of Nevada at Las Vegas. The two rallies were held consecutively, the first, starting at noon, was an anti-nuke rally held by the Sagebrush Alliance. The second was an anti-draft rally coordinated by the Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS) and two members of the student senate at UNLV, Jeff Wild and Skip Kelley.

Speaking for the SLS in the rally's keynote address, Wild attacked registration and mandatory service as a "slave labor scheme" of Congress. The address said the draft would make everyone a slave of the military while the military was no more than the slave of the U.S.' foreign policy of complicity and interventionism. The SLS also announced a widespread campaign of civil disobedience if and when a registration law is passed by Congress. To the cheers of the audience, the SLS promised to make such a law "dead on arrival."

Kelley, who is not a libertarian—yet, attacked the draft on Constitutional grounds by quoting the XIIIth Amendment and asking if, by definition, a draft law would make all young people criminals guilty of no other crime but their youth. He also said that the issue was not one of conflict between the young and old, but that it was one that affected not only ourselves but our children and their children.

Other speakers at the rally included Rick White of the National Committee of the Libertarian Party, Father Louis Vitale and Sister Rosemary of the Franciscan Center and Bill Haldeman—also of the student senate at UNLV.

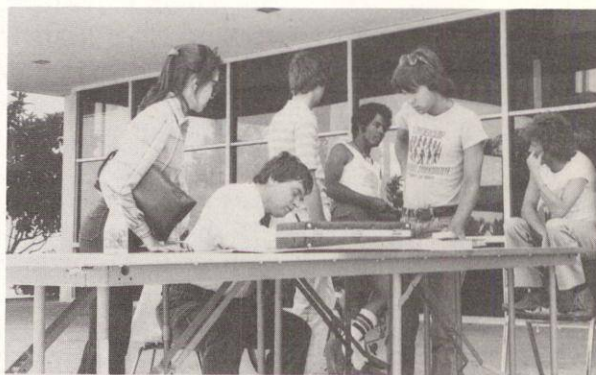
Although only a hundred students attended the rally, it received coverage from all three of Las Vegas' network TV stations, all three local daily newspapers and most of the more popular radio stations in the area. "Thousands heard our message," commented Jeff Wild in commenting on the turn-out.

The rally was part of a nationwide Mayday protest against the draft organized by the Students for a Libertarian Society. About one hundred similar rallies were held on campuses throughout the nation.

Note: The SLS is neither legally or financially linked to the Libertarian Party. We, the SLS, consider ourselves to be a part of the same libertarian movement as the Party, but whereas the Party is more concerned with electoral processes, the SLS is an activist's organization. This distinction will become increasingly important as the current regime begins to crack down on its opposition. Being the activist arm of the movement, we believe that we can cushion the blow to the Party itself. In the meantime, we can present a groundwork of principles upon which the Party can base its platforms. In other words, the SLS is the extremist-activist arm of the libertarian movement. Together with the electoral arm of the movement, we can prevail. Apart we will flounder.



Region 111 NATCON representative Rick White speaks on membership deadline question at Raleigh No. Carolina L.P. National Committee meeting. Seated left to right: M.L. Hanson, Colorado, Natl. Vice Chair; Chris Hoeker, Natl. Director; Bernie Losching, Wisconsin; Jim Clarkson, Georgia; Rick White, Nevada; Charles Koch, Kansas; Jeff Smith, Pennsylvania.



State Secretary Don Darling (seated) registers voters as Linda West (left) Nevada Regional Representative, looks on.



Participants (left to right) Jim Burns, organizer Jeff Wild, and Linda West relax after UNLV anti-draft rally.

How's That Again: According to Rep. Robert K. Dornan (R-Calif.), in a debate over abortion funding for military personnel, "It would be a tragic situation if defense funds were to be used to snuff out human life."

According to an anonymous San Diego taxi driver testifying in opposition that that city's proposed taxicab deregulation bill, "Deregulation is an unwarranted intrusion of government into private enterprise."

According to Rep. Richard Kelly (R-Fla.), "I think that the free enterprise system is absolutely too important to be left to the voluntary action of the marketplace."

How Can They Tell If It's No Good: According to a report in the *Washington Star*, the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA) is going to start inspecting mechanical sexual devices, such as vibrators, to ensure that they meet "performance standards."

The article said that the FDA does not consider these inspections to be a high priority. "We normally wouldn't go out to check vibrators unless it happened to be a slow day," said one FDA official.

Effects of Prop. 13: Predictably, the one-year anniversary of the passage of California's Proposition 13, the property-tax-cut initiative, started a mini-wave of "Jarvis-Gann-One-Year-Later"-type articles in various publications.

One particularly interesting such article appears in the July 2 issue of *Fortune*, titled "Proposition 13's Stellar First Year."

According to the author, a number of economic indicators show that California has benefitted enormously from the \$6.4 billion tax cut.

Personal income is up 14% from a year ago, while the rate of inflation is 8%, less than the national average. Retail sales are also up 14%, and new housing is being built at the rate of 200,000 units per year, higher than anyone expected.

The increase of new jobs in the private sector has more-than-offset the loss of jobs from the government payroll, plus out-of-state jobseekers. In fact, unemployment dropped almost a full point across the state.

The article goes on, "The most striking impact of 13, though, has been on the public's perception of the government sector." Government workers have decreased by 100,000 without having created major turmoil in the state.

"What's happened in the last year has been a sobering experience for the governing class," says an L.A. City Councilman who opposed Prop. 13. "If we fail to learn the lesson and continue believing in the old elitist myths, we'll lose more of the public's trust and have no one to blame but ourselves."

Libertarian support for Prop. 13 was based as much on its symbolic, anti-government significance - as evidenced by the above quotes - as it was on the actual tax cuts involved.

Statement of Principles

We, the members of the Libertarian Party, challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual.

We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose.

Governments throughout history have regularly operated on the opposite principle, that the State has the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. Even within the United States, all political parties other than our own grant to government the right to regulate the lives of individuals and seize the fruits of their labor without their consent.

We, on the contrary, deny the right of any government to do these things, and hold that where governments exist, they must not violate the rights of any individual: namely, (1) the right to life—accordingly we support prohibition of the initiation of physical force against others; (2) the right to liberty of speech and action—accordingly we oppose all attempts by government to abridge the freedom of speech and press, as well as government censorship in any form; and (3) the right to property—accordingly we oppose all government interference with private property, such as confiscation, nationalization, and eminent domain, and support the prohibition of robbery, trespass, fraud, and misrepresentation.

Since governments, when instituted, must not violate individual rights, we oppose all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relations among individuals. People should not be forced to sacrifice their lives and property for the benefit of others. They should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders; and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market.

"We now have that systematic theory [of liberty]; we come, fully armed with our knowledge, prepared to bring our message and to capture the imagination of all groups and strands in the population. All other theories and systems have clearly failed: socialism is in retreat everywhere, and notably in Eastern Europe; liberalism has bogged down in a host of insoluble problems; conservatism has nothing to offer but sterile defense of the status quo. Liberty has never been fully tried in the modern world; libertarians now propose to fulfill the American dream of liberty and prosperity for all."

—Murray Rothbard in *For A New Liberty*

Slave for Freedom

San Francisco Chronicle ★

Arthur Hoppe

OUR WELL-OFF, middle-aged leaders in Washington now appear determined to bring back the draft. No one's more delighted than Colonel Jefferson L. Stonewall, national commander of the American Committee to Repeal the 13th Amendment.

"If they can restore the draft, there ain't no reason on God's green earth that they can't restore the noble institution of slavery," says the Colonel, who farms 480 acres of cotton near Mudge, Mississippi.

"Seems like the Army can't hire enough soldiers for the wages they pay on account of most young folk don't figure soldiering's much of a job. So instead of raising the wages, our fine Congressmen are going to save us taxpayers a bundle by rounding up all our boys and giving them the choice of doing the work or going to jail.

"Well, believe you me, most folks don't figure chopping cotton's much of a job either. The wages I got to pay the lazy no-goods on my place are a scandal to the jaybirds. Yes, sir, once we get rid of that antiquated old 13th Amendment, the South shall rise again!"

★ ★ ★

THE COLONEL says unselfishly that not only the South but the entire nation will benefit enormously from the re-introduction of slavery.

As he envisions the system, all citizens of any age would be required to prove to their local Involuntary Service Board that they were gainfully employed or otherwise self-sufficient. Those who could not would immediately be sold at auction — the proceeds going to swell the municipal coffers and further lower the taxpayers' burden.

Equally important, the Colonel feels, is that two of the nation's worst scourges — unemployment and welfare — would be eliminated overnight. "That would more'n balance the federal budget right there, son," he says proudly.

Best of all, he contends, an abundant supply of slave labor would soon lick the curse of inflation. "You have a bunch of healthy young bucks working on them assembly lines for grift, fatback and a bunk in a barracks," he says, "and it won't be no time before all the rest of us will be driving home in our new \$1000 cars to watch 'Roots III' on our new \$100 color tee-vees."

Not only will prices plummet at home, says the Colonel, but decent American manufacturers will be able to compete successfully with cheap foreign labor, thus creating a favorable trade balance for the first time in years.

"So you can see," he says, "that the restoration of slavery will cure all our economic ills at home and abroad. Once again, America will be happy and prosperous, with a sound dollar and the largest standing army in the world — feared and respected by one and by all.

"Yes, sir, only through slavery can we preserve our cherished heritage of freedom!"

★ ★ ★

COLONEL STONEWALL concedes there may be some moral objections to abolishing the 13th Amendment. "But if we can force citizens to be soldiers for the good of the country," he argues, "we sure in tarnation can force citizens to make autos or chop cotton for the good of the country. I say they all ought to be proud to serve their country."

At this point the Colonel permits himself a small smile. "About equally," he says.

LET ME BE

Please don't mistake or try to make me the shadow of everybody else.
I want to be free and no matter what you think I am, I'm just trying to be myself.
No I'm not the fool you thought would play by your rule;
To each his own philosophy ---
Let me be, let me be the things that I want to,
Let me be, let me be that's all I ask of you.
I am what I am and that's all I ever can be.
Don't try to plan me or understand me, I can't stand to be understood.
I'm not a piece of clay to be made over your way and I'm not a pawn to be told how to move.
Now I'm taking to wing. I am doing my thing,
Going to build a free society ---

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By The SPOTLIGHT

WASHINGTON—Your sons and daughters may be sent to die on foreign battlefields under proposals now advancing through Congress.

You, yourself, may in fact be earmarked as well to give your life to protect the interests of an alien nation and international financiers.

In addition, a Soviet-style program of coercing young people into regimented Marxist labor corps may be established by congressional liberals.

A slick public relations campaign is underway, however, to convince you that these schemes are "in the national interest." It is never explicitly stated just what nation is meant.

A grass-roots national movement to preserve individual liberty from the machinations of liberal congressmen is sweeping the nation; more than 30 groups have formed a coalition to head off plans to involve America in a foreign war which will serve only the interests of international financial manipulators and alien political movements.

SPECTRUM SPANNED

The coalition spans the political spectrum from libertarian to very liberal. Among the groups opposing the plans before Congress are the National Taxpayer's Union, the Libertarian Party, the Young Libertarian Alliance, the Society for Individual Liberty, the Students for a Libertarian Society and Americans for Democratic Action. Several religious denominations, such as the Quakers and Mennonites, are also active in the movement.

A handful of unsavory leftist organizations have aligned themselves with the coalition as well; such groups (which in this case include the War Resisters League and Women Strike for Peace) traditionally seek to identify themselves with popular mass movements which they then attempt to distort into a tool of their own purposes.

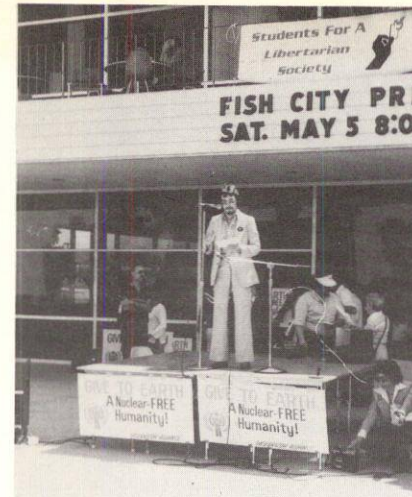
The proposals opposed by the coalition all center on re-imposing forced registration for the draft. There are nine bills before Congress—under some of which women could eventually be sent into combat—in a tangle of legislation, amendments and differing specifics.

PHONEY 'CONSERVATIVE' ADMITS GOALS

Each, however, requires registering for possible military service, and critics say that forced conscription itself will be proposed shortly. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), a leader of the effort to re-impose registration, has reportedly stated that registration will become law this year, the draft itself re-instated next year and finally a complete program of regimenting young people into Marxist-style federal labor battalions will be proposed.

(Nunn, incidentally, is always being lionized by the liberal Establishment media as a "conservative" Democrat; this in itself has raised many eyebrows, and the Georgia lawmaker proved the extent of his "conservatism" by voting for both Panama Canal giveaway treaties.)

Under Nunn's guidance, the Senate Armed Services Committee approved on June 11 a proposal requiring men aged 18 through 26 years old to begin registering next January.



Organizer Jeff Wild speaks to crowd at Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS) anti-draft rally at UNLV, Tues., May 1st.

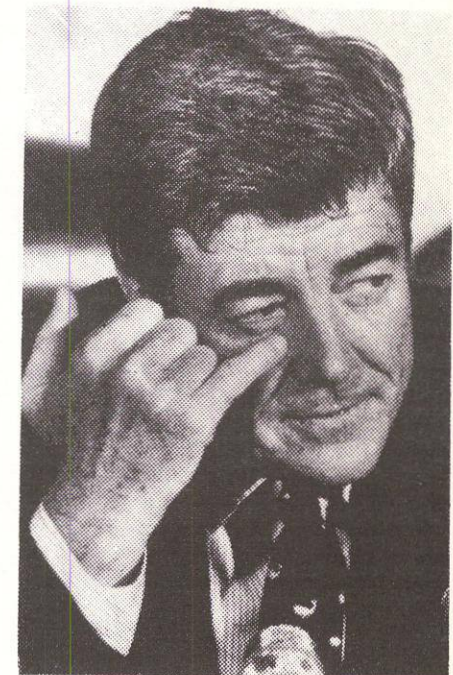


Rick White addresses UNLV anti-draft rally. John Cornett (upper right) watches for snipers.



Some of those attending the anti-draft rally. Speaker is rally organizer Jeff Wild. Ben Wittig was instrumental in setting up the event. News coverage included both major papers and two TV stations as well as radio.

Draft...

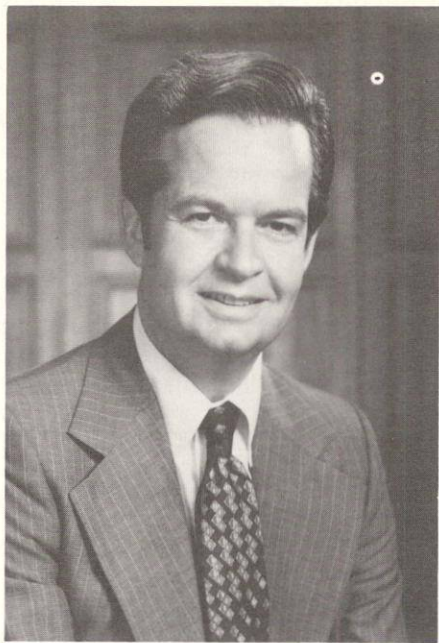


REP. PAUL McCLOSKEY

'SOCIALIST EQUILIBRIUM' SOUGHT

Meanwhile, Rep. Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.) has proposed a comprehensive national service program which would coerce young people into performing whatever tasks unelected federal planners deem a good idea. (National conscription for American youth was championed by a turn-of-the-century utopian named William James; James wrote that forcing young people to perform national service would bring about "socialist equilibrium.")

Thus far, McCloskey's plan to create "socialist equilibrium" by forcing your children to carry out the whims of federal bureaucrats has received less attention than re-instating registration for the draft; once the draft has resumed, coercive "national service" can be proposed.



CLARK RUNS FOR PRESIDENT

Edward E. Clark announced his candidacy for the presidential nomination of the Libertarian Party at a news conference in Sacramento, California on February 16. The first stop on Mr. Clark's busy campaign trail, which has taken him the length and breadth of the country, was Nevada. Ed Clark received considerable, favorable news media coverage in the Reno, Carson City area, in February, when he visited to speak before a state legislative committee on monetary reform.

A brief highlight of Ed Clark's commitment to the Libertarian Party shows that in 1972 he was a delegate to the founding convention in Denver and was elected a national committee member. He founded and was the first chairperson of the Free Libertarian Party of New York. In 1973 he served as chairperson of the Libertarian Party of California. In 1974, he was re-elected to a second term as LPC chairperson. He was the chairperson of the platform committee at the National LP Convention in Dallas and was once again elected to the National Committee. In 1975 he was the chairperson of the committee to nominate MacBride for President, chairperson of the platform committee at the National Convention in New York, and elected once again, to the National Committee. In 1976 he served as Finance Chairperson for the California MacBride for President Committee. In 1977 he served as a chairperson of the Constitution, Bylaws and Rules Committee at the National Convention in San Francisco and was once again elected to the National Committee. In 1978 Ed Clark ran for Governor of the State of California and received 377,980 votes, making him the highest vote getter of any Libertarian candidate to date.

In the April edition of *Individual Liberty* (the Newsletter of the Society for Individual Liberty), the results of a recent survey on the first choice for the Libertarian Presidential Candidate were as follows:

Ed Clark	42%
Bill Hunscher	13%
Roger MacBride	9%
Ed Crane	8%
Nathaniel Branden	5%
John Hospers	5%
Murray Rothbard	3%
Others	15%

Recently Edward E. Clark said "The success of our 1980 campaign will be measured in terms of how effective we are in communicating the fact that the Libertarian principle of individual liberty underlies all of our positions on the issues and is the key to solving society's problems."

"The goal of a libertarian is, as the name suggests, liberty--meaning that we intend to use every chance we can to get government out of our pocketbooks, out of our bedrooms, and out of our lives.

Republicans are not the party of freedom--they support government subsidies to big business, government spending and greater control over the economy.

I would like to communicate a sense of the tragic injustice of government and the politicians attempts to pit us against each other. As the power of government has grown like a cancer, intruding more and more into our lives, I have seen taxpayers pitted against the poor; the young pitted against the elderly; whites pitted against blacks; gays pitted against straights. All in a heartless game of political manipulation. As far as I can see, the only purpose to this game is to buy enough votes to keep some unprincipled politician in office at our expense. I think that Americans have had enough.

As a Libertarian, I believe that people, not the government, know best how to solve their own problems in an intelligent, benevolent, and voluntary manner. Government is responsible for most of the problems facing America today; high taxes, inflation, unemployment, crime, shortages, racial discrimination, schools that do not educate, harassment of innocent citizens, and a stagnating economy. To solve these problems we need innovative, voluntary alternatives and not more taxes, or more regulation, or more controls."



"My purpose in running a full-time campaign for the nomination is two-fold: to demonstrate to the LP delegates that I have the commitment to run a full-time, 14-month campaign for the Presidency itself; and to do all I can right now to lay the groundwork we must do with the media to command national media attention for our 1980 campaigns.

"There is no doubt that come time for the nomination in September, I will have campaigned more for the Libertarian Party than any other candidate in our history - bar none!"

**HUNSCHER FOR PRESIDENT
COMMITTEE**
Milford, New Hampshire 03055
603/673-0362

EDITOR'S NOTE:

In order to help with Newsletter expenses, future editions of **WE ARE FREE** will accept **Classified and Commercial Display advertising.** Rates will be charged as follows:

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Commercial Display: \$45.00 per page for one time insertion; \$25.00 for 1/2 page, and \$15.00 per 1/4 page. Other sizes at \$10.00

A 10% discount will be given for more than one insertion. Your co-operation will help not only this newsletter, but your own individual enterprises as well. We therefore urge you to either buy ads or solicit your acquaintances.

Subscription fee for Newsletter is \$6.00 per yr.

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Yours toward Liberty,
John R. Sherwin

Vice Presidential

The sole announced candidate for the LP Vice Presidential nomination as of this writing is San Francisco-based **Bill Greene, 40, a self-described "tycoon."**

According to newspaper clippings and promotional material, **Greene is a millionaire real estate trader who runs "Bill Greene's Tycoon Class," a seminar dealing with ways to make large amounts of money in real estate.**

Greene and his course have received considerable Bay Area news coverage, and Greene was a guest on Tom Snyder's "Tomorrow" show several months ago.

* * *

MEETINGS - LIBERTARIAN PARTY

Libertarian Party, Clark County meets every 4th wednesday monthly.

7:30 p.m. at Carrow's Restaurant on Sahara Ave., Las Vegas

NORTHERN NEVADA L.P.
Contact Dan Becan (702) 322-3643

OTHER COUNTIES: *
Please contact your representative.
(see delegate list for address & phone.)

NEVADA DELEGATE LIST, 1979 NATIONAL CONVENTION (In descending order of eligibility)

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| 5. Jim Burns 32. Danny Mack
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Reno, Nv 89506 | 33. Claudia Wilson
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| 9. James Odom 40. Liz Grissinger
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SLS NEWS

(Continued from page 11) convention, where it can again be debated and discussed in a manner more conducive to creative problem-solving than mail ballots.

We wish to stress the importance of the Constitution to the future growth of SLS. All political organizations (in fact, all human organizations) are subject to the problems of factionalism, bureaucratic power struggles, and a lack of coordination. As libertarians we are supposed to better understand the dynamics of human action and social coordination. We should, therefore, be able to structure our organization in such a way as to minimize the problems named above, while maximizing efficiency and responsiveness.

Issues in the Constitution which may now seem uninteresting or mundane may take on great importance in the future when, we are confident, SLS will be involved in a student movement of considerable size and scope. What, for example, should be the requirements of affiliation with National SLS? If an obviously unlibertarian group set itself up as an "SLS" chapter and attempted to take over or push the National Office in an ideologically unlibertarian direction, should the organization have the power to "purge" them? On the other hand, once you give the organization the power to "purge" people, what is to stop a sectarian faction within the libertarian movement from setting up a rigid definition of libertarianism and attempting to get rid of all ideological "deviations" from their own, absolutely correct, line? These are the kind of knotty problems the drafting of a Constitution must solve.

The draft approved by the Student Board will be submitted to the membership in a special mailing at least a month before the next National Convention.

SLS STATEMENT

For those who have been waiting with baited breath for the publication of the SLS Statement, don't despair. The Statement is being reviewed by the SLS Student Board at its February 13th meeting for accuracy; it will be published shortly thereafter. Any changes can be proposed this summer by voting members at the second SLS national convention, time and place to be announced.

JANUARY ACTIVISM

SLS coordinators and contacts distributed over 120,000 pieces of SLS literature at more than 75 college and high schools during the January openings of schools. Distribution of the special flyer was in conjunction with a two-month organizing tour by Field Director Monte Krel, and it marked a major effort at

establishing libertarianism as a continuing viable force on campuses in the aftermath of the election.

The four page flyer gave a succinct summary of libertarianism, an analysis of what to expect from the Reagan administration, and information of draft registration.

Wendy Goldman at Virginia Commonwealth University took the lead by organizing the distribution of 6000 of the new piece of literature. Only since October has there been a libertarian presence at this traditional bastion of leftism, and hopefully the leaflet will increase the group's core of activists from six at present to a dozen or more.

Michael Hagen at Temple University, Neil Gitkind at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Charles Spohren at the University of Illinois, and Diane Burton at the University of Louisville all set about to get five thousand of the leaflets to the student population. The encouraging thing about this is that most of these coordinators are new to SLS, having been contacted either right before or just after the election campaign. Thousands of people who have had little exposure to libertarianism in the past will thus be introduced to our views on the draft, foreign policy, Reagan, and the economy.

Other new SLS contacts who distributed many of the leaflets include Lee Anne Poynter, Franklin and Marshall (2000); Pam Cannella, Winona State (2000); Sara Magown, University of Florida (2000); Matthias Mittman, University of Virginia (2000); Rick Price, Boise State (3000); and Stephen Laffey, Bowdoin College (1000 at a school with only 1200 students). The SLS affiliates at New York University, Stanford, Virginia Tech, Ohio University, Tufts, Tulane, and the University of Northern Illinois, with usual consistency, also made a significant effort.

DRAFT DEBATE

SLS member Carl Cobler helped sponsor a debate on the draft at Sierra College in Northern California, as part of his marketing class. Milton Mueller of SLS took the anti-draft side, debating Professor Harry Reader of American River College. The debate attracted over 130 people. Because it was a marketing class a survey was conducted afterward to measure the listeners' response. The results are interesting. 40% said the debate had no effect on their opinion. 45% said it helped solidify their opinion, while 15% said it changed their opinion. The good news is that 77% of the students said they opposed registration and the draft, while only 22% said they favored it.

LETTERS

To the Editor:

I am writing in reference to the article **Dumping on America** which appeared in the November 1980 issue of **Liberty**. Although I agree with most aspects of this article, some important information was left out.

In 1953, the Niagara Falls Board of Education threatened to take the site of Hooker Chemical's dump by eminent domain. As a result of this threat, Hooker sold the site for \$1 to the School Board.

The chemicals were buried and sealed where, if the land had not been disturbed, no Love Canal problem would have occurred. In 1957, the School Board's records and news stories in the **Niagara Gazette** and the **Buffalo Courier-Express**, show that Hooker's representatives appeared at meetings in person to remind school officials of the dangers of the site.

Today, the procedures followed by the Hooker Chemical Co. in the 1940s might not be acceptable, but in the 40s it was the best procedure to follow at the time. The whole Love Canal problem would not have occurred had it not been for the principle of eminent domain and the failure of the government to listen to the warnings from Hooker officials.

Furthermore, although I have no information on this aspect, I believe that if it was investigated, one would find out that many of the people who purchased land on the Love Canal site knew of the potential danger, but decided to take the risk because of the cheap price of the land.

Sincerely,
A.F. Jackson
Janesville, WI

-David Lampo

- YES, I want to subscribe to *Liberty*. \$8.00 is enclosed.
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Never Again

(continued from page 2)

(We pointed out more than a year ago in these pages that it was massive American intervention which gave birth to the strident anti-Americanism so rampant in Iran.) The conclusions reached after that investigation will answer the second question of whether or not this country ever learns anything from its foreign policy blunders. The refusal so far of American policy-makers, including Presidents Carter and Reagan, to admit any wrong-doing in Iran does not bode well for that investigation.

Yet, just this month, both **Time** magazine and **The Observer** in London reported that at least three, and possibly four, of the former hostages were indeed CIA agents, a charge which was made by the Iranian militants at the time of the Embassy take-over, and one which was scoffed at by American officials. In fact, the same documents which identify those CIA agents, also suggest that at the time of the take-over, the CIA was about to launch yet another covert operation inside Iran, with the full knowledge of the charge d'affaires, Bruce Laingen.

Naturally, most people never again want to see Americans taken hostage by a foreign power. We share that sentiment. And if there is one recommendation we could make which would almost guarantee that it would never happen again, it would be this: stop meddling in the affairs of other countries. It's very easy to do, it would save the taxpayers billions of dollars a year, and it would earn the United States new respect and admiration around the world.

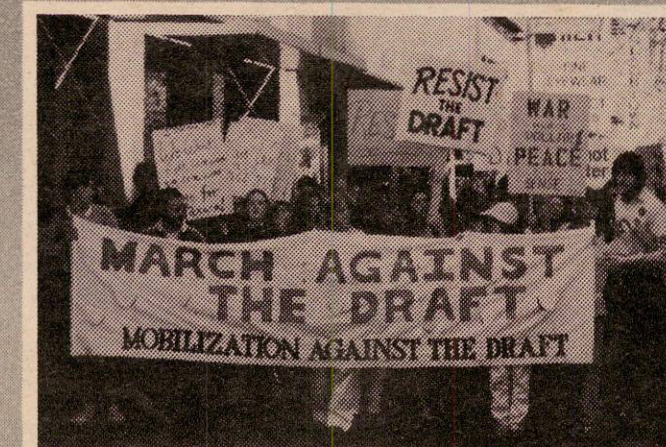
Breaking old habits isn't easy. If we hope to ever bring peace to this planet of ours, however, it is essential.

FEBRUARY 1981
25 cents

LIBERTY

The Voice of Students For a Libertarian Society

Building A Peace Movement For the 80s



(This is the first in a series of four articles on the issues facing the construction of a new peace movement. A shortened version of the entire paper will be circulated at the National Convention of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft as an "Open Letter to the Anti-Draft Movement." It represents our attempt to present a coherent, libertarian analysis of the political and strategic issues facing the anti-draft movement. The articles by Tom Palmer on the State and unemployment and Leonard Liggio on the origins of American racism in this issue of *Liberty* are also intended to inject a libertarian perspective into two important issues related to the draft and war.)

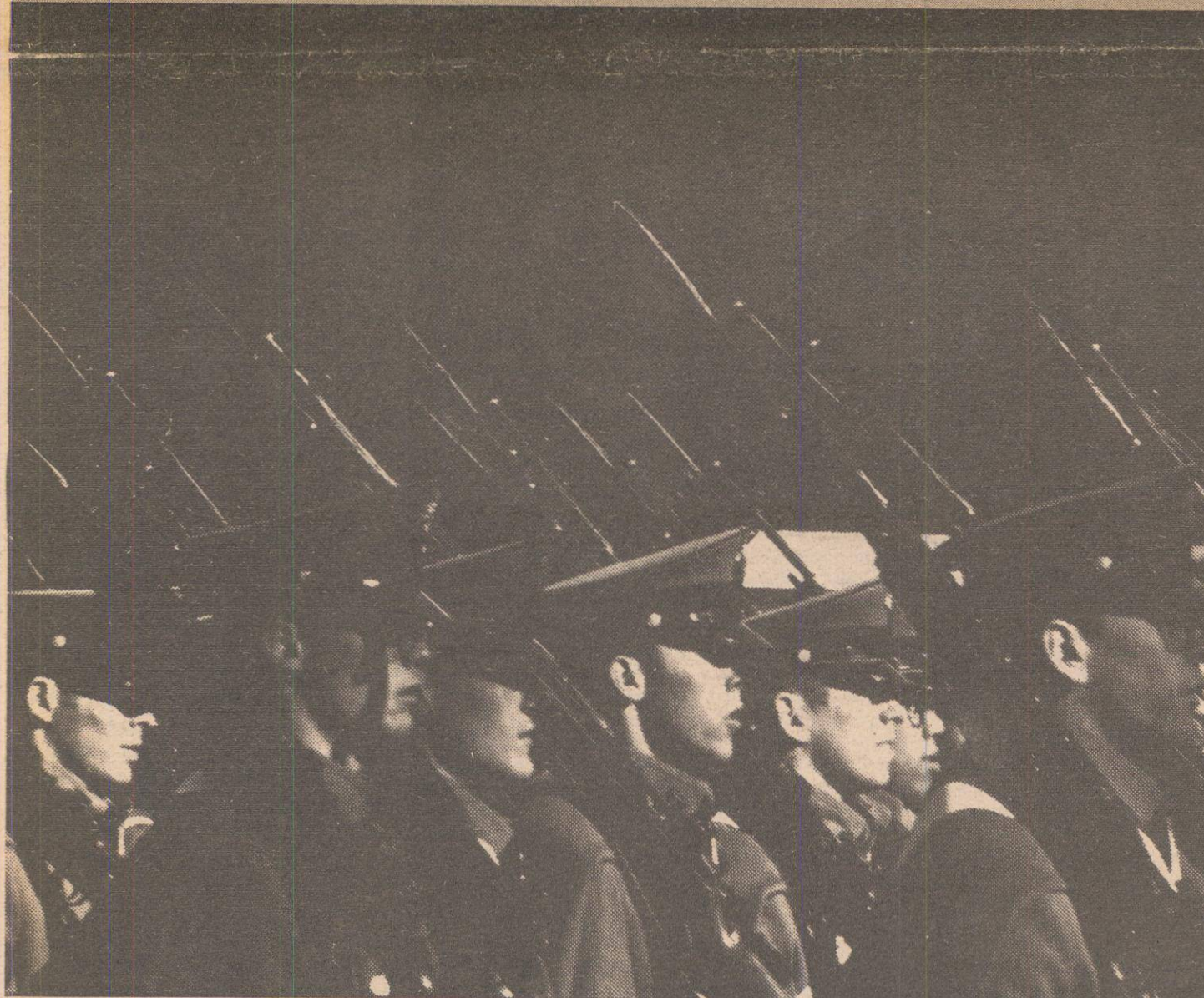
by Milton Mueller

The National Convention of CARD can do more than organize opposition to registration and the draft. It can also lay the groundwork for a new peace movement in America. A revitalized, unified anti-war movement, in fact, is precisely what the times require.

This is a time of tumultuous economic, political and military change. Only a few years after the collapse of the American-supported government of Vietnam and the end of the draft, intervention and conscription are back in favor, and it may not be long before they're back in use. The mindless militarism which prevails was best expressed by *Newsweek's* conservative columnist George Will: "it is time," he said in a recent column, "for someone armed by us...to beat someone armed by them." Registration and the draft have become subjects which can only be discussed in a wider context. They are but one element of the great national debate taking shape over the future of the American empire.

The hawks have already gained the upper hand in this debate. By comparison, anti-war forces seem disorganized and confused. Without organized anti-war activity--given the chaos in the Middle East, the unraveling of

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Origins of American Racism
See page 7

Unemployment: Its Causes & Cures
See page 4

THE LIBERTARIAN LINE



The D.O.E.: R.I.P.?

One of Ronald Reagan's most oft-repeated campaign promises was to abolish the three-year-old Department of Energy (DOE), which administers this country's complicated and contradictory regulations and price controls on energy production. The \$10.4 billion agency is a bureaucratic nightmare, whose only apparent function has been to extend and worsen the government-created energy "shortage," and increase this country's dependence on imported foreign crude oil (which has doubled since Nixon imposed price controls in 1971).

Government intervention into the energy markets has obviously succeeded only in making energy, which was once abundant and inexpensive, scarcer and more expensive. Clearly, we would all benefit from abolition of the DOE and its self-defeating policies.

Even Robert Stobaugh and Daniel Yergin, coordinators of the Energy Project at the Harvard Business School, have endorsed, for example, immediate decontrol of oil prices, permitting them to rise to actually reflect supply and demand. As Yergin and Stobaugh have written, "The higher oil prices that would result from swift decontrol could reduce U.S. imports in two ways: reducing U.S. oil consumption and/or increasing U.S. oil production." Precisely.

It was understandable, therefore, that some observers were shocked when the new Energy Secretary, James Edwards, announced that, while he favored dispensing with most of the regulatory apparatus, he did not favor abolition of the entire Department, a position he had previously taken.

An examination of the DOE's budget, however, sheds some light on this seeming change of heart. For it shows that over half of the DOE's budget is spent on nuclear-related activities, and if there is anything that characterizes most conservatives, it

is a fondness for the government-created and heavily subsidized nuclear power industry, one of their frequent lapses into corporate socialism.

Of this year's \$10.4-billion budget, about \$3.4 billion went to what used to be called the Atomic Energy Commission for the development and manufacture of nuclear weapons. About \$669 million was spent collecting and depositing waste from nuclear reactions. \$1.5 billion went to nuclear research and another \$236 million for direct subsidies to nuclear utilities. Getting the picture? Apparently the new Energy Secretary has. In short, Mr. Edwards doesn't mind government subsidies, if they go to the "right" people. In his view, the oil companies and utility

monopolies are the "right" people. The Energy Department is one more classic example of the government agency that benefits most those whom it is supposed to "regulate."

The Energy Department can, and should be, abolished. But it will never be done by those whose commitment to the free market is merely rhetorical. It will be done only by those who find subsidies to big business, self-serving bureaucratic regulations, and government-fostered cartels and monopolies abhorrent.

The Reagan Administration just doesn't fit the bill.

—David Lampo

Never Again

The Iranian drama is finally over, or at least this phase of it. The former hostages are now home, reunited with their families, who have indeed suffered almost as much as the hostages themselves. Millions of Americans have expressed their joy in public ceremonies and parades all over the country.

Yet, after all the hoopla and celebration, there remain nagging questions about this whole ordeal. How did it happen? Have we learned anything from it?

The first question of what led to this crisis will be addressed in the upcoming Congressional investigation.

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LIBERTY

Students for a Libertarian Society is an organization of students and the young dedicated to the creation of a free and open society. Through education and action, we seek to inspire a new American radicalism in pursuit of the rights to life, liberty, and justly acquired property.

There is a pressing need for a new ideal to guide political life. The left and the right offer merely a choice between two brands of authoritarianism. State socialism has been tried. It is a shriveling and archaic dream that produces only conformity, economic stagnation, and centralized control over the lives of individuals. State capitalism, or conservatism, has had its day; it is synonymous with militarism, self-righteous suppression of unpopular lifestyles, stifled political dissent, and an economic system that grants legal privileges to powerful special interests.

The political philosophies of the left and the right are both unfit for free-spirited human beings. We of SLS therefore seek to change the poles of American politics. Statism vs. libertarianism, coercion vs. freedom; these must become the standards by which all political activities and social institutions are tested.

The country in which we live was born in a libertarian revolution, but it is not now free. Underlying our view of American society is the realization that nearly all of our major economic and social institutions are institutions of the state or dominated by the state. Our school system is a government-run bureaucracy that forces the young to attend and adults to pay. Entire industries are subsidized, regulated, and protected from competition, and crucial professions such as medicine and law are enclaves of monopoly privilege fenced in by the state. Electronic media, the primary news and entertainment source of our culture, are licensed and censored by the state. Our banking system is a government-created cartel, and the money we exchange is nothing but paper printed by the state. Nearly half of an individual's income is confiscated outright by the various levels of government. And the armies of this Leviathan state are spread across the globe in a vain and destructive attempt to be the world's policeman. American society is statist.

We of SLS understand that in such a context freedom is not something to be "defended" or "preserved," but something to be defined, discovered and fought for. We understand that to increase our power to control our own lives, we must not only decrease the power of the state; we must question the very legitimacy of coercion.

SLS is an organization of students because young people in general and students in particular stand in a special relationship to American society. Students, perhaps more than any other segment of society, are subsidized, indoctrinated, sorted and measured at the hands of the state. To turn around this pattern of control, both in schools and the society at large, the organized support of students will be a potent force — a force for freedom that we as libertarian students will help to shape and promote.

(Adopted July 4th, 1978, in San Francisco)

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Letters to the Editor are encouraged.
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POTSHOTS

● For those under the illusion we live in an ever more "permissive" society, a look at the nation's drinking age dispels that notion; it is gradually moving upward. According to the National Association of Secondary School Principals, eleven states have raised the legal age above 18 in just the past five years. Only eight states currently allow 18-year-olds to drink, while the legal requirement in twenty-five states is 21.

● As we predicted in the last issue of *Liberty*, Reagan's "team" is moving quickly to renege on its campaign promises of cutting taxes and spending. Because of a budget deficit for this year of \$60 billion, Donald Regan, the new Treasury Secretary, now says that the 10% tax cut promised for this year might have to be delayed, and that a balanced budget can't be achieved until at least 1984. At the same time Regan was complaining about the size of the deficit, Caspar Weinberger, the new Secretary of Defense, was calling for whopping increases in the already bloated defense budget, including the infamous MX missile and a new bomber, all sure to please the boys at the Pentagon.

● One of America's largest welfare recipients, the "New" Chrysler Corporation, has just been granted an additional \$400 million worth of loan guarantees by the Federal government's Loan Guarantee Board. The guarantees were granted after the Board listened to Chrysler's plan for staying afloat in the face of imminent bankruptcy. The "new" Reagan Administration supports the continued bailout of Chrysler.

● Sam Brown, the anti-war activist turned bureaucrat, demonstrated once again the truth of Lord Acton's dictum that government power corrupts. Brown, the coordinator of the 1969 Vietnam Moratorium, now says he thinks he was wrong to oppose the draft. For the past four years Brown has directed the government agency ACTION, which supervises volunteer service programs. Brown has given up on volunteering, though: "As one who spent a number of years, I think incorrectly, opposing the draft" Brown says, "it seems to me all of us owe some obligation to society." It's worth noting that as Director of ACTION, Brown is paid at least four times the average pay of a draftee. It's also worth noting that many contemporary opponents of the draft who have no principled moral objection to involuntary servitude, are likely to be as easily coopted as Mr. Brown.

THE POWER ELITE

The World Bank: Making Money the Easy Way by Sheldon Richman

For 35 years the World Bank, a taxpayer-supported, multi-government creature, has labored (so it says) to hasten the development of lesser-developed countries. Since its inception, it has extended 1,731 low-interest loans to 100 countries for a total of more than \$51.5 billion.

And yet, after all this, its retiring president, Robert Strange McNamara, chided the Western world last summer, saying that it hadn't done enough. Playing on the conscience of the confused, McNamara told the West "we have collectively had it in our power to do more than fight poverty and we have failed to do so Sustaining the attack on poverty is not an economic luxury. . . . It is a continuing social and moral responsibility and an economic imperative—and its need now is greater than ever."

It is important to understand this scene. McNamara was addressing an audience of high-living central bankers and government officials from all over the world, including those from underdeveloped countries which have borrowed money from the World Bank. The mission of these people, whose most distinguishing trait is that they produce nothing,

is to pry from the hands of beleaguered taxpayers more money for left- and right-wing dictators and the American corporations that will thereby be able to sell products to them. All of this is in the name of economic development, but anyone with common sense knows that the well-being of the people in those countries bears no relation to the country-club activities of the politicians.

As one editorial writer put it recently, "We need not comment on the sad spectacle of multimillionaires in custom-tailored suits patting each other on the back as they prepare to siphon even more money from American citizens, while their chauffeured limousines wait outside the plush offices of the World Bank."

Economic development depends on liberty, savings, capital investment and respect for property rights. The Third-World nations that approximate that standard—such as Hong Kong—have the highest standards of living. But World Bank loans work precisely in the opposite direction. They put money in the hands of dictators, further centralizing power and decision-making, increasing privilege, and keeping the general

populace subservient to the government. This is no prescription for alleviating poverty.

Some particulars: Under McNamara's 12-year reign, the World Bank supported Julius Nyerere's forced collectivization of agriculture in Tanzania, which caused untold hardship and hunger. It supported Indira Gandhi's compulsory sterilization program in India. It supported the massive butchery of Ethiopia's Mengistu, according to London economist P.T. Bauer. It also helped finance the brutal forced migration of Vietnamese peasants by their Marxist government. This is the World Bank at its worst. At its best, it merely enriches killers and thieves.

That's the receiving end. On the giving end, the theme of brutality is also loudly played. The taxpayers of the United States and other nations, ever burdened and oppressed by their own politicians, are compelled to support the McNamaras and Nyereres of the world. Congress each year fulfills (lately more reluctantly) the promised capital subscription (\$706 million since the beginning, by one probably conservative estimate) with which the Bank lends money at low rates and guarantees "private loans." Often, this money comes back to America.

Ironically, the interests of the American people and foreign politicians use it to buy their products. In other words, the Bank indirectly subsidizes America's largest corporations.

The taxpayers are ripped off in two ways. First, they are deprived of the mon-

ey initially taken as taxes. Second, everytime the World Bank makes possible a sale from an American corporation, someone else is deprived of capital that would have been used to produce goods really aimed at consumer needs. Every interference with the natural flow of the market is a step away from real development and consumer well-being.

McNamara's successor will be Bank of America Chairman A. W. Clausen, a development that should increase the already ample suspicions of Ronald Reagan's interest in liberty. The Carter and Reagan camps worked together during the campaign to push through Clausen's selection quickly. This is ominous. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other world agencies have recently been used to bail out American banks whose massive Third-World loans are shaky. Clausen's bank holds some of those loans, so the conflict of interest is obvious. Moreover, Clausen recently suggested that these agencies set up an insurance pool to save the banks from Third World default. In other words, the taxpayers should be further harnessed to the interests of a government-banking cartel.

Ironically, the interests of the American people and foreign politicians use it to buy their products. In other words, the Bank indirectly subsidizes America's largest corporations.

SLS NEWS

NEW ADDRESS

The new SLS address in Washington D.C. is 2262 Hall Place, N.W., #304, Washington, D.C. 20007. Please send all correspondence to this address. The San Francisco office closes at the end of February.

SLS FLYING UNIVERSITY

If you've ever wished that you could sit down with other libertarians and really explore the ideas and implications of liberty, then SLS has just the thing for you. We've assembled some of the most profound and provocative libertarian works into what we call a "Flying University"—a comprehensive introduction to libertarian ideas which includes readings, discussion, questions, and suggestions for further reading.

Libertarianism is as much an intellectual movement as a political one. Understanding and exploring the ideas of liberty—and the radical challenge they pose to the status

quo and its sterile orthodoxy—is as important as political action itself. In fact, unless we acquire a thorough understanding of libertarian theory, we will manage to change things only superficially, if at all.

The study guide gives you nine readings, allowing you to choose readings which emphasize Economic Freedom, Political Action, or Cultural Freedom. It can be used individually, but is primarily intended for campus groups of libertarians who want to meet weekly to learn about and discuss libertarian ideas. For each distinct area of libertarian thought—economics, politics, and culture—we've tried to select those key works which set forth the fundamental outlines of libertarian thought, and best enhance our understanding of society. Campus groups which order the study guide will receive one copy of all readings, which can then be copied and distributed among the group. Each reading includes discussion questions which are designed to provoke critical

exploration and discussion, not mindless unanimity. The suggestions for further readings will allow you to follow up on any area which proves of interest to you.

The "Flying University" doesn't shy away from controversy. The study guide includes readings from forthright advocates of no government, along with critiques from advocates of limited government. It includes critics of the nuclear power industry's political economy, but also thought-provoking questions posed by critics of the anti-nuclear case. Classics of libertarian literature, such as Murray Rothbard's "The Anatomy of the State" and F.A. Hayek's "The Use of Knowledge in Society" are included in all three sections of the guide. But the guide also includes little known works which point toward uncharted areas of libertarian thought, such as Leonard Liggio's essay on "English Origins of American Racism."

The libertarian movement is brimming with new ideas. The SLS "Flying University"

provides the perfect forum for you to get students together without a lot of complicated work or preparation, and learn about (and debate among yourselves) the implications of libertarianism. In the process, you'll learn more about politics, culture, economics, and history than you'll ever learn in school.

SLS CONSTITUTION

SLS is writing a Constitution. While the National Convention asked for a Constitution to be submitted to the membership by October, obviously this has not been done. The reason is that the appointed Constitution Committee did not have the time to prepare one. By the time a new Committee came up with a draft, it was so close to the Student Board meeting that it made more sense to draw up the proposal there, where it can be discussed and examined, and amended more flexibly. The draft proposed by the Student Board will be presented to the next national

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munity in Ireland, did not allow room for coexistence with a different social and cultural tradition. The Puritan community was viewed as surrounded by a hedge which was religious, cultural and physical. All that was good and godly was inside the hedge; all that was bad and ungodly was outside. The attempt to create an organic community, a medieval society, as the modern age developed, was important as a motivation for the Puritans. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the static life and sense of community in England, especially in the dominant rural society of England, was coming to an end. The status quo's ending meant that the status of a large number of people, not the least the Puritans, was upset. The Puritans' settlement in America was a search to maintain a static style of life unchallenged by the diversity and change of modern society. The search for the new society in the New Zion was not merely a search for religious security but also for cultural and social security. As with the Irish, the Indians could not be integrated into that community; they were beyond the hedge and thus enemies that would have to be eliminated. The massacres of the Indians, the Pequot War, King Philip's War, etc., reflected the same methods and the same attitudes as the English applied to the Irish. Extermination was the logical conclusion. When extermination of human beings appears logical, the enslavement of human beings appears humane. Indians captured in war were placed in servitude; but as with the Irish, being in their own country and having free Indians beyond English control, the Indians were successful in escape. Almon Wheeler Lauber in **Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States** indicates the decline of Indian slavery due to the increase of indentured servants and of white servitude of convicts, especially Irish and Scotch prisoners of war. The Indians were not used to the activities they were expected to perform and tended to refuse to learn. William Howitt suggested that Indian resistance tended to discourage the Indian slave trade especially because various tribes refused to cooperate in the enslavement of other Indians.

The experience gained by the English regarding the Indians in America was transferred to Ireland during the English Civil War and Commonwealth of the 1640s and 1650s. The Irish and the Old English undertook a nationwide rebellion against the New English of the Elizabethan settlement. This rebellion began in 1641. With the success of the Parliamentary armies under Cromwell, attention could be turned by the English government to Ireland.

However, the radical soldiers who had won the Civil War did not believe in the conquest of Ireland. These radicals or Levellers (Editor's note: the Levellers were early precursors of Libertarians) felt that the "cause of the Irish natives in seeking their just freedoms was the very same with our cause here in endeavouring our own rescue and freedom from the power of oppressors." The radical council of officers voted on March 25, 1649 that the army should not be used in Ireland to "eradicate the natives or to divest them of their estates." Three days later the Leveller leaders were arrested by Cromwell. In order to raise troops to go to Ireland Cromwell required a new kind of enthusiasm if he were to motivate troops to the victories he achieved in England. This was provided by the heavy influx of New Englanders who were returning to England with the Puritan victory in order to assist the new government.

Cromwell's army in Ireland, often New England Puritan led or inspired, carried out the most complete devastation that Ireland experienced until that time. Extermination became a policy. Massacres were carried out. Prisoners of war were transported to servitude in the new English colonies in the West Indies. Ireland, like New England, was taken with the Bible in one hand, the sword in the other. Lord Clarendon observed that the Cromwellian policy was to act without "any humanity to the Irish nation, and more especially to those of the old native extraction, the whole race whereof they had upon the matter sworn an utter extirpation." Cromwell determined that all the Irish would be removed to the west of Ireland, ordering the Irish to go "to hell or to Connaught." But large numbers of prisoners of war and captives were sentenced to permanent transportation to the West Indian sugar plantations.

Thus, there developed the well known horrors of the Irish 'slave-trade.' Large proportions of the Irish on the "slave-trade" ships died on the voyage to the West Indies. The experience which the Bristol merchants gained in the Irish "slave-trade" was useful to them decades later when they became a dominant force in the same activity in Africa. The role of the Irish as the initial servile labor in the English West Indies is a separate topic; but some observations can be made about it.

From the earliest English settlements in the West Indies in the late 1620s Irish servants had been imported but were quickly found to be "proved treacherous." They frequently revolted and killed their English masters, and the English tried to outlaw the bringing in of Irish servants. Not only was the white servant class larger than the black in the English West Indies until the latter part of

the seventeenth century, but the Irish represented generally the largest part of the white servile population, reaching the figure of sixty-nine percent on Montserrat. White servants as well as blacks on Barbados were prohibited from "wandering about" without written permission of the master. Anyone so found was to be whipped. Carl Bridenbaugh concluded that the white servants were worse treated at this time than the black. The Irish were viewed as much more dangerous than the blacks:

"To explain this, Ligon pointed out that '(the blacks) are fetched from several parts of Africa, who speak several languages, and by that means, one of them understands not another.' They could not, therefore, easily rebel."

In the following decades the white majorities were replaced with black majorities.

Finally, the consistent English complaint about the Irish was carried to the West Indies. The pastoral Irish were not used to intensive agricultural labor. It was totally contrary to their traditions, customs and experiences. Not unlike the Indians to which they were so frequently compared, the Irish, as the English had constantly said, would not submit to the kind of agricultural work which feudalism had demanded. The Indian tended to escape or die; the Irish either resisted work discipline, tending toward "idleness," or they rebelled. During the early years of the West Indies tobacco plantations it was possible to function with such labor. But, with the increasing introduction of sugar and the development of large-scale plantations, Celtic servitude became either useless or a burden to the planters. The uncivilized and savage Irish had to be replaced on the feudal plantations with a work force which was civilized and not savage. A report from the early years of the French colony of Louisiana brought out this concept forcefully. It distinguished between the "savages" (the small number of Indian slaves) and the Negroes. Africans were preferred as slaves because they were civilized and were not savage.

The English had experience in attempting to impose servitude upon the Irish and upon the Indians. However, no matter what effort they put into it the English found the results unsatisfactory. The Africans, in contrast, were civilized peoples who had agricultural experience, sometimes in the context of feudal labor. Richard Dunn in **Sugar and Slaves** has noted;

"These black bondsmen had obvious practical advantages over the unstable white labor force in Barbados.... Black slaves performed the required tasks more patiently than

white servants, and this consideration more than outweighed the disagreeable prospect of living in close proximity to a people totally foreign in color, speech, religion, and culture."

But the English had already formed their racial attitudes toward people totally foreign in speech, religion, culture and, even as this had for them a cultural differentiation, color. The conflict of cultures which dominated relations between the English and the Irish in the Old and New Worlds and the English and the Indians in the New World did not have the same intensity regarding the Africans. The most extreme aspects of the racism which accompanied the rise of the nation-state and colonialism, namely the extermination which was practiced against the Irish and the Indians, was not applied against the Africans. The Irish and the Indians could not be a part of the organic community which received its highest manifestation in the Puritan villages; the black bondsman, on the other hand, was easily incorporated in the organic community of the plantation village. The Englishman, using the Irish or the Indians, sought to recreate the English village society in which a large mass of servile Englishmen labored for the privileged feudal class. The destruction of the native Irish or Indian culture was necessary to accomplish that; their resistance meant that not only would they refuse to submit to English culture but would not accept the English seizure of the lands they considered their own. Even when transported to the West Indies the Irish and the Indians resisted. The African, on the other hand, seemed more willing to accept the cultural changes which the English wished to impose. Like the English village laborers, the Africans had been experienced agricultural laborers in the African villages. In some cases, they had experienced feudal labor discipline. The Africans' tradition of the organic community of village society, of adaptability and learning and of agricultural experience, made them the most likely substitute in the New World for the laborer of the feudal community of the old world, especially acceptable following the total failure and thus the attempt at total extermination by the English with regard to the Irish and the Indians. Unlike the Irish and Indians, whose "uncivilized" culture caused English racism to choose the extreme of extermination, the latter encounter with the civilized Africans led English racism to force them into the culture of an organic feudal community.

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Peace Movement for the 80s

the Soviet empire, revolutionary ferment in Central America and a new U.S. Administration openly committed to intervention and a renewed arms race--the possibility of world war cannot be discounted.

One reason for the isolation and weakness of the contemporary peace movement is the ideological crisis which confronts the American Left. Nothing but small fragments are left of the great movement against the Vietnam war. New Deal liberalism is approaching senility; its political and intellectual hegemony over domestic issues has been obliterated by the tax revolt, double-digit inflation and rising unemployment. Marxist-Leninists, too, are reeling from the theoretical twists and turns required to fit the crises engulfing communist states into their conceptual framework.

The militarists have a mandate; they are focused on specific goals and know how to go about attaining them. They have a clear and simple (although incorrect) view of the world: the Russians are strong, we are weak, the world is slipping out of our control. The anti-war forces, in contrast, are forced onto the defensive by their inability to communicate or even develop a coherent analysis of what is happening in the world and why. They have merely reacted to militarist initiatives without formulating a positive vision of a just basis for international order or of the proper role of the U.S. in the world.

This letter, prepared by Students for a Libertarian Society, has been sent to all the member groups of CARD. Our intention is to stimulate productive discussion of the basic issues facing the American peace movement.

We realize that CARD is a coalition of diverse groups, each with different approaches to political and economic problems. That is exactly why we believe rational discussion of fundamental issues is necessary, even healthy. The most important issues facing CARD are unquestionably **ideological** in nature. An open and honest airing of our differences will lead to a better understanding of our true **similarities**--and that in turn will make it possible for us to forge the political unity necessary for a revitalized peace movement.

What Went Wrong

That an anti-draft movement should have to mobilize so soon after the trauma of Vietnam--an unpopular war made possible only by the availability of conscripts--poses an obvious question: why has the peace movement failed? That may seem like a depressing, even

impertinent question to raise at a Convention of the peace movement. But the facts speak for themselves. Despite the short hiatus between 1975 and 1979, the fundamental character of U.S. foreign policy has not been changed.

In fact, the more we look into the growth of militarism on an international scale, the clearer it becomes that anti-militarists and anti-imperialists have been losing ground--not just for the past few years, but for the entire **Twentieth Century**. It is important to grasp the full dimensions of this failure.

A few years before World War I the size of our standing Army was 100,000 men, not all that much bigger than the Army which fought the War of 1812. Conscription in peacetime was unheard of. Our imperial expansion had as yet encompassed only Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the American continent itself.

Today, our armed forces surpass two million in number. Our global foreign policy relies on permanent draft registration and an immediate return to conscription in time of war. We have military relations with over 90 nations, and 686,000 of our military-related personnel are stationed abroad at 222 major and 2,000 minor bases. Roughly half of our 22,000 tactical nuclear weapons are stationed outside our own borders. Moreover, this steady expansion of an American empire can be traced almost without reference to an American peace movement.

A chart of U.S. military expenditures since the turn of the Century would show steady ascension, with huge peaks for each major war--World War I, World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. After each peak the amount of resources consumed by the government falls, but settles at a plateau much higher than the peacetime level before the war. 1975 to 1979 was such a plateau--but the Reagan Administration was just elected to begin a new round of huge increases in military spending, beginning with a \$30 billion rise in FY1981. The political impotence of current peace forces was demonstrated by the whopping 73-1 victory of this budget increase in the Senate. Measured in constant, FY1980 dollars, the annual amount of money swallowed by the Pentagon has gone from less than a billion at the turn of the Century to \$12 billion in 1947 to \$160 billion in 1981, and is expected to reach **300 billion** by the end of Reagan's first term.

The rise in expenditures for "defense" has not been accompanied by a decline in the number of wars, only a marked increase in the number of casualties associated with war. Eight million people died in World War I. More than 30 million died in World

War II. But even that figure is dwarfed by the theoretical number of casualties entailed by nuclear warfare. According to a U.S. National Security Council estimate, 140 million Russians would die in a nuclear exchange. And of course, wars did not cease with the end of World War II and the establishment of a United Nations organization. Between 1945 and 1975, the U.S. alone carried out one major military intervention every 18 months; it is estimated to have used or threatened military force 215 times. There are today no less than 40 ongoing military conflicts in the world, involving almost one third of the world's nations. All of them concern the American peace movement because nearly all emerged from the residue of foreign imperialism or are local conflicts inflamed by superpower competition. The U.S., either through troops, arms sales or economic aid, is involved in 16 of them; the USSR is involved in 14.

Peace activists have protested against nuclear weapons and conducted civil disobedience against their producers for years. They have not, however, made a dent in the growth of our nuclear arsenal. From 1970 - 1976 the number of U.S. strategic nuclear weapons more than doubled, from 4000 to 8900. In the USSR, where they do not allow anti-nuclear protests, it rose from 1800 to 3000.

The movement against the Vietnam war mounted the strongest popular challenge ever to U.S. imperialism. It forced the government to abstain from direct military intervention in Angola, Iran and Nicaragua, where revolutions overthrew American client states. But the empire struck back. In the past two years a calculated, systematic assault upon every liberal victory from the Vietnam era has been mounted. And it's succeeded: draft registration has resumed, the CIA is being unleashed, interventionary forces and new troop bases are in the works, the Soviet threat and even the domino theory have been resurrected, and bigger military budgets have become an unassailable part of the establishment consensus. All this, within memory of the most unpopular war in U.S. history, only a few years after the dust settled from an anti-war movement that toppled two U.S. Presidents, paralyzed the Selective Service System and sent millions of Americans into the streets in protest.

Even the self-proclaimed anti-imperialists of the socialist world have become imperialist. Russia and Cuba today cultivate client states and intervene regularly in Third World conflicts. The USSR, for example, airlifted 20,000 Cuban troops, 300 tanks, and

3,000 Soviet technicians to Ethiopia's border war with Somalia. Few need to be reminded that the Soviets are suppressing an Islamic rebellion in Afghanistan in an attempt to "Sovietize" that nation, just as the U.S. attempted to "modernize" or Westernize Iran. The Chinese government, meanwhile, has aligned itself with the United States and actively supports a U.S. military presence in NATO, South Korea and Pakistan.

Where Do We Go From Here

The Twentieth Century has been a Century of unrestricted war and imperialism. Peace movements in those nations considered the major powers have not brought an end to war; they have not even reversed the tide. By every measurable standard--military expenditures and the spread of weaponry, the number of wars and casualties--organized anti-war activity has failed to achieve its end.

Faced with this fact, there are two possible approaches to take. One is to reconcile ourselves to the existence of war and imperialism, and to accept mass slaughter as an inevitable product of human society. But to do this is to cease being a peace movement.

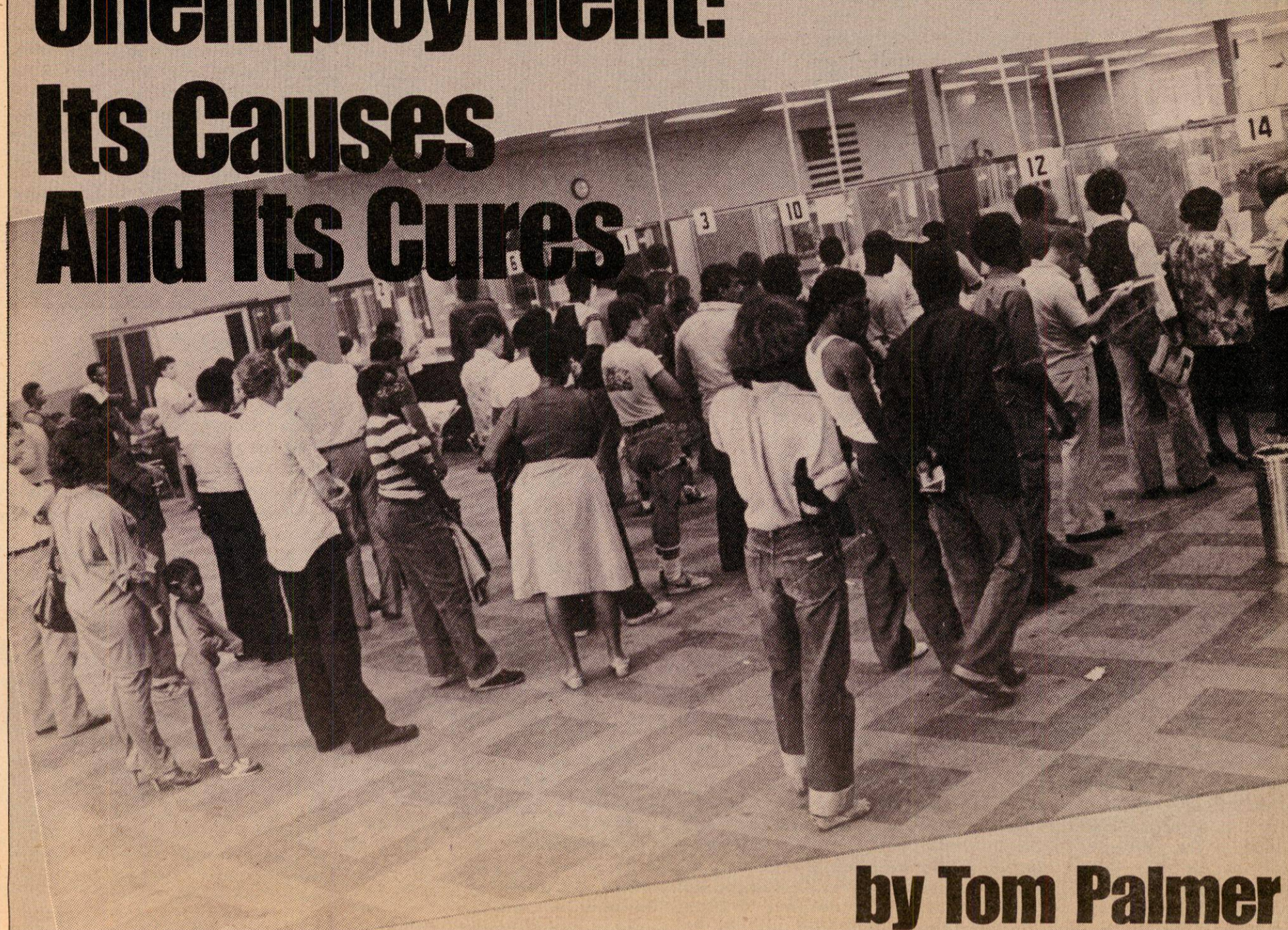
The other possibility is that **the peace movement is doing something wrong**, and should examine its own ideas and assumptions to see if some fundamental flaw has blunted its challenge to war. Perhaps it has not properly defined the relationship between its means and its ends.

The latter is the hypothesis adopted here. The persistent growth of militarism makes it imperative that all individuals active in the anti-draft, anti-war cause take a critical look at the political, economic and strategic concepts which guide them. Every standard assumption, every ideological sacred cow of the contemporary left must be subjected to withering scrutiny. We can no longer be content merely to protest war in a perfunctory fashion; we must strive to stop it, to eliminate it at its roots. But we cannot eliminate institutions as powerful and entrenched as Selective Service, the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex unless we understand them. The construction of a new peace movement must therefore begin by asking fundamental questions about the nature and causes of war. Its political and economic roots must be identified and the successes and failures of other anti-war movements in history critically examined.

(Next month: An analysis of the recent peace movement from Vietnam to the present)

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Unemployment: Its Causes And Its Cures



by Tom Palmer

Unemployment: what causes it and why does it affect some groups more than others? These questions are of particular relevance to the anti-draft movement, as national service--both military and "civilian"--is being proposed as a solution to unemployment and as a counter-weight to the present politically explosive racial imbalance within the military.

The statist left, long dominant in the anti-war movement, has nothing to offer on this question. Their answer to the question of what causes unemployment? Capitalism, Racism, Profit, War. Noticeably absent is any serious analysis of the **dynamics** of unemployment and exploitation, of exploitation as a **process** that takes place over time and proceeds according to an internal logic. It is insufficient to say that "capitalism" causes war or unemployment without answering the question of how it does so, and why.

What follows is a libertarian analysis that focuses on the processes by which unemployment and exploitation are created.

What is the State?

The state can be looked at as a vast organization for the involuntary distribution of wealth. In other words, it is an enterprise whose purpose is theft. The following analysis will show that state-effected transfers of wealth tend to

proceed "up" the economic ladder, from the poorest and most vulnerable groups, to the richest and best organized. This is not universally true in all cases, but the system of incentives found in state dominated societies creates a powerful tendency for this to happen. This is more obviously true when one takes into account transfers of wealth that are not denominated in dollar terms, such as the destruction of opportunities for economic advancement.

All social structures set up incentives that encourage some kinds of behavior and discourage other kinds. What is the system of incentives established by a state-dominated society and why does it create a tendency for the poor to subsidize the rich? The answer to this question is at once complex, because it is readily observable all around us.

The state is able to impose relatively **small costs on large numbers of people** and then aggregate the resulting wealth, allowing it (the state) to award **very large benefits to very small numbers of people**. Let us take a simple example. Suppose we (you and I) are the state. (For reasons of simplicity, let us set aside the fact that states are usually very complex and non-monolithic organizations.) As the state, we decide to impose a monthly tax of ten cents on every American. This is a

small amount for each person affected by the tax, but when added together amounts to \$22 million each month in revenues. Why will people submit to this tax? Because the costs of fighting or avoiding it are higher than ten cents. If the costs of an action exceed the expected benefits (including non-material benefits like peace of mind), then people will refrain from taking that action. In this case, they will pay the tax rather than fight it, for even a letter of complaint to Washington requires a 15-cent stamp, which by itself costs more than the tax.

But now we (the state) are in monthly receipt of \$22 million worth of dimes. Any entrepreneur (and entrepreneurship is a category of action found in all societies) will undergo costs of up to \$22 million in the hope of gaining access to our \$22 million. For instance, a political entrepreneur will spend \$19 million in bribes, campaign contributions, "public relations," and the like in order to get a \$22 million subsidy in return, thereby netting a "profit" of \$3 million. Thus, a tendency is established for wealth to be transferred from the many to the few, for while it is not profitable (at least in the short run) for the victims to make an end to their exploitation, it is profitable for the beneficiaries of the process to initiate and perpetuate it. Behind the

smokescreen of the disinterested advocate of the "public interest" and the "common good" lie the very interested beneficiaries of this process of exploitation.

Forced Unemployment

Let us now expand our model by including wealth transfers that are not so easily denominated in monetary terms. The deliberate creation of unemployment comes under this heading. Unemployment does not transfer money directly, but destroys economic opportunity.

Occupational licensing is perhaps the clearest example of opportunity destruction, which leads to unemployment. Entry into many professions requires the applicant to pass a written examination, ostensibly to protect "the public" (read: the present practitioners of the licensed profession) from "fly-by-night" (read: minority and competitive) practitioners. Such tests are almost invariably in English, specifically in the dialect spoken by most American WASPs. Those who speak only Spanish, or very little English, or a dialect of English spoken only in black communities, cannot pass the test. The test has nothing to do with their command of the subject, but with their command of a certain WASP dialect of English. Why? Because this requirement screens out many applicants from legally practicing in

and inhabit their regions and use them as bondmen and tributaries, where before they were free... He admits this, but maintains that 'their bondage is such as it is much rather to be desired than their former liberty.'"

The concept that the conquerors bring to the native people a slavery that is preferable to freedom under their own customs is used repeatedly by the English in their conquest of the Irish.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth the new program for Ireland was administered by English officials influenced by the Spanish colonization. The major colonial project for Ulster at that time was organized in 1571 by Sir Thomas Smith, who became Elizabeth's secretary of state. Smith as a tutor at Cambridge had encouraged Richard Eden's interest in colonies. Elizabeth and Smith declared in their indenture agreement (October 5, 1571) that to express the "wild Irish," all the

"...the wild Irish, as unreasonable beasts, lived without any knowledge of God or good manners, in common of their goods, cattle, women, children and every other thing...nor yet any justice executed for murder, robbery, or any otherlike mischief; by the more force had ever the more reason. And thereof it followed that because their savage and idle life could not be satisfied with the only fruit of the natural unlaboured earth, therefore continually they invaded the fertile possessions of their Irish neighbors that inhabited the...English pale."

Bartolome de las Casas (1474-1566) was the principal Spanish spokesman for the rights of the Indians against a vast number of Spanish colonists and Spanish theorists who argued in defense of the harsh policy applied in the New World. Las Casas' **Brief Relation on the Destruction of the Indians** which detailed the extermination and enslavement of the Indians on the Spanish road to conquest in America was published in 1552 in Seville. Its impact throughout Europe was immense.

However, the major English writers on the colonization and treatment of native peoples, such as Richard Eden and Richard Hakluyt, preferred the arguments of Las Casas' opponents that natives were savages with nonhuman customs. For Eden, natives for the most part lacked the capacity for civilization and thus the Spanish extermination, so vividly detailed by Las Casas, was reasonable. The survivors among the natives could be trained to useful attitudes. Historian David Beers Quinn comments:

"The Spanish conquerors, Eden said, were worthy of commendation 'which in their merciful wars against these naked people, have so used themselves towards them in exchanging of benefits for victory, that greater commodity hath thereof ensued to the vanquished than the victors.' But, he continues, 'some will say, they possess

and inhabit their regions and use them as bondmen and tributaries, where before they were free...'

and inhabit their regions and use them as bondmen and tributaries, where before they were free...'

and inhabit their regions and use them as bondmen and tributaries, where before they were free...'

plowing and labor shall be well rewarded with great provision."

However, Irish churls killed the head of the colony, the younger Thomas Smith. The failure of this colony along with that in Ulster proved to the English the need to eradicate most of the native population, and to then settle large numbers of Englishmen, who might use a few well controlled Irishmen as laborers.

The New World

Many of the figures active in Irish colonies joined with Sir Humphrey Gilbert in planning to settle English colonists in New England. When Gilbert died on this voyage, Sir Walter Raleigh assumed the leadership of the expedition.

Concerning the Englishmen's comparisons of the Irish to other tribal peoples, Howard Mumford Jones comments:

and New England with the natural prepossessions generated by Tudor Conquest in Ireland."

The well-known English treatment of the American Indians, especially in comparison with their better treatment by the French, has its origins in their attitudes toward tribal Irishmen. The nature of the tribalman, generally, was freedom in comparison with the serf in feudal society. Tudor officials greatly feared the masterless man, which in England often meant that the man had to be a vagabond. The English sought to tie such persons to an established status and place in the village by every means necessary and when these failed, deportation and enslavement became acceptable options. Finally, if the masterless resisted accepting a status or deportation in slavery, death was a necessity to preserve good order. Whenever this approach was challenged, there was total suppression of any rebellion by the slaughter of a huge



Revolt followed by submission was the pattern of Irish life. Here Thurlough O'Neill submits to Sir Henry Sidney after the uprising in Ulster. Behind him are his longhaired "wild Irish" subjects.

Irish gentry, freemen, craftsmen and learned class were to be driven out or killed, while the Irish laborers were to be retained to work for English gentry and English settlers. The Irish laborers were to be closely controlled to protect the English settlers' dominance and to get profitable labor from them. The November 16, 1571 letters patent to Smith said:

"Every Irishman shall be forbidden wear English apparel or weapon upon pain of death. That no Irishman, born of Irish race and brought up Irish, shall purchase land, bear office, be chosen of any jury or admitted witness in any real or personal action, nor be bound apprentice to any science or art... All Irishmen, especially native in that country, which commonly be called churls, that will plow the ground and bear no kind of weapon nor armour, shall be gently entertained and for their

"William Morrell in his **Nova Anglia** could make the methods of (American) Indian warfare clear only by comparing them to those of the Irish; and in 1637 Roger Williams, writing to John Winthrop, could find no worse threat in Indian warfare than that, if the savages were not kindly used, they might 'turne wild Irish themselves.' In sum, America was uncomfortably like Ireland.

The doctrine that the only good Indian is a dead Indian first took shape in the belief that the only good Irishmen is a dead Irishman... Unable to comprehend the Brehon laws, the English simply decided that the wild Irish were savages; the English were equally unwilling or unable to understand Indian 'laws.' Used to savagery in the one place, they looked for and provoked it in the other. Experience led them to approach Virginia

number of the present or potential participants.

The experiences transferred in the early seventeenth century from Ireland to America were reinforced by the emerging attitudes of Puritanism, which had a mutually destructive impact on the natives of American and of Ireland. Many of those concerned with the new plantations in Virginia as well as those in Ireland were influenced by Puritanism. America was viewed as a "Western Canaan" reserved for the English generally and the Puritans in particular. America was a promised land divinely set aside for a chosen people. As new Israelites the English would smite the Canaanites or natives of the country. Colonists to Ulster and to Virginia were admonished to take Joshua as their guide in clearing the native inhabitants from the lands rightfully belonging to the chosen people, the English.

The Puritan community in America, like the English com-

(Continued from page 7)

have close contact with a people of a different culture: the Irish. It was the English experience with the Irish which was the root of English racial attitudes. The importance of English imperial activities in Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for English activity in the New World during the seventeenth century has begun to receive attention.

to move if the landowner demanded too many cattle for the use of the land.

The pastoral nature of Irish society was understood by some Elizabethan English as well-suited economically to the mountainous, wasteland country. But the pastoral economy, specifically the mobility of the Irish and their establishment of summer camps, were viewed by the English as evil for social and political

tions by either party. In addition to concubinage, there was probatory marriage for a year and a day, and dissolution of bonds could be initiated by a woman as well as a man.

The attitude of the English conquerors toward the Irishmen was one of contempt; some asserted that it was "no more a sin to kill an Irishman than a dog or any other brute."

there obviously was one cause of the dominance of Irish law and the persistent absence of tax payments to the government.

The English government's solution was to settle more Englishmen in Ireland in order to recreate there English society which so willingly paid revenue to the government. During the decades before the middle of the sixteenth century, "it was gradually realized that some permanent plantation of English settlers around strong defense centers would probably be the cheapest and most stable means" of gaining control and producing income for the English government. In the 1550s with the reign of Philip and Mary, clearly expansionist policies were inaugurated. Warfare against the Irish and the Irishized Anglo-Saxon (now called the Old English) was carried out from the military frontier of the Pale; they were expelled from the fertile regions where the land was confiscated by the government. Forts were established and English settlers (the New English) introduced. The New English assumed a semi-military character to maintain their positions against the Irish and Old English whose lands they occupied. This "forward policy" was continued and intensified by the centralizing program of Elizabeth's regime.

There was an analogy between the early Spanish approach in American and the early English approach to Ireland under the Tudors. The conscious motivation of gain and exploitation contrasted sharply with the professed objective of civilizing and developing the natives. How the natives were treated depended on how they reacted to being civilized and developed, i.e., exploited. If they accepted it, including the destruction of their cultural life, they were "good natured." Early Tudor leaders hoped that the Irish, especially the mass of the Irish people, were "good natured," welcomed English

competition with those already in the field. The point of licensing is to erect obstacles in the path of potential competitors.

Prospective doctors, for example, must all graduate from a small number of government approved medical schools, i.e., a number kept small enough to restrict the number of new doctors. In 1900, before the AMA gained the power to regulate medical schools, there were 160 medical schools operating in the United States, seven of which were black operated. By 1920 that number had dwindled to 85, only two of which were black operated. After the advent of licensing the percentage of physicians who were black declined from its 1920 peak (reflecting the previous impact of unregulated, black operated schools) of 2% back to its 1900 level of 1.3% by 1944. Licensing also had a similar negative impact on women practitioners, whose numbers declined significantly after the AMA got the state to eliminate this source of competitors.

Licensing and regulating professions has as its sole end the restriction of entry into the market. Restricting competition increases the incomes of those already practicing. An editorial in the July 1847 *New York Journal of Medicine*, complaining of the unregulated "army of doctors" and the "long list of irregular practitioners who swarm like locusts in every part of the country," said it was "no wonder that the merest pittance in the way of remuneration is scantily doled out even to the most industrious in our ranks." The answer to this competitive situation? Licensing and regulation to eliminate that "swarm" of competitors who were decreasing the "proportion of patients."

Thus, by eliminating economic opportunities, wealth is effectively transferred from the many (generally poor) who are excluded, to the few (generally rich) who are allowed in. For the poor, the cost of fighting the licensing legislation is much greater than the prospective benefits because what is being taken from them is not present wealth but the chance to compete for future, but as yet unearned, wealth. At the same time, those who have a vested interest in excluding competition are protecting the present value of their future income stream, a present value that is significantly greater than the present costs of getting the legislation passed.

This nefarious transfer of wealth does not take the form of a visible transfer payment, making it easy to believe that the poor benefit from the welfare-state at the expense of the rich or middle classes. Nothing could be further from the truth, as will be demonstrated even more clearly later.

The minimum wage is another example of legislation, publicly promoted as an aid to

the poor that, in reality, promotes the interests of well-organized groups at the expense of others.

Minimum wage legislation causes unemployment, most especially among the unskilled. This means that its greatest impact is on young people, who have not had the time to gain the skills that older people have, but particularly minority youth, who also suffer

hiring the unskilled worker relative to the skilled worker. For example, suppose a farmer wants to build a fence. The farmer could employ two unskilled workers or one very skilled worker to perform the task in one day. The unskilled workers are willing to work for \$20 each per day while the skilled worker wants \$55 for a day's work. That means that, unless the skilled

wants to keep his or her costs down, will hire the one skilled worker instead of the two unskilled workers. They have been denied a job by the minimum wage, which has effectively transferred it to the skilled worker.

Why, if it denies employment to the poor, do we have minimum wage legislation? Because it raises the income of others. The skilled employee—who probably comes from a more advantaged economic background—has had his or her income raised from \$40 to \$55 at the expense of the unskilled workers. The poor and unemployed simply do not have the resources to organize and fight these exploitative acts.

Economist Walter Williams of Temple University, a black former draftee from Philadelphia, has demonstrated the harmful effects of the minimum wage on minorities, for the reasons outlined above, as well as others (such as reducing the costs associated with racially discriminatory behavior). He points out that,

"In 1948, black youth unemployment was roughly the same as white youth unemployment. For that year, blacks ages 16-17 had an unemployment rate which was less than whites of the same age -- 9.4% compared to 10.2%. In the same period (until the mid-sixties), black youth generally were either just as active in the labor force, or more so than whites. By 1976, both the labor force participation rate and the unemployment rate of black youth fell to what it is today. For black youths 16-17 years old, their labor force participation rate is now slightly over 1/2 that of white youths, while earlier their labor force participation rate was higher than white youths."

The reason for this tremendous increase in black youth unemployment since 1948 cannot be that racism is more widespread today than in 1948. This is clearly not the case. Rather, Williams maintains, the explosion in black unemployment is due to "the numerous laws that have the effect of reducing employment opportunities," outstanding among them being minimum wage legislation. Is it any wonder that minimum wage legislation was one of the first demands of the racist South African white political movements? (See W.H. Hutt, *The Economics of the Color Bar*, page 7.)

Who does demand minimum wage legislation? Generally, the organized agents of the skilled workers, the trade unions. Given that almost all union workers receive far above the minimum wage, why would they do so? For the very reasons outlined above; they can raise their incomes at the expense of the poor (continued on page 6)



"Irish slaves were viewed as more dangerous than blacks, for the blacks were 'fetched from severall parts of Africa, and speake severall languages, and by that means, one of them understands not another.' They could not, therefore, easily conspire to rebel."

The "Wild Irish"

The nature of Irish society must be examined to understand the policies of racism, servitude, displacement and extermination practiced by the English in Ireland, for ultimately the destruction of Celtic civilization itself was the objective of English expansion. A.L. Rowse suggests that the Irish in the sixteenth century were as much from a strange and unknown culture as Indian chiefs from South America.

"No historian has brought home how different a world Ireland was...In the early days it was largely terra incognita, almost as unknown as the coast of America. The great Lord Deputy Chichester...wrote of Ulster that 'before these last wars it was as inaccessible to strangers as the Kingdom of China.'"

Gaelic Ireland was the largest society remaining of the ancient Atlantic coastal civilization of several thousand years existence. It was untouched by the intrusions into England of Romans and German barbarians. The basic element of Irish culture was the pastoral lifestyle. Wealth was in the form of cattle. Fishing was important, along with oat growing. Following the planting of the oats, the greater part of the Irish would move with their herds to summer camps (the booley) in the hills for grazing.

In Ireland, tribal lands (those not owned by freemen or chiefs) were divided among the tribe for the pastorage of their cattle. The land was not owned by the chief as a feudal domain; it was owned by the tribe and used privately following periodic divisions into pasture lands. Most of the arable land was owned by Irish freemen farmers. Tenancies of only one, two, or three years -- a short time in a farming society -- gave the cattle-owning tenants freedom

reasons. A pastoral lifestyle produced less taxable wealth and made the Irish harder to control than a settled agricultural population. Without servitude the natives could freely choose to maintain their own economic and social lifestyle. Freedom and mobility were viewed as central to Irish resistance to domination.

The brehons, or Irish tribal jurists, were an hereditary class who memorized the legal customs of the society and were consulted to settle disputes. Irish landowning concepts, marriage customs and monetary compensation in both criminal and civil cases operated smoothly through the brehons. Criminal actions, including injuries and murder, were punished by compensation, usually in cattle. To the English, the brehons were a special target for destruction. They were accused of bypassing the English courts and of encouraging actions which might be punishable by death under the rigorous legal system of Elizabethan society. The brehons provided refuge for Irishmen fleeing the execution of English legal processes. Like the Irish poets,

Yet, despite the original attitudes of superiority, more and more of the English conquerors found the Irish customs, culture and way of life superior. The Anglo-Normans were absorbed by the Irish in law, language, and civilization by free choice. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Gaelic Revival had become complete. The reaction of England's officials was profound shock. In place of the hoped-for absorption of some of the Irish into English culture, the English were assimilated into Irish culture. The attractiveness of Irish culture compared to Anglo-Norman feudalism was desperately fought by the officials. To prevent English contamination by Irish culture, officials from at least 1297 introduced legal restrictions banning Irish dress, language, trade or marriage with the Irish, keeping Irish law-sayers or poets, etc.

Henry VII's intention to subdue the "Irish savages" (1494) was undertaken more comprehensively, if unsuccessfully, during the reign of Henry VIII. The *Decay of Ireland* (1520s) described how ineffectual would be English



The doctrine that the only good Indian is a dead Indian first took shape in the belief that the only good Irishman is a dead Irishman. English massacres of American Indians reflected the same methods and attitudes applied to the Irish."

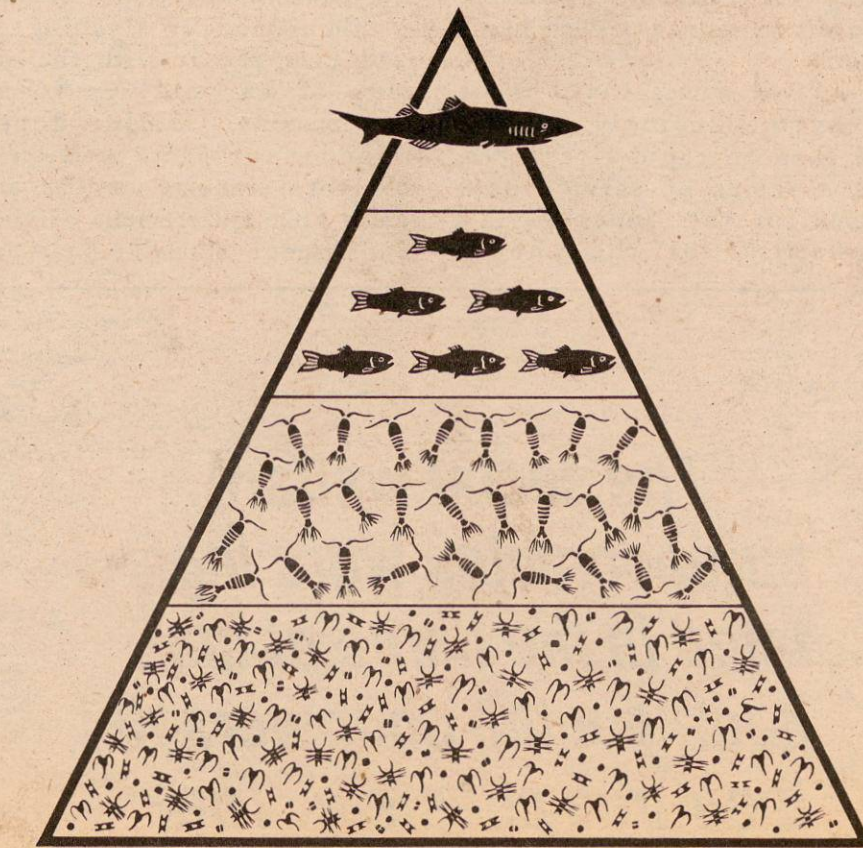
brehons were often very mobile, traveling around the countryside to learn the law and settle disputes, and thus were accused by the English of being the originators of the rebellions and uprisings against English rule.

Especially shocking to the English were the matrimonial customs of the Irish. There were several forms of marriage among the Irish and these were dissolvable under certain none too rigid condi-

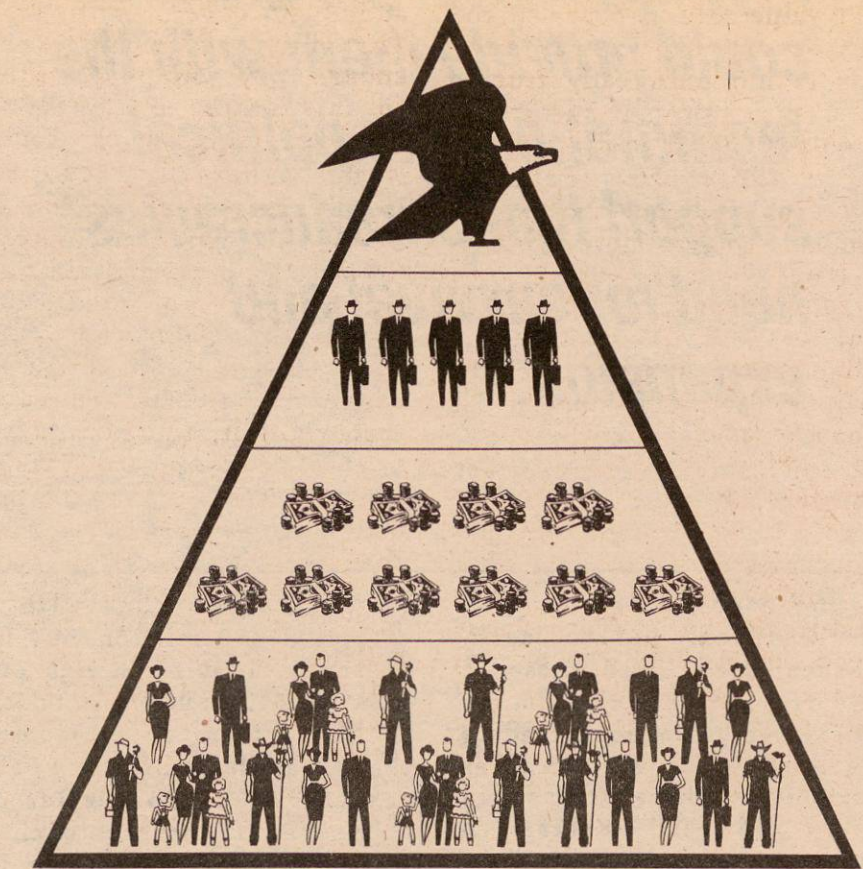
attempts to gain income from Ireland since even the Pale (the area of Ireland inhabited by the first English settlers) was dominated by Irish language, customs and law. Henry VIII abandoned the policy of voluntary submission to English control and established a standing army in Ireland. But, coercion alone seemed unable to produce the results desired. The presence of the Irish in Ireland and the absence of Englishmen

rule and civilization, and preferred the "freedom" of hard work for English landlords to the "slavery" of the pastoral life in communities headed by Irish chieftains. Of course, this mild policy implied that whatever minimal resistance showed itself should be ruthlessly crushed for the benefit of the majority of well intentioned Irish. Colonization by English settlers in key local areas was viewed as consistent with a mild policy. This pol-

FOOD CHAIN



"FEUDAL" CHAIN



from the worst public schools and the past effects of racial discrimination. It also precludes the poor from gaining needed skills by keeping them from the very thing in which they are most likely to learn skills, a job.

How does minimum wage legislation foster unemployment among the unskilled? The primary way is by forcibly changing the costs involved in

worker lowers his or her asking wage to \$40 or less, the farmer will hire the two unskilled workers. But let us say that the minimum wage law mandates that all workers be paid at least \$30 per day. What will happen? The combined cost of the two unskilled workers will now come to \$60, or \$5 more than the cost of the skilled worker. The farmer, who like everyone

Unemployment: Its Causes & Cures

(continued from page 5)
and disadvantaged whom they exclude from employment. Wealth is transferred from the poor and vulnerable to the better off and more organized skilled workers.

This leads us into another way in which the many poor are exploited for the benefit of the few: welfare. Trade unions often champion welfare legislation, even though it may seem inimical to the interests of their members who must pay heavy taxes to support the welfare bureaucracy—as well as the actual transfer payments. Why they do so is part of a rational political strategy. As Professor Williams has pointed out, it is not an optimal political strategy to simply deny people any opportunity to earn a living; oppressed and hungry people often exhibit a tendency toward revolution. Hence, opportunity destroying legislation like the minimum wage is not effective by itself. There must be some means of granting those unemployed the such policies at least a minimal income to keep them from rebelling. Hence, in order to forestall the widespread social upheaval and revolution that could result from unemployment, powerful unions and other interests often support government transfer payments and low-paying "make work" programs for their victims.

Just as minimum wage legislation is not the only cause of unemployment, union support is not the only reason for the existence of the welfare state. As sociologists Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven showed in *The Politics of Turmoil: Poverty, Race, and the Urban Crisis*,

"The social welfare bureaucracies were legislated in the name of the poor, but the poor were not their true clientele. The agencies were in fact oriented to other and far more powerful groups that could provide them with the legitimation and political support that bureaucracies need for survival and expansion."

As Ms. Piven argued in the book, the "Great Society" programs ostensibly designed to help the poor, were really designed to maintain the grip on power exercised by the national Democratic Party. She points out that "urban blacks had been Democrats for almost four decades, yet as their numbers in the North grew, they began to defect: seventy-nine percent voted Democratic in 1952, but only sixty-one percent in 1956, indicating that the black vote could not be taken for granted." In 1960 Kennedy raised the Democratic voting

percentage of blacks to sixty-nine percent, narrowly winning the Presidency. The lesson was clear. "The new Democratic Administration," Piven continues, "began to look for ways to strengthen the allegiance of urban blacks." The challenge before them was to devise a means of bypassing white racist-dominated local Democratic or hostile Republican machines and bring the federal government into direct contact with black voters.

Piven writes that, "what emerged, gropingly at first and then in rapid-fire order, was a series of service programs for the 'inner city,' a euphemism for the ghetto

"The social welfare bureaucracies were legislated in the name of the poor, but the poor were not their true clientele. The agencies were in fact oriented to other and far more powerful groups that could provide them with the legitimation and political support that bureaucracies need for survival and expansion."

neighborhoods that the program was designed to reach. The tactics recalled those of the old political machines...Neighborhood leaders were sought out and hired as 'community workers' (close kin to the old ward heelers) to distribute patronage." When Nixon came to power, he tried to change a few of the rules; channeling the federal funds through State Houses, the money to buy Republican votes. The purpose was the same: to use the mechanism of the state to ensure the continued rule of one group of people (the party in power) over the rest of us.

How does this fit in with the model outlined earlier in this essay? It merely demonstrates the complexity of the stratagems used by ruling cliques to maintain and justify their power. The transfer

payments given to the poor are mere crumbs in comparison to the resources extracted from them. A study prepared for Washington, D.C.'s leftist Institute for Policy Studies by Earl F. Mellor in 1969, called **Public Goods and Services: Costs and Benefits, A Study of the Shaw-Cardozo Area of Washington, D.C.**, attempted to measure the inflow of government dollars to the low-income Shaw-Cardozo neighborhood of Washington, and compare it with the outflow of tax dollars to the government. Mellor determined that \$45.7 million of the total income of the area came from government services and direct transfer payments.

He contrasted that with an estimated \$50 million outflow in taxes, leaving a net outflow of \$4.3 million. And this is only attempted to measure the dollar denominated wealth transfers. If non-dollar denominated transfers (such as opportunity losses) were included the figures would be even more appalling. Of course, just as there are net tax payers, like the poor residents of the Shaw-Cardozo neighborhood, there are net tax consumers, like the wealthy government bureaucrats who administer the programs, and the rich military contractors and their highly-skilled, highly-paid workers, to name a few.

In addition, as Piven and Cloward have shown in their other excellent book **Regulating the Poor**, the government "relief" programs are

generally the result of more a desire to control the poor than of any desire to help them. The poor are deliberately made helpless and dependent upon the policies of the ruling class and are therefore less likely to revolt against them. Also, as New Left historians David Eakins, James Weinstein, G. William Domhoff, and others, have shown, the "social legislation" which the statist left is at such pains to defend was drafted, promoted, and enacted at the behest of powerful ruling class interests. It's purpose was not to help the poor and powerless, but to tighten their chains.

State action harms the poor in many other ways as well. Zoning laws raise the price of housing and exclude the poor and minorities from many areas, locking them into deteriorating ghettos. Taxes crush the poor, especially by eliminating opportunities for profit as they attempt to climb the ladder of economic success. Government monopolization of services, especially police, leave the poor at the mercy of bureaucrats and special interests. Militarism and conscription force them to defend with their lives a system in which they have no interest, a system that crushes, oppresses, and degrades them at every turn.

What is the answer? Not the stale nostrums of the statist left, nor the repressive callousness of the right. The latter has failed to fulfill its promise of humanity, peace, and prosperity, the promise that has attracted the best and the brightest for over 100 years. Instead of humanity, we have been presented with the horrors of Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot, and Castro. The left is intellectually and morally dead, and rightfully so. The right, the movement of those who have "made it," and now desire only to stomp on the hands of those struggling up the ladder behind them, offers no vision other than hate and retaliation aimed at the poor for being poor.

The only answer to the poverty, despair, and exploitation the poor suffer is the last thing that would occur to either group of powermongers. Freedom. Liberty. Justice. Peace. These ideals can have no appeal to those who lust after the power of the state, for the state lives through the criminal violation of liberty. No one who seeks power intends to give it up, and once attained, its exercise becomes an end in itself.

Only the libertarian movement, the movement of those who champion liberty and peace, stands ready to put an end to exploitation and rule of one class over another, for only libertarians are willing to treat all humans as beings with ends of their own, rather than the means to the ends of others.

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English Origins of Early American Racism

by Leonard Liggio

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—MARCH 3, 1866.



THE FENIAN-PEST.

HIBERNIA. "O MY DEAR SISTER, WHAT ARE WE TO DO WITH THESE TROUBLESOME PEOPLE?"
BRITANNIA. "TRY ISOLATION FIRST, MY DEAR, AND THEN —"

Racism is one of the blights of modern American life. To this day, most black and white Americans live in separate cultures which interact infrequently, and then often with hostility. Leonard Liggio's essay, reprinted here in greatly edited form from the **Radical History Review** of 1971, sets forth some profound and important insights into the political origins of this problem. His sweeping essay demonstrates that racism began with the expansion of the nation-state through military conquest. In order to subjugate native peoples, much more was required than brute force: it was necessary to systematically assault and eliminate an entire human culture, a way of life. Culture, the shared values and norms of a society, provided the defense mechanism against domination and aggression. In order to colonize other countries, therefore, the English developed an ideology of racism which dehumanized alternative cultures, labeling their customs "savage" and their mores criminal. Modern racism began with the English exploitation of the Irish, was extended to the Native Americans in the New World, and culminated there in African slavery. The complete version of this article will be available from the SLS Study Guide.

A decade ago Dante Puzzo emphasized that, unlike other dominant forces in the modern world, racism has lacked sufficient study as an historical development. Racism, Puzzo noted:

"is a modern conception, for prior to the sixteenth century there was virtually nothing in the life and thought of the West that can be described as racist. To prevent misunderstanding a clear distinction must be made between racism and ethnocentrism...."

"The moral self-sufficiency of the nation-state proved of salient importance. For, in the circumstances engendered by the struggle for empire, it gave powerful impetus to the natural tendency of nationalism to become chauvinism. And chauvinism, perverting to its uses the new sciences, could become and, where conditions were right, did become racism. Racism, then, resulted from the emergence of the secular, national state struggle for empire."

When the European states embarked on their course of expansion and colonization they came into contact with peoples of cultures different than those which characterized most of Western Europe. Western European states had some contacts with cultures other than their own, especially the Italians and the Spanish with the people of Islam. Since contact with other cultures had been generally in the context of conflict or hostility, the attitudes formed toward other cultures did not tend to be amicable or appreciative. Feelings of superiority were frequently the result. We are aware that among the major European colonial powers, the French have a reputation for having the most amicable and reasonable relations with the native peoples of North America as well as with the native peoples of other areas which they dominated. It is possible that one basis for this was that the French had had almost no direct contact with peoples of other cultures before the period of European expansion.

The attitude of the English toward native peoples represented something of a paradox. How is it possible to explain the fact that the English developed the most racist attitudes toward the natives wherever they expanded or established overseas colonies, and that the most complete and absolute form of servitude developed in the English colonies of America? Contemporary research in a number of diverse areas of historical scholarship makes it possible to begin to comprehend the roots of English racism and the corollary of racism, slavery.

The English, like the Italians and the Spanish, did (continued on page 8)