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Nixon's Decisions

After half a year of painful agonizing, of backing and filling, of puttering delays, the pattern of decisions of the Nixon Administration is finally becoming clear. It is not a pretty picture. In every single case, the Nixon Administration has managed to come down on the wrong side, on the side of burgeoning statism.

In Vietnam, *the war goes on*. A simple statement, which the American public hasn't seemed to understand ever since the negotiations began in Paris last May. The United States has been using the negotiations as a smoke-screen cover behind which to step up the war in South Vietnam, where of course the war began. But first the initial euphoria led Americans, even most of the young anti-war activists, to proclaim that the war was over. And then everyone waited to "give Nixon a chance" to end the war. How long must we wait for this "chance"? How long must we wait to proclaim that the Emperor has no clothes, and that the war goes on? The peace forces in Congress are beginning at last to wake up, and indications are that the anti-war movement will rouse itself from its year-long sleep by this fall. Disgusted by Nixon's deliberate delays, the National Liberation Front has finally formed the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which has already been recognized by many countries. The final step in the NLF plan will be to form a provisional coalition government of all anti-imperialist and neutralist forces, which will deliver the final hammer-blows that will shatter the Saigon puppet regime.

In the vital area of the draft, Nixon put on a typically Nixonian performance. After muttering about replacing the draft with a volunteer army and appointing a committee to study the subject, Nixon finally came out in favor of a lottery-draft, the old Kennedy scheme which would replace the current selective slavery system with slavery-by-chance. Hardly an improvement. But, once again, the smokescreen of reform befuddles the public into thinking that a significant improvement is being made.

The military-industrial state has proceeded apace, and the arms race stepped up with the Nixon decision to go ahead with the ABM and MIRV missile boondoggles. Chemical and bacteriological research and experiments continue despite some public exposure. In the field of civil liberties, we shudder in expectation of Burger Court reversals of the excellent landmark libertarian decisions of the Warren Court. The Administration continues to speak about crackdowns on student dissidents, and Deputy Attorney-General Kleindienst spoke of rounding up student dissenters and placing them in "detention camps". And now the Depart-

ment of Justice, in a memorandum submitted in the infamous trial of the Chicago 8, brazenly asserts the right of the President or his aides to invade illegally the privacy and property of Americans through electronic snooping if the President in his wisdom and majesty should decide that the people spied upon might be acting against some form of "national security", foreign or domestic.

In the sphere of economics the Nixon Administration had been highly touted among conservatives. It was supposed to herald a return to the free-market and a check upon galloping inflation through monetary restriction. Again, nothing has happened. The much publicized monetary tightening has been half-hearted at best, and provides no real test of the effectiveness of monetary policy. For the Administration has been doing precisely what its spokesmen had been deriding the Democrats for doing: trying to "fine-tune" the economy, trying to cut back ever so gently on inflation so as not to precipitate any recession. But it can't be done. If restrictionist measures were ever sharp enough to check the inflationary boom, they would also be strong enough to generate a temporary recession. Furthermore, the basic Nixon Administration commitment to inflation is revealed by its devotion to the world inflationary Special Drawing Rights, and its refusal to consider any rise in the gold price, much less any return to the gold standard.

Instead of cutting back on its *own* monetary inflation (generated by Federal Reserve purchases of government securities), the Administration has perpetuated the tyranny and the red herring of the 10% income surcharge, another statist heritage of the Johnson Administration. What happens is that the federal government pumps new money into the economy through Federal Reserve expansion, and *then*, when the people begin to spend their new money and prices begin to rise, the government proceeds to denounce the public for "spending too much" and levies higher income taxes to "sop up their excess purchasing power"--thus levying both a swindle and a double burden upon the long-suffering public. Spending and government fiscal policy, furthermore, are irrelevant to price inflation, which is determined by the supply and demand of money. And even if it were *not* irrelevant, it is surely unmitigated gall to assume that a *tax*, a payment for which the consumer receives no service in return, is somehow worse than a *price*, for which the consumer at least receives a product in exchange. To advocate higher taxes in order to check higher prices is like advocating a person's murder in order to cure him of disease.

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SDS — Two Views

I: Liberated Zone

The chickens came home to roost for SDS. The SDS national convention was in the process of being taken over by the Progressive Labor Party when SDS split in two in June. By its ability to move its members to key national meetings PL was in a position to take control of the national convention which most SDS members avoid as irrelevant to the real political work which occurs on the local level. SDS chapters are independent of the national convention and disregard its decisions.

PL as a Communist organization was welcomed by the trade union wing of the SDS old guard who wished in 1966 to counterbalance the overwhelming flood of students who had joined SDS to oppose the Vietnam war. Committed to clearly radical anti-imperialism rather than Marxist reformism, the mass infusion of youth had already brought about the election of newcomer Carl Oglesby as SDS president in 1965.

PL had made original contributions to the black liberation struggle, student freedom and support of freedom of travel to Cuba. When the May 2nd Movement was founded in the spring of 1964 to oppose the dangerously escalating American intervention in Vietnam by sending medical aid to the NLF, PL members participated in its work. In 1965 when M2M played a leading role in developing a consciousness of opposition to the draft while SDS leaders fumbled the issue, PL members tried to restrain this radicalism and replace anti-imperialist struggle by a trade union fight for socialism. While M2M members viewed Lin Piao's "Long live the victory of people's war" as the crucial analysis for anti-imperialist struggle, PL adopted the sectarian and trade unionist socialism associated with the anti-Mao Communists in China. PL forced the dissolution of M2M in order to work in the wider recruiting ground of SDS, but many PL members in M2M, viewing this action as Stalinist, resigned from PL to continue the struggle against the draft and imperialism.

PL had come to oppose the NLF and Ho Chi Minh as capitalist, black liberation as nationalist rather than socialist, Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution because of the 26th of July Movement was no socialist, Castro was not a Communist and Cuba not a Marxist State. Clearly PL was a crippling counterweight to the revolutionary mass of students in SDS. But, the trade unionist SDS old guard was ousted at the 1966 Clear Lake, Iowa convention by "Prairie Power", an anarchist trend that swept in from the trans-Mississippi Great Plains region. Although increasingly militant against the draft and university complicity in the war, SDS was held back by PL's conservatism which fears alienating trade union workers by 'adventurous' anti-war action.

The 1968 East Lansing, Mich. SDS convention met in a crisis situation. PL paralyzed the convention, and sought to deflect SDS from anti-war action to a Worker-Student Alliance. SDS national leadership found itself unable to challenge PL effectively. Strong opposition to PL was presented by the SDS anarchist groups whose many black banners of libertarianism were rallying standards against PL. Finally, a lengthy criticism of PL was launched in which former M2M members took a leading role. As a result PL's attempt to elect members to the SDS national committee was defeated by a narrow margin.

The warning of these events did not effectively penetrate the SDS national leadership. The three national officers ultimately split into three different directions. One became allied with PL, which gained supporters because it empha-

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II: Continue The Struggle

There is no question about the fact that the PL cancer had to be excised. In structure, PL was imposing upon a previously open and warm-hearted movement the rigid party discipline and the manipulative maneuverings of a typical Marxist-Stalinist cadre. In content, PL had become systematically counter-revolutionary; every struggle, whether it be for black national self-determination, national liberation against U. S. imperialism, against ROTC and the draft and the war in Vietnam, for student power or the People's Park, every one of these struggles was hampered or seriously crippled by PL's opposition, in the name of the sainted Marxian "working class" and because the "working class wouldn't like it." In the end it became clear that PL and its WSA satellites would have to go.

The problem is that in the course of this injection of PL and the reactive battle against it, SDS might have been poisoned permanently. For in too many quarters, especially in the vocal national leadership, the old 1966-67 libertarian spirit had been replaced by the virus of Marxism-Stalinism. The mere excising of PL is not nearly enough to insure healthy survival; continuing struggle is necessary to save the "old" SDS.

For while the virtue of the old SDS is that it had an open libertarian spirit rather than a dogmatic Marxian ideology, this very absence of positive theory left a vacuum which, inevitably, Marxism came to fill. For in the course of struggling against PL's invasion, too many of the "New Left" opponents of PL began to adopt their enemy's ideology, to call themselves "communists" (even if with a "small c"), and to take on more and more of the trappings of Marxism and socialism. The most infected group within the newly purged SDS is the "Factory Faction" or the "RYM-2" group, headed by Mike Klonsky and Bob Avakian. The Klonsky clique, while being worshippers of the Panthers, place major emphasis on student permeation and conversion of the industrial working class--probably the most reactionary group in the country today. The Klonsky clique also wants to convert SDS into a Marxist-Stalinist cadre organization--a fate which would be equally as bad as becoming a Progressive Labor front. While it is true that the Factory Faction was defeated in the election of officers of the purged SDS, it still remains a menace, especially for its working-class ideology.

Another irritant within the new SDS is the Trotskyite-Draperite Independent Socialist Club, which, like PL, hurled nearly all of its members into SDS and into voting at the national convention. Dogmatically Marxist and so "third camp" as to oppose national liberation struggles, the ISC remains a danger in the wings; its power to manipulate and destroy was well seen last year when it showed itself able, despite being a tiny minority, to control completely and thereby in effect to wreck the fledgling Peace and Freedom Party.

Leonard Liggio has mentioned uncritical "Panthermania" as another large continuing problem for SDS. A further problem, inherently absurd but growing as a menace because nearly everyone in the movement has been too chicken to fight it, is the hokum of the "women's liberation struggle". The women's liberation movement is *not* a rational and sensible battle against discrimination against women in employment, or against the "feminine mystique". These positions are scorned by the women's liberationists as akin to "white liberalism" and "integrationism". Insisting on a total analogy with black liberation, the women's liberationists claim that women, too, are systematically oppressed

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CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE — (Continued from page 2)

by men and that therefore a separate women's power struggle is needed against this oppression. This idea seems to me absurd, and probably at least as good a case could be made for the view that *men* are oppressed and exploited by parasitic women (e.g. through divorce and alimony laws). But, at any rate, the insistence on analogy with the black movement is even more absurd, for the logical conclusion of the women's liberation struggle would then be . . . women's nationalism or separatism. Are we supposed to grant women an Amazonian state somewhere? Men-and-women, happily, are inherently "integrationist" and one may hope that they will remain that way.

In practice, women's liberation seems to boil down to (a) girls allowing themselves to be as ugly as possible; (b) conning the husband into taking care of the baby; and/or (c) a neo-Puritan ideology of crypto-Lesbianism. At any rate, in allowing women's liberationism to grow in influence unchallenged, SDS is in danger of making a mockery of its own principles.

But the major problem in SDS is that in order to expel PL, SDS found it necessary, for the first time, to lay down ideological requirements for membership. Until now, there have been no such requirements; now SDS has adopted two principles which every SDSer must support. These are the principles which Leonard Liggio cites in his article. There is nothing wrong with them; on the contrary, they set down an excellent line of support for national liberation struggles, both foreign and domestic, external and internal, against U. S. imperialism. But the problem is that if *good* principles can be adopted as conditions for membership, then so can bad principles, and it behooves us to be on guard against them.

In fact, waiting in the wings is an expanded set of "unity principles", which were introduced by the Klonsky clique, but happily rejected by the rank-and-file of "old" SDSers at the convention. But these five principles now get referred to the membership and the chapters for discussion, and it is imperative that at least "point 5" be rejected. Points 1 and 3 are essentially a reaffirmation of the already adopted two points: support for national liberation struggles, internal and external, against U. S. imperialism. Point 4 is an innocuous repudiation of red-baiting. So far so good. But Point 3 fully endorses the women's liberation hogwash, e.g.: "The struggle for women's liberation is a powerful force against U. S. imperialism. We are dedicated to fighting male supremacy, to destroying the physical and spiritual oppression of women by men . . . We encourage the formation of 'women's militias' to ensure the fulfillment of the program of total equality for women."

But if Point 3 should simply be defeated in the interests of sanity, Point 5 is intolerable for any libertarian. Point 5 is a flat-out commitment for socialism: "Recognizing that only through socialism, the public ownership and control of the means of producing wealth, can the people be freed from misery, we declare ourselves a socialist movement . . . Further; . . . socialism can only come through the leading role of the proletariat." Here is the sticking-point; no libertarian can be a member of an explicitly socialist organization, and one, furthermore, that would make socialism a condition of membership.

But in the meantime there is no cause for despair. The five points failed of adoption at the SDS convention. Furthermore, at Chicago a group of "anarchists, libertarians, and independent revolutionaries" met, symbolically at IWW hall, to form a separate third-force caucus. This group is still in SDS, and remains to continue struggle. That struggle now begins for the minds and the hearts of the local campus chapters, where the membership resides, and where Marxist-Stalinist sectarian factionalism is at a minimum. A particularly shining opportunity appears in those areas (such as New England, and parts of New York City and the

LIBERATED ZONE — (Continued from page 2)

sized the necessity of winning over the major part of the American people and opposed excesses of Panther-mania, which not only supports the Black Panthers against police repression but uncritically accepts the excessive posturing and the Stalinism that had developed since the jailing of their founder, Huey Newton.

This Panther-mania was created by Mike Klonsky, a second national officer acting as a self-appointed white nominator of the vanguard of the Black liberation movement. Emerging at the 1969 convention as the Revolutionary Youth Movement II, this position views the proletariat as the main force of revolution. The third national officer, Bernardine Dohrn, identified with the Action Faction which denies the leading role in revolutionary struggle to the industrial working class. Recognizing the validity of the revolutionary nationalism and right to self-determination of the Black and Spanish nations in America, they consider the international context--United States involvement in imperialist adventures--as central to undermining the monopoly system and creating the basis for revolutionary action. At the 1969 convention its position paper was called "Weatherman" after its slogan taken from an anti-authoritarian folk song--"You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows." The paper declared:

As imperialism struggles to hold together this decaying social fabric, it inevitably resorts to brute force and authoritarian ideology. People, especially young people, more and more find themselves in the iron grip of authoritarian institutions. Reaction against the pigs or teachers in the schools, welfare pigs or the army is generalizable and extends beyond the particular repressive institution to the society and the State as a whole. The legitimacy of the State is called into question for the first time in at least 30 years, and the anti-authoritarianism which characterizes the youth rebellion turns into rejection of the State, a refusal to be socialized into American society.

SDS split into two conventions at Chicago. One is dominated by PL's Worker-Student Alliance and includes the SDS Labor Committee. The New Left SDS includes about a dozen tendencies including the Action Faction, RYM II, Praxis Axis, ISC, Marxist humanists, old guard SDS populists, Prairie Power activists, anarchists and libertarians. (One SDSer's reaction to the convention was, "Us anarchists have got to get organized.")

The New Left SDS has adopted two basic principles at its convention: "One: We support the struggle of the Black and Latin colonies within the U. S. for national liberation and we recognize those nations' rights to self-determination (including the right to political secession if they desire it).

"Two: We support the struggle for national liberation of the people of South Vietnam, led by the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, led by President Ho Chi Minh . . . We support the right of all people to pick up the gun to free themselves from the brutal rule of U. S. imperialism."

Having been on the defensive for some time because of PL's dogmatic hegemony, the original movement spirit has re-emerged in SDS. The ultimate result of the 1969 New Left convention was the reaffirmation of native American radicalism as part of the international anti-imperialist revolution.

— Leonard P. Liggio

San Francisco Bay Area) where SDS chapters have been dominated by PL. Here, an opportunity arises to form new, libertarian-oriented "true" SDS chapters in competition to Progressive Labor.

Even more does the crisis in SDS provide a striking opportunity for the growing student libertarian movement to organize itself as a radical, militant movement free at last

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NIXON'S DECISIONS — (Continued from page 1)

And waiting in the shadows, for the time when the income tax surcharge clearly will have failed--as it already has--lies the spectre of price and wage controls. Secretary of Treasury Kennedy has already threatened us with this spectre, this program for economic dictatorship which is at the opposite pole from anyone's definition of the free market. Not only is it dictatorship, but it doesn't work, only serving to add massive economic dislocations to the inflation that proceeds on its merry way. Why, one might ask, does powerful multi-millionaire businessman David Kennedy ponder price and wage controls? *Not* because he has been somehow brain-washed by "leftists" or because he suffers from capitalist guilt feelings, as conservatives like to

believe. But because the business community is beginning to turn more and more to price and wage controls, as a means of using the power of government to clamp down on wage increases. For in the later stages of an inflationary boom, wages begin to catch up to price increases, and this has been happening in recent months. One more example of the present-day "partnership" between government and business!

In addition to this pattern of statism, the Nixon Administration, led by leading conservative-liberal Daniel Moynihan, is seriously considering proposing a nation-wide guaranteed annual income through a "negative income tax". Both conservatives and liberals have become enamoured of this scheme in recent years--a scheme that would inevitably cripple the incentives to work and earn and thereby wreck the American economy.

So what do you say about all this, Mr. "Libertarian-Conservative"--you who looked forward to a "Fabian" rollback of the State during the Nixon Administration, you who put your trust in all those Chicagoite and Randian advisers? When are you going to abandon your reformist illusions? When are you going to face up to the necessity for *real* opposition to government?

In the meanwhile, it has now become evident that everywhere, down the line, foreign and domestic, there is no difference whatsoever between the Johnson and the Nixon Administrations (even unto the repeated attacks on the "neo-isolationism" of the critics). The only difference is in style and personnel, the replacement of vulgar Texas cornpone by bland uptight hypocritical Northern WASP. And even in esthetic repulsiveness, it is very difficult to choose between them.

Recommended Reading

NEW AMERICAN REVIEW, NO. 6. (New American Library: Signet paperback, \$1.25. \$4.00 for four issues.) Editor T. Solatoroff, of this paperback periodical, writes that the word that best expresses recent trends of thought is "libertarian". Particularly recommended in this issue are:

Jane Jacobs, "Why Cities Stagnate", an excellent and perceptive libertarian analysis of the vital importance of the free play of small, innovative entrepreneurs in a city's healthy growth. A keen attack on government planning and public housing while the same government prevents blacks and other urban dwellers from launching their own activities.

Emile Capouya, "The Red Flag and the Black": how anarchism has been reviving, particularly during the French revolution last year.

Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff, "The Merger Movement: A Study in Power", *Monthly Review* (June, 1969). A highly perceptive study of how the Established corporations have used the political arm to cripple and harass conglomerate mergers and their "new men" entrepreneurs. Why don't free-market economists have as keen a sense of political realities?

Tiziano Terzani, "Storming the Institutions", *The Nation* (June 16, 1969). Important article on the revolutionary situation that is rapidly developing in Italy--provides a good background to the current Italian political crisis.

CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE — (Continued from page 3)

from any possibility of socialist subjugation. Radical libertarians are becoming strong enough to organize themselves into a separate movement for the first time. Already, there are two militantly radical libertarian organizations in the field: the Radical Libertarian Alliance, and the Student Libertarian Action Movement, centered in Arizona and with chapters in Georgia and Colorado. There is also a strong possibility that anarcho-libertarians increasingly persecuted in the Young Americans for Freedom will split off after the YAF national convention on Labor Day and form their own organization, freed at last from YAFite fascism. A merger of these three organizations could form a powerful force on the nation's campuses next year.

— M. N. R.

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THE CZECH CRISIS:

PART I:

The Eastern European Roots

By Leonard P. Liggio

Czechoslovakia, the most industrially advanced East European country when the Communist party assumed power at the end of World War II, had in two decades become economically stagnant. Serious slowing of economic growth was evident by 1962 when the aggregate product grew only 1.4 percent and industrial output declined 0.7 percent. In 1963 aggregate product declined 2.2 percent and national income declined 3.7 percent. Heavy subsidies were expanded for two decades to construct and operate industries without regard for their ultimate productivity. The annual subsidies to maintain these 'white elephant' factories has been a phenomenal fifteen percent of the total net national income. Further, twenty percent of the claimed national income consists of unsold finished products which are unsalable due to poor quality or high prices because of inefficient production.

In 1962 there was a deep agricultural failure when production fell 6 percent. This catastrophe was the final result of Communist leader Antonin Novotny's reversal in 1955 of the party policy of full support for private farmers. Systematic pressure was placed on the small and medium private farmers to enter collective farms. Novotny in 1963 appointed a new premier to try to deflect public opinion toward the political superstructure and away from the real causes in the basic economic system. However, Czech economists began an overall study of the economy. A commission of the economic institute headed by Prof. Ota Sik was strongly influenced by the Yugoslav system of market socialism based upon free price mechanism and profitability as the test of value.

Yugoslavia made the earliest major innovations when it was read out of the Soviet bloc in 1948. The Yugoslav League of Communist leadership, headed by Josef Tito, survived Soviet denunciation because it had gained public support by recognizing that the solution of the problems of the peasant farmers and of agricultural productivity was crucial for an underdeveloped country. Experience indicated that collectivization of agriculture was not the solution for agricultural productivity; this deviation from the Soviet model was a major accusation against Tito.

Brutal purges were conducted in East Europe between 1948-53 against national communists who advocated the principle of autonomy from the Soviet party and its practical application in abandoning agricultural collectivization. Wladislaw Gomulka, Polish party leader until purged as a 'Titoist' in 1948, explained (after his rehabilitation in 1956) the root of Stalin's 'cult of the personality' in the Soviet Union as primarily based in Stalin's policy of collectivization of agriculture after 1929. Gomulka indicated that the introduction of mass violence for the first time in Soviet society led to the elimination of Leninist principles in the communist party and the complete domination of police-state methods in the Soviet Union. (In 1956 Gomulka reversed the collectivization of agriculture in Poland.)

Having challenged the Soviet model in agriculture, the Yugoslavs adopted new techniques in industry. Tito called for the initiation of the gradual withering away of the state apparatus beginning with workers' ownership of state enterprises. "In the Soviet Union after thirty-one years," Tito said in 1948, "the factories belong to the state, not to the people . . . they are run by civil servants."

The Yugoslav party aimed to replace the role of the state bureaucracy in firms by substitution of workers' self-management. The firm's workers would control the management of the firm and share in its profits. The test of

efficiency is directed to the firm's competition in the supply and demand market. The goal of eliminating compulsion was introduced. According to vice-president Edward Kardelj: "The maximum effort and initiative of the individual does not depend so much upon directives and controls as it does upon the personal, economic, social, cultural and material interest of the worker who is working and creating in freedom."

The influence of the Yugoslav experience was very important during the 1956 Thaw. In East Germany, the faculty of the German Academy of Economic Science had engaged in extended discussions of the problems of the withering away of the state. The Academy's director, Prof. Fritz Behrens, had prepared detailed programs for major decentralization of the economy. It was held that rationality and productivity required autonomy for industrial enterprises. These programs were severely criticized as "anarchism" by the East German government.

Nevertheless, these economic policies received partial application in the New Economic System of the 1960's. Despite East Germany's rise to the sixth largest industrial producer in Europe, and three-fold increase in workers' real income, its investment costs in 1965 had risen phenomenally and it was paying six times what it did fifteen years earlier. The unfinished investments were valued at one year's gross fixed investment. Planning in building and housing construction had created a disaster. The compulsory collectivization of agriculture in 1960 severely crippled that sector with slaughter of livestock, neglect of fields, and flight of farmers to the cities. The regime was forced to increase investment in agriculture by thirty percent to maintain a stagnant rate of production. Additionally, food comprised twenty-five percent of East Germany's imports in place of further investment in agriculture. Much of the food imports came from Poland's private agricultural system.

East Germany's New Economic System was introduced to gain reliable cost accounting, reduction of production costs, and managerial autonomy. But, the emphasis has been upon achieving this through the panacea of the electronic computer, leaving the central planners in ultimate control. Thus far, the results have not been a major transformation of East German economic production.

In Hungary during the mid-1950's the popularity of workers' councils and self-management of firms developed in newspaper discussion of Yugoslav policies following exchange visits of Hungarian and Yugoslav workers. In 1954 the Institute of Economics was established and it presented detailed criticisms of the centralized planned economy, the development of heavy industry at the expense of agriculture, the lack of a role for industrial profitability, the unreal price system. The untenability of planning was examined by Janos Konrai, *The Excessive Centralization of Economic Management*, Budapest, 1957. Thus, in 1957 the Committee of Economic Experts was formed to propose reform of the economy. Its program called for decentralization, price reform, material incentives, independence for individual firms, abolition of the state control of foreign trade and encouragement of private farms. The government never responded to the proposal, but it contained the ideas which appeared in the New Economic Mechanism, prepared in 1965-66 and implemented in 1968 because of the growing economic crisis. The Hungarian program is the most far-reaching with the exception of Yugoslavia.

In Poland during the 1956 Thaw decentralization and workers' self-management were introduced. As described in a Polish student weekly, "Workers' self-government was initiated in Yugoslavia essentially as an initiative from above, in the form of a decree, prepared for the most part by comrade Kardelj on a theoretical basis. In our

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THE CZECH CRISIS — (Continued from page 3)

country, as we all know, it was wrested from the ministers by the workers themselves." But Gomulka rebuked the idea of far-reaching administrative decentralization in May 1957. "If every factory became a kind of cooperative enterprise," Gomulka said, "all the laws governing capitalist enterprise would immediately come into effect and produce all the usual results. Central planning and administration . . . would have to disappear."

As a result, Poland's cooperation was limited to pioneering in the advocacy of radical economic theory. Oskar Lange's writings were especially important. Lange has emphasized that Austrian economics, especially the work of Ludwig von Mises, is the sole rational alternative to Marxist theory. The Misesian critique of planning and of calculation under socialism is the major problem for Marxist economists. But even in theoretical discussions, the Polish economists can only go so far. Thus, Stefan Kurowski, the leading Polish exponent of the free market, has, with a few exceptions, not been allowed to publish his studies.

Thus, in the 1960's, advocacy has been limited to regulated markets and free price formation within central planning. Warsaw Professor Wlodzimierz Brus (*General Problems of the Functioning of a Socialist Economy*, 1961) was attacked in 1967 ("The Antinomies of the Market Theories under Socialism") for arguing that planning and the free market are mutually exclusive and that not only a free market in labor but also in capital goods is necessary.

The failure in Poland to proceed with market economy reforms delayed economic development. Late in 1967 three Communist Party plenums were devoted to the economic crisis which was causing unrest in major industrial cities. Food and clothing were in short supply; state warehouses were bursting with unsalable goods due to high prices or inferior quality. In November there was a thirty percent increase in the price of meat. The government explained the meat shortage: managers of minimally controlled enterprises had such good consumer response that they hired more employees to meet the demand but this "excessive increase in employment" was not called for in the central plan and their wages drove up the price of meat. General agricultural problems have developed since Gomulka reversed his private-oriented farm policy; the production of small tractors necessary for Polish farms was halted and only large tractors, for state farms, were available. The private farmers' fear of collectivization has caused declines in production growth.

With economic crisis threatening to generate popular

protest, free market-oriented economists became the scapegoats to hide the real causes rooted in central planning. In March 1968 protests against the existing system had been spearheaded by university students. To the slogan "Long Live Czechoslovakia" they marched through the streets and occupied university buildings and the Ministry of Education with predictable results: a police riot. The student demand for an investigation of the police was met with expulsion of students and dismissal of liberal faculty, such as Adam Schaff for his *Marxism and the Individual*. Leszek Kolakowski, the principal theorist of anti-authoritarian Marxism. Brus and Kurowski were charged with encouraging the students by their programs to undermine central control of the economy ("Socialist Democracy and Market Socialism" in the party newspaper). Brus, Tadeusz Kowalik and Ignacy Sachs were expelled from the party for holding that only the "market can guarantee the basic economic structure during the process of development."

The intellectual as well as material impact of the economic collapse of orthodox Marxist economics in East Europe has been compared with the 1929 Depression for the West. While the politicians in both cases resisted change, there is a marked difference between the response of economists and intellectuals in the West during the 1930's and those in the East in the 1960's. The former, refusing to challenge the Establishment seriously, opted for more elaborately theorized forms of the *status quo* in the form of Keynesian and Marxist economic theory. In the East the Establishment was really challenged by the intellectuals and economists, who embraced free market economic theory.

Their adoption of market economics was both a response to real conditions and the result of intellectual willingness of some economists East and West to seek dialogue and exchange of conflicting ideas. It is a credit to the East European economists, often members of Communist parties, that they were open to non-Marxist ideas. As Marxists they came to recognize that there were no differences between Marxist economics and the mercantilist, monopoly economics dominant in Western universities; the only clear alternative to the catastrophic planned economics in the East was the free market. Equally important was the openness of European market economists in originating discussions with Marxists. Year after year, they attended joint East-West conference, travelled to the East to initiate dialogue, and invited East Europeans to discuss their Marxism in the West. Unlike Americans they were not inhibited by adherence to the official Anti-communist line, although identification with U. S. policy hardly appears deducible from free market economics. Their healthy, self-confident activism in overcoming the obstacles to dialogue with Marxists has had important historical effects.

(The concluding part will appear in the next issue.)

Hear Ye! ANNOUNCING Hear Ye!

A

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The Czech Crisis

Conclusion

The Prague Spring . . . And After

By Leonard P. Liggio

The New Economic Model prepared in 1963 by the Czech economic institute commission headed by Ota Sik contained more advanced concepts than other East European proposals. This was due to the fact that the Czechs had begun their free inquiry later and thus were able to begin at the point where the economists of the other countries had ended. Also, there were a few Czech economists who were willing to espouse entirely radical positions which gave their colleagues the opportunity to present far-reaching changes as a moderate program. Eugen Loeb, director of the Bank of Slovakia, courageously led the criticism of orthodox Marxist economic theory. Although he had just been rehabilitated after years as a political prisoner, Loeb declared that the country needed a mixed economy with 200,000 (30%) of small privately-owned enterprises. (According to Stanford Research Institute-International, entrepreneurs in Czechoslovakia are "already quite free to start small industries" under the 1968 reforms.) Prof. Radoslav Selucky was dismissed from his professorship for the radical market program that he proposed.

Sik's New Economic Model required that enterprises earn their own way, that investments be financed by the enterprises from their own resources or by borrowing at interest, that prices be determined in the competitive free market based upon the law of supply and demand, and that profits be the criterion of economic efficiency. After strong attacks on it by orthodox theorists, the party adopted it in 1965 and it was scheduled for implementation in January 1967 with the withdrawal of subsidies and central planning and the freeing of enterprises to decide what to produce and at what price to sell it.

Not only was the New Economic Model diluted from the beginning, but ultimately it was made ineffective by the party leadership. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of the partial implementation as well as earlier removal of controls in selected sectors was reflected in major reductions in material costs of production (the first decline in fifteen years). About 40 percent of the 9 percent rise in the gross income of industrial enterprises during 1967 resulted from savings on material costs. There was a 7 percent growth in industry and 8 percent in national income. The opposition of the right-wing, dogmatic party leadership headed by President Novotny was increasingly resented by the younger party leaders. This was given expression by Alexander Dubcek in his October 1967 criticism of the regime for its hostility to radical economics and its suppression of freedom. This attack on authoritarianism projected Dubcek to prominence and led to his election as first party secretary in January.

The immediate issue in the Communist party's October plenary meeting was the assault by clubs and tear gas by the Prague police against the thousands of Czech students marching in protest against conditions at the university. Orthodox communist establishments are as fearful of the anti-authoritarian spirit of youth as are the liberal bureaucratic establishments in the West. The students demanded (and eventually were granted) the dismissal of the police officials responsible for the assault on the student protesters. Thereafter, during the 'Prague Spring' Czech students were at the center of the radicalization process in their country. "There was an incredible spirit of Liberation. Especially among students--young people generally--there was a spirit of defying anything laid down by authority--the Government, the Party, schools, parents. The atmosphere of questioning was everywhere." ("Spirit of defiance", *New Left Notes*, Sept. 16, 1968).

The student struggle was initiated by an ideologically developed cadre of university dissenters called the Prague Radicals; many of them had been expelled or drafted into the army for their organized protests in the universities. But after January 1968 the Prague Radicals were free to organize openly; bypassing the established Czech student association, they formed new youth organizations. The final removal of Novotny by his resignation as president in March was the result of Prague student demonstrations welcoming a national student cavalcade to protest U. S. genocide in Vietnam.

The Soviet invasion forced radical political activism upon the vast majority of Czech students. On November 17 Prague Radicals announced a student strike and occupied the university buildings. They were inspired by the example of the Columbia SDS; SDS activists had been in contact with the Czech students. On the following day all the universities in Czechoslovakia were closed by student strikes and two-thirds of Prague university students joined the occupation of the buildings where SDS-style teach-ins were held. In the succeeding months Prague Radicals demonstrated against censorship and limitations on freedoms until the regime ordered the dissolution of the new student organizations in June 1969.

The sabotage of the New Economic Model by the party right-wing during 1967 had led to the critical central committee plenary session on December 19 which was characterized by violent debates between conservative supporters of central planning and the liberals favoring market economics. Sik led the attack, insisting that to achieve economic reforms and combat bureaucracy the party and government structure would have to be blasted apart by popular action. The centrists were won over to reform and Dubcek was elected party first secretary on Jan. 5, 1968.

Although Ota Sik was appointed deputy premier in charge of the committee of economic advisers, a much more conservative deputy premier was entrusted with actual control over economic departments. Czech radicals proposed market determination of prices, competition among enterprises, incentives for worker productivity, and the end of bureaucratic planning and controls. Centrists preferred cautious change ideologically, politically and economically, and denounced "excessive" freedom. They placed emphasis upon half-way measures such as managerial efficiency, and on maintaining economic planning by technicians and computers with some price freedom but limitations upon the independence of enterprises. Centrists resisted complete decentralization of industrial management, worker self-management of firms, and competition among enterprises for credits and markets. Centrist attitudes parallel those formulated in the Soviet Union under the inspiration of the pioneering but limited contributions of Prof. Liberman of Kharkov University. But Ota Sik has criticized Libermanism as inadequate and simplistic despite its great impact on Soviet economics. Such reforms merely substitute improved goals or indicators, or are "an endeavor merely to limit the number of directive tasks and indicators set by the central planning and managing body." (Ota Sik, *Plan and Market under Socialism*, White Plains, 1968).

Thus, the centrists desired a convergence with the humane, manipulative bureaucracy of Western Europe and America behind whose facade of political democracy the bureaucracy's control expands. Czech radicals continued to publicize their demand for dismantling the bureaucracy, restoration of self-ownership to individual firms and implementation of the free market. Dubcek condemned the "ingrained evil of excessive levelling of incomes and egalitarianism which has rewarded unskilled work more highly than skilled work." Sik emphasized protection of the consumer: from high prices due to inefficient workers or enterprises and from inferior products caused by "the monopoly position" of state enterprises. "All the lagging enterprises," Sik noted, "are

(Continued on page 3)

THE CZECH CRISIS — (Continued from page 2)

being protected to the detriment of good enterprises which show initiative and also to the detriment of the consumer."

To achieve these objectives the Czech radicals sought the reorganization of the Communist Party in order to create a popular movement for reform: the 14th Communist Party Congress was announced for early September 1968. Preparations had been made during preceding months through district elections of Congress delegates; these were almost completely younger members dedicated to reform. The obvious result of the Congress would be the election of a party central committee devoid of conservatives and overwhelmingly radical in commitment. To forestall the party Congress which would have been a qualitative transformation in the nature of a Communist party, the Soviet invasion was launched on August 21. The day before the Soviet invasion Pravda blasted Czech radicals as subverters of socialism for refusing to follow orthodox Marxist economic planning and centralization.

Within days of the invasion an extraordinary party Congress was held secretly in a Prague industrial plant protected by a volunteer workers' guard. While the Soviet army 'controlled' Prague a new party leadership was appointed by the Congress. The support of the reformers by the students is understandable given the revolutionary spirit of modern youth against authoritarianism. What is the explanation of the widespread, ideologically developed support of the general public and of the workers in particular? For about a year economists had conducted "evening schools of economic policy" for workers in the major industrial centers in order to provide a clear understanding of the New Economic Model and its benefits to the workers as producers and consumers. Thus, during the 'Prague Spring' new elections were held for local and general trade union leaders, and younger activists committed to the reforms were elected. After the invasion the trade unions assumed important roles in resisting restrictions on freedoms and organizing mass support for the economic and political reforms which had been introduced. Trade union newspapers and educational departments have become the sanctuaries for reform writers and economists removed after the invasion.

The strong support of the general public for the reform program is the result of the heavy involvement of intellectuals and writers in the reform movement. The year previous, in June 1967 during the Congress of the Writers' Union, several leading writers and editors were expelled from the party for attacks on the conservative cultural functionaries. The Writers' Union journal was suspended. The writers and intellectuals realized that their freedom was at the sufferance of the bureaucracy so long as the government controlled the budget for books and periodicals as well as all jobs and salaries. The need of writers to control the media through which they express themselves caused them to join the advocates of free market economics. Economic independence from the government for quality intellectual production was recognized as analogous to economic independence for quality material production. Similarly, it was clear that intellectuals had suffered from pay equalization standards as much as managers, and that the introduction of salary differentiation in the New Economic Model would mean equivalent increases for managers and intellectuals.

The strong intellectual commitment of the Czech public to political and economic reforms will have positive effects in the long-run despite the immediate obstacles. Similarly, the material conditions which impelled consciousness of the need for reforms will not be solved by half-way measures. The Soviet Union has slowed but it has not eliminated the reduction of its advantageous trading position in East Europe. West European business has sought East European markets to escape U. S. financial domination; the six East European countries are "the fastest growing regional

market in the world" and West European business earned about \$3 billion in exports there during 1967. East Europe offers the advantages of large reservoirs of engineers and technicians educated at the tax expense of East Europeans and a low wage labor force disciplined by twenty years of Communist trade unionism. The U. S. share of that trade is minimal since U. S. products tend to be non-competitive with West Europe to whom the East Europeans have turned to escape Soviet economic hegemony. The U. S. would prefer to establish semi-political bilateral trade agreements with the Soviet Union, thus avoiding the embarrassment of the non-competitiveness of U. S. products. Thus, the coolness if not hostility of the U. S. toward the "Prague Spring", since economic liberalization would not benefit the U. S.; and the refusal of the U. S. to aid Czechoslovakia by returning the gold deposited in here during World War II. The U. S. by its official statements virtually invited the Soviet invasion, and despite a few muted protests, insisted that there would be no interruption in bilateral U. S.-Soviet negotiations.

In comparison, it was several years after the 1956 Hungarian crisis before U. S. disappointment at the failure of its Hungarian supporters wore off sufficiently for bilateral negotiations. Hungarian events were extremely complex with positive as well as negative aspects, and the heartfelt speeches by Czech delegates (since purged) at the U. N. protesting the Soviet invasion clearly differentiated between the two in the face of the U. S. delegate's self-interested joining of the two events. There was no assumption as in Hungary of army commands by officers previously retired because of their connections with the CIA and NATO (instead a leading conservative general fled to the U. S. when Dubcek was elected). There was no withdrawal of Czechoslovakia from the Warsaw Pact. There was no Czech appeal for intervention of U. S. forces. On the other hand, radical reforms based upon free market economics were not an issue in Hungary. The Czech delegates noted the U. S. disinterest if not hostility to the Czech free market reforms, and denounced the U. S. as equally responsible for the Soviet invasion because the U. S. had initiated the Cold War which had created the atmosphere for internal repression in Czechoslovakia. The concepts of freedom in the "Prague Spring" did not find their inspiration in America; therefore the Czechs could not be disappointed in the lack of American interest in their liberation.

Compared to the situation in Hungary after November 1956 the current situation in Czechoslovakia is far worse. The replacement of Alexander Dubcek by Gustav Husak after more than fifteen months of the January reforms is a major step backwards, while the accessions of Janos Kadar in Hungary and Wladyslaw Gomulka in Poland in the fall of 1956 were forward steps compared to the Stalinist regimes they replaced. Hungary and Poland are agricultural countries (60%) compared to Czechoslovakia (30%), with the heaviest concentration in Slovakia. The Hungarian and Polish farmers benefited from the liberalization of the Kadar and Gomulka leaderships and have played an important role as stabilizing forces since 1956. Similarly, the Catholic Church plays a significant moderating role in rural Hungary and Poland, which is of great assistance to the Communist parties. Only in Slovakia does the Catholic Church have great influence, and that is the most moderate region, causing the least problems for the post-Dubcek leadership.

Having exhausted other means of resistance the Czechs have undertaken a passive resistance campaign in the arena of production. A producers' strike has been in progress in Czechoslovakia for many months, and the economy has become the central point of struggle. Inflation, shortages, poor quality goods have been the result of the passive resistance responding to central planning, abandonment of workers' councils, and rejection of free market principles. In Prague, for example, during the first half of 1969 only 276 apartments were completed; fifteen per cent of last

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year's rate. An official economic report declared that production continues to fall, imbalance grows, increased wages representing the largest part of income growth. The Soviet interruption of the Czech Radicals' development of freedom has resulted economically in a great leap backwards. The current general strike of the producers has created a grave economic crisis in Czechoslovakia, and the Novotny regime fell precisely because it could not solve the economic crisis.

CLASS ANALYSIS — (Continued from page 1)

not that the ruling class wishes to preserve the avenues by which people can competitively attain positions of wealth, but rather the ruling class is one which seeks to prevent the above, and to use *political* means (i.e., the coercive power of the state) to secure and expand further the class's economic gains.

A ruling class, or power elite if you will, can be semi-liquid in composition, admitting new members selectively. Also, other classes may be allowed to share in specific spoils so that people victimized by those in power can be occasionally placated, and made to feel that they also have a stake in the system. It is necessary to the maintenance of any ruling class that it convince other groups that what it is doing is in their interest as well—that is, what in fact is intended to benefit the few must be peddled as being in the "general interest". For instance, historian Gabriel Kolko has done a magnificent job of showing how federal regulation of business, long heralded as government control of business for the commonweal, is in fact business control of government, in order to limit competition and cartelize the various industries affected. Moreover, in each instance such regulation was conceived and supported by business to do just this. Yet, the masses have been sufficiently propagandized to believe the opposite of the reality of the situation (cf. *The Triumph of Conservatism and Railroads and Regulation*). Today, as a result, there exists a welter of enactments which have effectively cartellized the economy to a large extent (something not possible on a real free market as Kolko and others have demonstrated). In other words, there exists a system of monopoly capitalism in which the business elite have, by gaining effective control of the state apparatus, isolated themselves from the full effects of competition. Backing this system up is the whole defense complex which through massive contracts, and, in the last analysis, war, insures that the system keeps operating. Labor is but a junior partner in all this, with small business getting enough to keep this segment relatively

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content. The poor--those excluded from sharing in the power and wealth of the state capitalism system--are given sops of poverty programs.

The intellectual's role in all this is crucial. He must effectively propagandize the mass of people by extolling the virtues of the system, and by helping the ruling class come up with suitable reform measures to patch up the more glaring problems. And, in the final analysis, the intellectual, as has been seen at the Stanford Research Institute, stands ready to assist in subduing the natives if they become restless. The intellectual also has a share in the system.

The task of the libertarian is two-fold. He must work as a scholar to destroy the myths which serve to justify and perpetuate the *status quo*. It is a sad commentary on the right-wing that whereas they were once in the forefront of this endeavor, with men such as Albert Jay Nock and Frank Chodorov, they are now the backbone of the intellectual apologists for the state apparatus. Today the debunking task has fallen to the New Left.

Secondly, and crucially, the libertarian as activist must be ready to step in to help in an overt way to aid in the destruction of the system. No ruling class has ever voluntarily given up power. Education must never stop, but there comes a time when action is also called for (as the Marxists have perceived, there is also education-through-struggle). Those so-called libertarians who, while espousing high sounding principles in support of liberty, in the concrete support state power against any active resistance have clearly failed in both tasks. And those who seek to avoid the problem by trying to "escape" have not only failed as libertarians, but also failed as human beings. Whereas the former group have consigned themselves to the dustbin of history, the latter have a "class" all to themselves: human ostriches.

— Gerald O'Driscoll, Jr.

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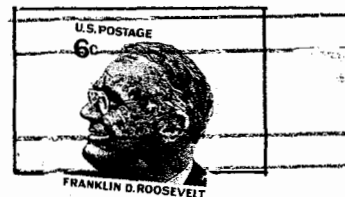
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FDP: NEOLIBERALS IN GERMAN POLITICS

West German President Gustav Heinemann, following this fall's election, called on Social Democratic Party leader Willy Brandt to become chancellor and Free Democratic Party leader Walter Scheel to become foreign minister in a new cabinet. This coalition's domestic program is centered upon the reduction of taxes for the white collar and blue collar middle classes, civilian control over the military, and increased individual freedoms. In foreign affairs, they propose permanent good relations with the Soviet Union based upon West Germany's recognition of the "inviolability of the borders and demarcation lines" in Europe, including the border between East and West Germany, de facto recognition of the East German government through a general treaty, and diplomatic recognition to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria. This would mean a renunciation of the Hallstein Doctrine whereby West Germany withdrew diplomatic relations from any country recognizing East Germany; now many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be likely to recognize East Germany. Meanwhile, West Germany will be able to improve its trading position in East European countries which have long had relations with the U. S., England and France. The Free Democratic Party (FDP) controlling the foreign ministry will give the impetus to this East Bloc diplomatic policy.

The FDP's policies have been characterized as the "traditions of libertarianism and economic neoliberalism". It is the heir of the radical individualism of Locke and the rationalism of the French Revolution. Rooted in the values of education and independent property, FDP has been the party of creativity and rebellion. It came into existence after World War II when there was a widespread belief that radical liberalism was outmoded and must disappear before the conservatives' militarism, clericalism, and authoritarianism or the socialists' manipulation, repressive tolerance, and exploitation. But, FDP challenged the post-war world with the radical economics of the Austrian School of Mises and Hayek against the Christian Democratic (CDU) and Social Democratic (SPD) parties. When Konrad Adenauer organized the CDU his 1947 program called for nationalization of industry. But, the early necessity for CDU to form a coalition with FDP forced the laissez-faire economist Ludwig Erhard up on the U. S. and Adenauer in 1948 as post-war economic coordinator. Since Erhard belonged to the CDU it was that party and not FDP which gained popular credit for Erhard's rigorous monetary policies. When the West German government was formed, FDP leader Prof. Theodor Heuss became president, and FDP assumed the justice and interior (police) ministries to keep watch that civil liberties were not violated by the state.

FDP's disenchantment with CDU came from Adenauer's pro-U. S. foreign policy. Germans were not enamored of the U. S. after the brutality they had suffered during the war (cf. Veale, *Advance to Barbarism*) and during occupation (cf. Salomon, *Fragebogen*, which was the most widely read post-war German book). Adenauer was viewed as betraying Germany's historic role of balancing East and West, both during the nineteenth century and the inter-war period. FDP challenged the re-militarization of Germany by the U. S. and led the battle alongside the SPD for reunion of the Saarland Germans when Adenauer sought to sacrifice them to France to gain approval for German re-militarization.

By the mid-1950's FDP's demands for diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, trade with East Europe and a neutralist foreign policy pointed to an end to the coalition with the CDU. Extra-parliamentary protest in the streets against U. S.-

dominated foreign policy influenced the FDP and SPD in parliament into opposition. This street protest was led by now president Heinemann who had resigned from Adenauer's cabinet and party in 1950 over CDU militarism. As a leading Protestant and anti-collectivist, Heinemann led a campaign for neutralism, and later joined the SPD to agitate for his principles.

In 1957 Adenauer split the FDP, absorbing its cabinet members into CDU while the majority of FDP went into parliamentary opposition. From that date CDU leaders have sought to abolish the proportional representation electoral law in order to destroy the FDP. Dr. Thomas Dehler became FDP chairman and opened party posts to the "Young Rebels" who sought coalition with SPD, who were FDP partners in several state governments. These angry young men rejected the "end of ideology" concept of the 1950's and replaced "practical" objectives with a totally ideological commitment summarized as "Repeal laws, bureaucracy, and taxation." They represented the same intellectual ferment which produced the New Left in England and America. The "Young Rebels" established the magazine *Liberal* and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for radical education. The "Young Rebels"-FDP alliances with SPD in state governments obviously required a broader agreement than opposition to NATO and U. S. foreign policy, or support for civil liberties. Along with the FDP, SPD reacted to the feudal, corporatist, Christian socialism of CDU; SPD denounced economic planning in its new program: "Competition and the freedom of initiative of the entrepreneur are important elements of the SPD economic policy." It further declared: "We Social Democrats demand a free economic development, free competition and private property conscious of its responsibilities to the general good." Thereafter, SPD often supported Erhard when the statist of the CDU deserted his laissez-faire programs.

Opposition to Erhard in CDU was centered among the Christian trade unionists and major business interests. In 1959 when President Heuss' term ended, Adenauer was persuaded to accept the presidency until he realized that Erhard was the popular choice to succeed him as chancellor. Adenauer then tried unsuccessfully to force Erhard to become president. Thereafter, FDP campaigned for the retirement of Adenauer and the appointment of Erhard as chancellor. In 1961 that issue gave FDP its highest vote depriving CDU of a majority in Parliament. A CDU-FDP coalition was based on Adenauer's retirement.

The coalition temporarily split in October 1962 in the *Spiegel* affair. That magazine, which had the closest ties to FDP, was closed by government police and its editors imprisoned on charges that they had earlier printed information critical of NATO military policy. This suppression

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ATTENTION, LIBERTARIANS

Many readers of the *Libertarian Forum* have expressed interest in finding other libertarians near them. Therefore, early next year, the *Forum* will begin to publish the names and addresses of people who would like to be contacted by other readers of the *Libertarian Forum*. If you'd like your name to be included, please fill out the coupon on the back of this notice.

A YAF Conversion

Many of us have known Ralph Fucetola III, until recently state chairman of New Jersey YAF and member of the Libertarian Caucus, as an extreme right-winger, and a warmongering and red-baiting "libertarian". From a recent letter of Fucetola's to the New Left newsletter *Hard Times* (Oct. 20-27), it appears that Ralph has seen the light. He writes that he was the one who originally introduced Don Meinshausen (HUAC agent in SDS who later recanted publicly) to Herb Romerstein, long-time HUAC operative and anti-Communist "expert" on youth movements. Ralph adds: "In return, Don introduced me and the rest of the almost-libertarian right to what was happening to our generation. Now it's three months later, the right is splitting, "anarchy" is the wave of the future. With Don's--and Karl Hess's--help we learned the quasi-fascist nature of much of the conservative movement; we learned that we have a role in the Movement, that the state can be stopped, that freedom can be won." Great, Ralph. May your example be followed by many others. There is more joy in Heaven . . .

GERMAN POLITICS—(Continued from page 3)

occurred in the same week that followed Kennedy's launching of the Cuban crisis about the editors were known to be critical. Amidst student demonstrations against a police state, FDP ministers resigned and returned only on the dismissal of the guilty party, defense minister Franz Josef Strauss. Adenauer was forced to set his own resignation for mid-1963 when SPD threatened to join FDP in a coalition headed by Erhard. Erhard became chancellor in 1963 in a coalition with FDP. This coalition was successful in the 1965 national elections. But, when Erhard was pressured by the U. S. in 1966 to impose tax increases to pay U. S. occupation army costs to offset the expenses of the Vietnam war, FDP voted against the taxes and Erhard resigned. The new CDU chancellor, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, restored Strauss (a supporter of U. S. war in Vietnam) to the cabinet. To FDP, coalition was impossible with anyone like Kiesinger who had declared: "the question these days is not one of the freedom of the individual *vis-à-vis* the state, but vice versa, a question of how to defend the authority of the state against an unbridled, anarchic freedom."

Thereafter, FDP, under the chairmanship of Walter Scheel, used its opposition role to champion the right of protest of German youth and citizens' rights against the state. In the spring of 1969 FDP joined with SPD to elect Heinemann as West German president in preparation for a joint campaign against Kiesinger in the fall elections. The authoritarianism of Kiesinger, Strauss and the CDU were repudiated by the voters.

— Leonard P. Liggio

Recommended Reading

RAMPARTS, November 1969. With former editors Scheer and Hinckle out, Ramparts is better than ever. Particularly good are: J. Goulden and M. Singer, "Dial-A-Bomb: AT&T and ABM", an excellent dissection of the giant monopoly AT&T's political clout in American's government-industrial complex (and note the revelations about the exploitative super-proci exploitative super-profits made from defense sub-contracting); Sol Stern's "Canyon: A Troubled Paradise", about the persecution of the private property of hippieish Canyon, California by all conceivable agencies of local government; and Earl Shorris' dissection of the new Social-Democrat idol of the right-wing, "Hayakawa in Thought and Action".

Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States* (Princeton University Press). This huge, sprawling (1,005 pages) and expensive book is a thorough, definitive history of religious and consistent pacifism before the Civil War. Much material on such great people and individualist anarchists as William Lloyd Garrison and Henry Clarke Wright.

Michael A. Heilperin, *Aspects of the Pathology of Money* (London: Michael Joseph), \$9.50. Professor Heilperin, a student of Ludwig von Mises, is one of the very few economists who still favor a return to the gold standard. This is a collection of his valuable monetary essays ranging over four decades.

Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action* (Cambridge University Press), \$7.50. A new translation of this little classic, one of the best defenses of laissez-faire in political philosophy. This book influenced Mill's *On Liberty*, and is considerably better than Mill's compromising work.

Corinne Jacker, *The Black Flag of Anarchy: Anti-statism in the United States* (Charles Scribner's Sons), \$4.50. A pleasant, though superficial, little book which, however, serves as a useful introduction to the history of American anarchism. For one thing, it is the only history of American anarchism now in print.

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AHA CONVENTION

By Leonard P. Liggio

I. Anarchism on the Agenda

Libertarianism has become academically respectable. Just as the respectability of isolationism emerged five years ago, here is another debt that we probably owe to the New Left. Within a month, a symposium on anarchism was held at a major university with Murray Rothbard and Karl Hess as the principal speakers, and a session of the American Historical Association was devoted to Anarchism. The historical significance of a filled-to-capacity AHA session on anarchism was noted in his introductory remarks by Richard Drinnon of Bucknell University, the chairman. Paul Avrich, Queens College, who gave the first paper, is the author of a recently published book on Russian anarchists; his book was the subject some months ago of an intensive oral commentary by Murray Rothbard. As in almost everything concerned with the growth of libertarian perspectives, Murray Rothbard has been the preeminent pioneer; his open and world-ranging inquiry into libertarian thought and action is the exemplary standard toward which all others' achievements in libertarian analysis has been directed.

Avrich's discussion indicated that the monumental conflict between the respective world-views of Marx and Bakunin remain as significant today as a century ago; yet, despite Avrich's depth of scholarship, a resolution of Bakunin's own contradictory positions appears as distant as ever. Marx's call for regimented industrial and agricultural armies had no appeal for the peasant who might be already oppressed by just such a feudal organization of agriculture. Anarchists historically have had a strong interest in peasant farmers and agricultural land as anarchism has flourished in opposition to the feudal landholding systems.

Gabriel Jackson, U. of California-San Diego, discussed the very controversial question of the institutions of Spanish Civil War Anarchism. The participation of an expert such as James J. Martin would have been invaluable. In the anarchist regions of civil war Spain, the free peasants' land ownership was recognized and tenants turned their lands into freeholds. But, serfs in completely feudal situations were generally transformed into workers on a collective, with occasional liberation into cooperatives. Anarchist ideologists in Spain, after a year, called for a reexamination of the collectivist organization, as it was not productive and was simply living off earlier capital accumulation. Similarly, they had intense criticism of the anarchist military columns for their sectarianism. When their campaigns took them into a district they sought to impose their

rationalism by church burnings; peasants were forced to transfer their private farms into collectives; money was outlawed on pain of execution. This anarchist sectarianism of the military columns contributed to the famous popularity of the Spanish Communist Party--as the defender of private property and money, the peasants and townsmen sought protection in C.P. membership. (Noam Chomsky's "Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship", in his *American Power and the New Mandarins*, presents a libertarian critique of Jackson's liberal treatment of the Spanish Civil War.)

Paul Goodman, the concluding speaker at the session, began with a critical examination of the radical proposals presented at the convention (see Part II). He said that the radical appeal to the historians should have been on the basis of their competence and professional independence, which are being oppressed by political and academic authorities. Anarchists historically found their support among the skilled workers whose competence excluded external management or control, as well as among workers in potentially dangerous work where success was based not on authority but on mutual trust and self-control. The migrants from rural areas who were the main source of unskilled labor were not familiar with self-managing modes in industry and sought solutions in the collectivism of the Marxist unions.

Goodman explained the Marxist rhetoric among student protestors as originating in a similar distinction. The majority of American students are not interested in attending school; they are inmates of school-jails because of the compulsory attendance laws, conscription, etc. They should be permitted to gain their education in appealing work situations; collectivism appears as a reasonable solution only to those in an unnatural situation. Those students who benefit from liberal arts education have sought an improvement in the educational method by transforming the authoritarian classroom situation necessitated by the school-jail institutions into situations permitting more and better study. Five years of intensive investigation have shown that the main student dissatisfaction and support for transformation of universities comes from the upper half of the student body; the lower half is satisfied since the educational system is aimed at their level.

Adam Smith's free market economics was noted by Goodman as the epitome of anarchism. The attempt to establish private property against its negation in the state made laissez-faire a revolutionary ideology before its adherents came to compromise with, rather than destroy, feudalism and accepted state monopoly economies. The independence of the competent, the innovator, the entrepreneur, the

(Continued on page 3)

AHA CONVENTION — (Continued from page 1)

creator, said Goodman, is at the root of anarchism. Technological progress, Goodman pointed out, has been achieved by the independent innovator and entrepreneur outside of the authoritarian universities and monopoly institutions. The struggle to affirm private property, the absolute ownership of the fruit of one's free innovation or competence, and to abolish the present negation of private property ownership, is central to anarchist action. Since modern society prepares people more completely for competent independence, the flowering of anarchist thought and action is a reasonable expectation.

II. Long March Made Longer

A major aspect of the AHA convention was the business meetings. In the last couple of years the major scholarly associations in America have been placed on record by their members as opposed to United States aggression against the Vietnamese people. Last year, at the AHA convention which was moved to New York from Chicago to protest the police riot by Mayor Daley's 'finest' during the Democratic National Convention, the major debate concerned the boycott of Chicago. The right-wing liberals proposed that the convention should have been held in Chicago to bring the benefits of the liberals' "superior enlightenment" to Chicago. The caucus of younger members was totally ineffectual last year. The main speeches were a series of Marxist circumlocutions which drove the majority from the hall in search of freedom from boredom. A minor theme was the attack on the movement of student protests at universities by the leading academic Marxist, Eugene D. Genovese, who since has been appointed chairman of the history department at the University of Rochester.

After almost a year of inaction, a revived committee of younger historians popped-up under the ubiquitous Arthur Waskow. Waskow had acted during the early years of the Anti-Vietnam war movement as a retarding influence seeking dialogue rather than confrontation with Rusk, Bundy, Rostow et al., and as late as last spring spoke at a major conference at the New York Hilton against political organization around anti-militarist issues, proposing instead the liberal issues of environment and ecology. Now he appeared at the convention in the colors of a militant. In the early years of this decade a Conference on Peace Research in History (in which several of the contributors to the Libertarian Forum participated) was organized in the AHA by William L. Neumann--revisionist historian, anti-imperialist spokesman and a leading student of Harry Elmer Barnes. This Conference's December 1965 meeting in San Francisco occurred after almost a year of U. S. bombardment and invasion of Vietnam. But the program of which Waskow was chairman avoided historical analysis of U. S. policy in the Pacific upon which the Vietnam intervention was premised. On the eve of the 1965 convention the press had announced that the leading radical historian, Staughton Lynd, then at Yale, had arrived in Hanoi to study the effects of U. S. bombing as a representative of *Viet-Report*. Waskow criticized Lynd for his efforts opposing the Vietnam war by confronting the U. S. government.

The proposals at the 1969 convention which issued forth from Waskow could only have been composed in Bedlam. In essence, they were an attack on the concept of competence. Instead of appealing to historians on the basis of their alienation due to the authoritarian denial of their professionalism in the universities and the AHA, their expertise was equally attacked by the Waskow group. This explicit denial of the historian's role could not seriously have been proposed, as a means of radically educating historians--and, needless to say, it did not. In contrast, at the Modern Languages Association convention, the radicals led by the

USIA NETWORK — (Continued from page 2)

Burnham gave high praise. Buckley, wrote Burnham, is "one of the best-known writers of his generation", and, what is more, "James Burnham's books have been translated and debated in every major country." Pretty near all around. As lagniappe, Burnham also recommended the works of several other editors and contributors of *National Review*: M. Stanton Evans, John Chamberlain, Russell Kirk, Henry Hazlitt, Stefan T. Possony, and the late Whittaker Chambers.

And so, the result of the Buckley-Burnham shuffle is that *National Review* has reaped its reward for loyalty to the Nixon campaign and to the Administration. The loser, as usual, is the American taxpayer.

New University Conference were able to organize their colleagues on the basis of the general denial of their professionalism, to reform the association and to elect as president for the following year, Louis Kampf, MIT humanities chairman. Despite this problematic AHA situation, Staughton Lynd received about thirty per cent of the votes cast for the AHA presidency.

The final business meeting was devoted to a discussion of resolutions, especially concerning Vietnam. A lengthy resolution emanated from the Waskow group; it began with an opposition to the Vietnam war but mainly dealt with a number of domestic issues such as the police murders of the Black Panthers. Perhaps it was believed that the wider opposition to the Vietnam war would carry a resolution containing issues for which there would be less support. Such a scheme has about it much of the odor of the Old Left rather than the honesty of the New Left which faces issues directly no matter how unpleasant the answers. Additionally, the resolution was burdened with having Waskow as floor leader; as he appeared to be speaking half the time through a dozen interventions, many neutral participants drew negative conclusions about the anti-Vietnam positions.

A substitute motion was offered by William L. Neumann as chairman of the Conference on Peace Research in History. It stated: "We, historians and citizens in this meeting of the American Historical Association, deplore and condemn the war in Vietnam as ill-advised and immoral; we urge immediate withdrawal of all military involvement; and we further pledge ourselves to a fundamental reevaluation of the assumptions of American foreign policy." Staughton Lynd called on the meeting to support this resolution. Neumann's anti-war resolution was narrowly defeated by a vote of 610 to 645 in a meeting attended by ten times the number of members who had attended any previous business meeting.

The most outspoken critic was Eugene Genovese, who during the convention was described as having become the Sidney Hook of the younger generation of scholars. For several years Genovese has conducted a personal vendetta against Staughton Lynd because Lynd is not a Marxist and thus bases his politics upon universal moral concepts. Although one might wish Lynd were more rigorous in some historical analyses, he has made the greatest contribution during the 1960's to post-American Revolution historical scholarship. Genovese's Marxism causes him to adopt positions of traditionalist, official historians against revisionist radicalism. The logic of Marxism led Genovese to become the leading contemporary spokesman for southern slaveholding, and Karl Marx's humane opposition to the crime of slaveholding is condemned because this was inconsistent with Marxism. During the past year Genovese opened a wide-front attack on the student movement because he views the New Left as the major impediment to Marxism. At the AHA convention Genovese demanded that the executive council "put down the New Left, put it down now, and put it down hard." Genovese is becoming the heir-presumptive to the repression propounded by the ex-communists of *National Review* and the *New Leader*.

Massacres In Vietnam

The Old Right's great responsibility over the last quarter century has been that of bearer of the most profound truth about the American state. As Harry Elmer Barnes expressed it after the U. S. had unleashed its massive bombings of Vietnam--"we always knew that the business of the U. S. government is mass murder." The Old Right at the end of the second great imperialist war in 1945 recognized the special repugnance of the U. S. government. The burden of that fact was so great that many sought to evade the responsibility by adopting the historical amnesia of the New Right which paralleled the historical blackout about that war imposed by the Old Left (that this parallel is more than accidental may be suggested by the fact that many of the philosophers of the New Right had been the creators of the historical blackout when they were part of the Old Left).

The massive bombings of civilians by the U.S. air force was a natural development of American imperialism. The fire bombings of German cities such as Hamburg and Dresden, of Japanese cities such as Tokyo, and finally the atomic bombing of two Japanese cities, was the result of the unquestioned assumption which formed the foundation of U. S. policy. The development and application of strategic airpower to civilian populations is the unique contribution of the U. S. to that whimsical facade labeled Christian Civilization.

The Old Right found a uniting element in its condemnation of the U. S. technological implementation of its program which declared a whole people to be The Enemy. On October 5, 1946, in his famous Kenyon College speech "Equal Justice under Law", (in Arthur E. Kirch, *Voices in Dissent, An Anthology of Individualist Thought in the United States* Citadel Press), which attacked the launching of the Cold War by the untried war criminals of the second world war, Churchill, Truman et al., Senator Robert A. Taft analyzed this American advance to barbarism. Taft described the Cold War policy as an abandonment of international law and the substitution of naked U. S. police power. This was a continuation of the American foreign policy which had lost sight of the truth that the police are incidental to the law, and that any deviation by the police from absolute adherence to law makes the police the creators of complete disorder in society. The U. S. failure to respect the law of humanity by its war against civilians had created the postwar disorder in world society. "Our whole attitude in the world, for a year after V-E Day," Taft declared, "including the use of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, seems to me a departure from the principle of fair and equal treatment which has made America respected throughout the world before the second World War."

The continued application of total war against civilians was carried out against the Korean people by the U. S. air force, 1950-53. Although some of the facts of U. S. genocide against the Korean people were reported at the time in European papers, little was known about it in America due to the blackout by the government-inspired press (the tentative moves recently by a few elements of the media toward independence brought forth the massive bellows from the offices of the chief magistrate as well as of the president of the senate).

Thus, when the U. S. unleashed its massive fire power against the Vietnamese people, it was remnants of the Old Right who understood immediately the absolute barbarism being applied in Vietnam while the Old Left and most of the amorphous New Left spent months in utter confusion about the realities of U. S. policy due to an almost incurable patriotism. The pacifist movement had shared the Old Right's analysis and burden regarding American barbarism during and since the second world war. As a result they were equally in the forefront in understanding the geno-

cidal nature of the war against the Vietnamese people (A. J. Muste, Dave Dellinger and Staughton Lynd were most active in this regard).

Old Right elements in the current anti-imperialist movement emphasized what others had not the memory or the experience with U. S. barbarism to know. Thus, they were in a position to perform a vanguard function by initially raising the issue of genocide and presenting the earlier history of U. S. barbarism to convince those anti-imperialists who had not yet shed their love affair with the U. S. government. Finally, after the U. S. intervention in Vietnam had become understood, the anti-imperialist movement adopted the radical critique presented by the Old Right. The Old Right transmitted to the Movement as a whole the realization that the U. S. government and its agents are war criminals. The recognition of the criminal nature of the U. S. state and its servants was the major intellectual advance which permitted the Movement to grow from protest to resistance.

The Vietnamese in the northern and southern parts of their country have been subjected to the war crimes committed by the U. S. war criminals for more than five years. They have been poisoned with chemicals and anti-personnel gases, bombed by anti-personnel bombs, cluster bombs and the many other devices developed by U. S. know-how. B-52 saturation bombings, 'free fire zones' air strikes, search and destroy missions, torture, atrocities and massacres by the U. S. have become the everyday life of the Vietnamese people. Having suffered this genocide the Vietnamese may wonder if it was not irony when the incumbent chief U. S. war criminal insisted that the atrocities and barbarism must continue in order to save them from . . . massacres. As recent revelations have verified, the Vietnamese are being subjected daily to massacres by the U. S. The victims include men, women and children. The most famous crime attributed to the Germans during World War II was the 1942 massacre in the Czech town of Lidice where every male was shot, but not the women and children. The U. S., unlike the Germans, has universalized the atrocity to make a Lidice out of the whole of Vietnam.

The chief manager of genocide touched all our hearts by his sincerity when he declared recently: "We saw the prelude of what would happen in South Vietnam when the Communists entered the city of Hue last year. During their brief rule there, there was a bloody reign of terror in which 3,000 civilians were clubbed, shot to death and buried in mass graves." The case of Hue was discussed in an article in *The Christian Century* (Nov. 5, 1969) by Len Ackland who had lived in Hue and speaks Vietnamese. Writing about the seizure of Hue by the National Liberation Front, he said: "When on the first day of the attack, about 20 Vietcong entered Gia Hoi (a precinct of 25,000 residents in Hue) in order to secure the area, they carried with them a list of those who were to be killed immediately as 'enemies of the people.' According to Le Ngan, director of Hue's special police, the list consisted of five names, all those of officers of special police." The Catholic priest of the district explained that "none of his clergy or parishioners were harmed by the NLF." The Saigon rulers refused to make Hue an open city to save the lives of the citizens. Instead, the Saigon army and U. S. marines undertook the systematic destruction of Hue by bombing and artillery in order to dislodge the NLF who had gained control of the city without resistance. No Saigon officials have sought to estimate the number of people killed by the American bombings and artillery attacks on Hue. Tran Van Dinh, a former Vietnamese envoy to Washington who broke with the Thieu-Ky regime, is a resident of Hue and described how members of his own family had been reported by the Saigon government as killed by the NLF while the family knew they had been victims of the U. S. bombing and had been buried in

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MASSACRES IN VIETNAM— (Continued from page 3)

temporary graves since a regular burial was impossible during the U. S. bombardments. As George McT. Kahin, Cornell professor and America's most prestigious South-east Asian scholar, has noted, the three thousand people who died in Hué were mainly the victims of U. S. bombs, bullets, shells and napalm—an additional aspect of the overall genocide committed by the U. S. against the Viet-

namese people. So much for the fabricated "Vietcong massacres".

Having observed the complete lack of accuracy in the presidential statement, it is necessary to ask why it was possible for the NLF to take Hué in a few hours without many shots while it required 26 days for the U. S. marine corps to recapture Hué at the price of thousands killed by American bombardments. The northern half of South Vietnam (part of the province of Annam which is divided by the 17th parallel) had been the center of the struggle of Vietnam's Buddhist majority for freedom from the Diem dictatorship which they caused to be overthrown in 1963. When the Thieu-Ky government imposed similar restrictions on their freedom, the Buddhist students in cooperation with the civil authorities and army commanders in this region in this region established an autonomous government in early 1966. Accepting the good faith of U. S. pro-consul, Henry Cabot Lodge, these civil, military and religious leaders of the Vietnamese of the region were betrayed and the Saigon troops were flown into Hué and other cities in U. S. transports to seize control and arrest the local leaders. Those who escaped became members of the National Liberation Front. Thus, leading the forces which entered Hué two years later were the former Buddhist leaders of Hué. These were welcomed by their compatriots, the citizens of Hué, while the Saigon officers and troops fled. Given the purges and executions committed by the Saigon police in Hué for two years, that only five special police in the district, according to the non-NLF source, were to be punished suggests the validity of the frequent accusation against the NLF that they are too mild and insufficiently rigorous in carrying out popular justice against the major criminals of the state apparatus. But, then it has always been beyond the conception of our European minds how Asians have such reverence for human life, even of an enemy. The race against time is whether the Vietnamese will have taught this to Americans before they are exterminated.

— Leonard P. Liggio

Recommended Reading

ANTIOCH REVIEW. The Fall, 1969 issue (\$1.50) is a special issue devoted to a critique of the professional scholarly associations. Particularly recommended are Alan Wolfe on the political science association and Martin Nicolaus on the sociologists.

Frederick Forsyth, *The Biafra Story* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, paper, \$1.45). A sympathetic account of the Biafran struggle by a British journalist.

H. D. Graham and T. R. Gurr, *The History of Violence in America* (New York Times: Bantam Books, paper, \$1.25, 822 pp.) Fascinating report on the history of American violence, as delivered to the national commission on violence. Particularly recommended are the two deeply and thoroughly researched articles by Prof. Richard M. Brown: "Historical Patterns of Violence in America", and "The American Vigilante Tradition", on the numerous American movements for private, non-governmental justice.

George Kateb, "The Political Thought of Herbert Marcuse", *Commentary* (January, 1970), 15 pp. A quietly effective refutation of much of the nonsense perpetrated by the leading New Left philosopher.

Mickey and John Rowntree, "More on the Political Economy of Women's Liberation", *Monthly Review* (January, 1970), 6 pp. The first sensible article on the women's liberation hokum, pointing out that capitalism emphatically does *not* insist that women remain in the home (certainly a pre-capitalist hangover), and rational economic reasons why wage rates for women tend to be lower and unemployment rates higher than for men.

LEFT AND RIGHT— (Continued from page 2)

comradeship. It is the ability to identify with the actual victims of injustice that cements the bond uniting revolutionaries on the Left, whether they call themselves anarcho-communists, free market anarchists, or just plain radicals.

Terminology has ceased to be important. As we enter a period of overt repression it is this crucial psychological attitude toward our fellow human beings that will determine on which side of the political fence each one of us will stand.

— Jerome Tuccille

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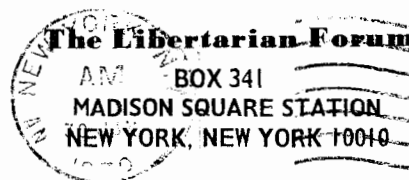
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THE STATE OF THE MOVEMENT

(Editorial Note: We are proud to reserve this issue for an article on the state of the Left by Professor Leonard P. Liggio. Of all the libertarians in this country, Leonard Liggio has had the closest long-time association with the New Left and with its most important publications. In the light of this special knowledge, Professor Liggio's analysis of the current state of the Left takes on particular importance. Leonard Liggio teaches history at the City College of the City University of New York.)

BY LEONARD P. LIGGIO

I

The Movement has been facing the disintegration of the primary centers of the New Left, especially SDS, with confusion and dismay. What is really necessary is rational, cool-headed and realistic analysis. First, the general reaction of confusion and dismay reflects both emotionalism and conservatism (the same thing ultimately)—sadness at the loss of something familiar. Second, it reflects a refusal to face reality, to understand the current state of the Movement on the basis of analysis of the past and allocation of responsibility.

The Movement is defined by the central issue of American politics—foreign affairs. American imperialism, abroad and imposed on the Black nation on this continent, establishes the American political spectrum. The Movement is the opposition to that imperialism. While the issues were not presented as clearly in the first half of the 1960's, in 1965 it became unquestioned. Vietnam has been world historically significant on a multitude of levels. The Movement's progenitors were the remnants whose commitment to anti-U.S. imperialism survived the New Deal's intervention in 1941: the Old Right, pacifists, and independent socialists. What had not been united by common ideology before, was fused by the common fate of sedition trials, FBI harassment, draft resistance convictions, etc. during the Second World War. A decade later this decimated group provided the chief opposition to U.S. intervention in Korea.

Draft resistance is the major focus of anti-imperialist activity. As a result those imprisoned for draft resistance have historically been the moral leadership of the Movement—after what they have suffered there is little more that the State can do. Dave Dellinger served his prison term for heroic opposition in the Second World War just as Larry Gara and Staughton Lynd did during the Korean War. Of that period, Michael Harrington wrote:

Thus the leading figures in the pacifist peace movement in the early '50's—among them A. J. Muste, Dorothy Day and David Dellinger—were from an earlier political generation. By and large they were isolated from the mainstream of American liberalism which supported the containment policies of the Truman Administration, backed the Korean War and

had not yet reacted to the H-Bomb. And being without any great political influence, they found themselves having to devote most of their efforts to defending their own political ideas: raising funds to aid conscientious objectors and draft resisters and fighting the government, particularly the FBI, which tended to confuse all opposition with support of the Soviet Union. ("The New Peace Movement", The New Leader, August 20, 1962.)

Opposing corporate liberalism, aiding draft resisters and fighting the government—the essentials remain constant!

When the Johnson-Humphrey administration escalated the U. S. intervention in Vietnam in early 1965, a unique grass-roots response developed on college campuses—the teach-ins. Spontaneous individual opposition to the government was offered the dual opportunity of immediate protest and of information for continuing protest. The teach-ins were organized by faculty and student groups, frequently including the local SDS chapter. The government's reaction was swift: to try to discourage them and where that was not possible to send out government speakers to repeat Dean Rusk's brilliant analysis of world affairs. On each campus the teach-ins became the starting point for long-term organizing against the war among the students and among their neighbors. But, their non-continuation relieved the government of the daily indications of grass-roots opposition represented in every college teach-in.

SDS played a central role in these events, since its radical opposition attracted thousands of students who were awakened politically by the war. SDS itself became temporarily paralyzed after the summer of 1965. Its opposition to the government had lost its last friends among defenders of the American welfare state, starting with Irving Howe. It was in that milieu that some of the old guard SDS leadership had received its inspiration; and yet the popularly elected president, Carl Oglesby, and vice president, Jeff Shero, represented the large number of new members drawn from all over the country (bad-mouthed as "Texas anarchists" by the Old Guard). This newer group was described at the time by Staughton Lynd:

In SDS as in SNCC workers seek to apply the participatory philosophy to their own organizations, ask that central offices be abolished, leaders rotated, and executive committees be curbed by general staff meetings . . . For the moment participatory democracy cherishes the practice of parallelism as a way of saying No to organized American, and of initiating the unorganized into the experience of self-government. The SNCC or SDS worker does not build a parallel institution to impose an ideology on it. He views himself as a catalyst, helping to create an environment which will help the local people to decide what they want . . . In the meantime the very existence of the parallel institutions is felt to be a healthier and

more genuine experience than any available alternative. It seems better to sit in the back of the room in silent protest against the bureaucrats up front than to seek to elect a man to join the executive committee. ("The New Radicals and 'Participatory Democracy'", *Dissent*, Summer 1965.)

With native American genius the SDS mass membership opted for direct opposition to U. S. imperialism—by confrontation with the draft. Coming from within the American people, they did not fear the Justice Department, Federal Courts or the rest of the U. S. apparatus of repression. The SDS Old Guard, however, faced by the FBI, sought the familiar cover of the government's apron strings, and using its vast liberal contacts in the Johnson-Humphrey administration, it managed to blunt SDS opposition during the fall of 1965. In this situation, others began to fish in troubled waters.

II

A coalition of groups was formed in Berkeley in the fall of 1965 to hold a mass demonstration against the war. Instead of the long-term organizing and hard ideological work that characterized the New Left, the Berkeley march was based upon the idea that U. S. aggression in Vietnam could be stopped quickly by the impression made upon the government by a mass demonstration. While one-shot mass action appealed to the traditions of the Old Left, the underlying conception was something different—the politics of theatre. Emphasis was placed upon publicity, any kind of publicity, for its own sake. The march was supposed to shake the foundations of imperial America by the "energy" that theatrical politics represented. This introduction of the theatre of politics alongside serious political work has had profound consequences, for it occurred simultaneously with the widespread introduction of the drug culture and was viewed as the politicized aspect of that culture.

That this occurred at Berkeley was not accidental. The Berkeley Free Speech Movement in the fall of 1964 against the educational factory system was one of the most revealing events of the 1960's. Its target, Clark Kerr, was the monarch of the academic establishment. One of his foremost contributions to contemporary civilization was the recommendation that to prevent rebellion against the "new slavery" (Clark Kerr's own term) that current American bureaucracy represents, the general use of drugs among the population should be introduced during leisure hours. Is it accidental that as the opposition and resistance to the Vietnam aggression became widespread among educated American youth, vast infusions of drugs occurred throughout the United States? Principals of high schools in major metropolitan areas permit the known selling of "foreign mud", as the Chinese call drugs, since it maintains their primary objective—order, which would otherwise be disturbed by the students' rage against the compulsory education system. As Henry Anderson has noted:

What is needed is not more people blasted out of their minds. There are more than enough people out of their minds already, including almost all the world's statesmen. What is needed is more people in their minds—their right minds. It is not really humanizing to hallucinate that everything is lovable, loving and lovely. For everything is not. What is needed is more people who can see what is really there . . . Nothing pleases the keepers of our political-economic zoo more than contented, amiable, unambitious inmates. Nothing displeases them more than critics who voice their discontents and do something affirmative about them. Aldous Huxley perceived this clearly in *Brave New World*, and it is one of the ironies in this vale of ironies that Huxley himself became enthralled by what he had earlier perceived as one of the techniques of Anti-Man.

That irony is all the more significant for libertarians since

Huxley's example contributed mightily to gutting libertarianism of its promising organizational and literary potential (in southern California typically); mescaline cultism in the late 1950's made libertarianism the weak reed it is today.

The Berkeley Free Speech Movement raised very significant issues about American society and its domination by corporate liberals. The role of libertarians in its leadership was heartening. However, it may be meaningful that once the Vietnam intervention had escalated and raised the level of consciousness, local libertarians tended to abandon their leadership roles and refused to participate in the development of the anti-war protest that led to the massive Vietnam Day rally at Berkeley in late May. Local libertarians were indeed denouncing the anti-war activists and leading the "filthy speech movement" instead. Why? Libertarians must examine their attitudes to explain their continuous failure to participate in meaningful opposition to the government, and their attraction to irrelevant actions. Libertarians must be credited with positive stands opposing the draft and contributing to the New Left's attack on conscription. But once that was achieved there was a tendency to reject long-term commitment to the practice of that policy and the inspiration of other policies consistent with it. Except for the rare individual libertarians, young and mature, who wrote, spoke or acted publicly against the war, the libertarians' silence on such real issues have been deafening. And then they wonder why they are not taken seriously.

III

During 1966 the Movement regained its momentum and its media-centered politics was balanced by serious organizing programs. This new impetus in SDS was the result of the emergence of "Prairie Power"; a real takeoff in the Movement had occurred. (Those interested in Movement thinking during this transition period should read the essays of SDS and SNCC organizers, and comments including Ronald Hamowy's "Left and Right Meet" in Andrew Kopkind (ed), *Thoughts of Young Radicals*.) SDS engaged in quiet, efficient and successful organizing. It boycotted all mass demonstrations.

Among the reasons they were successful was the loose organizational and ideological nature of SDS. With almost no real national bureaucracy, each organizer and each autonomous chapter established its own forms, its own place, its own image. Since there was little official SDS ideology, and what there was was populist and libertarian, it was attractive to the large numbers of American students who were growing conscious of their opposition to the educational factory system, the bureaucracy, the draft and the war. They could develop politically in a Movement which could desire victory of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam while wishing their own victory in America on a different set of priorities and philosophy. SDS's decentralization permitted the articulation of people's natural instincts for freedom.

If numbers of libertarians had participated in this development there was every reason to expect that libertarian inclinations could have been clarified into a consistent libertarian philosophy. At the time Movement people hoped very much that libertarians would participate actively. But libertarians generally attacked the New Left and criticized the few libertarians who understood the importance of the Movement to the future growth of libertarianism and the importance of libertarianism to the future growth of the Movement. No libertarian can honestly criticize the Movement who has participated in it. To those who bemoan the current situation of the New Left, one must legitimately ask: where were the libertarians when their participation would have made a difference?

Thus, in the absence of any number of consistent libertarians in the Movement, the natural instincts in SDS

became confused. This confusion was aided by the entry into SDS of members of traditional socialist groups. Although traditional socialist groups hated SDS for its anarchism, *their* response was not criticism but participation. Just as libertarians assumed important roles in the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and anti-draft resistance because they had a consistent ideological analysis of affairs, so with the refusal of libertarians to participate, others with a consistent ideological analysis, in this case socialists, naturally assumed leading roles. In the reaction of SDS activists to this process, many became psychologically exhausted and retired, while others sought to fight the socialists organizationally without opposing their philosophy. In the end these activists rationalized their complete alienation from the rank and file of SDS and, in the last year, abandoned the rank-and-file SDS (after pestering them with their socialistic harangues), and sought a new rank-and-file among the street corner youth and the drug culture.

The roots of that turn in direction had two sources. One was the recognition after these elements in SDS had adopted socialism that the American blue- and white-collar worker as well as the SDS-oriented college student all rejected socialism as the means of liberation from total slavery in America. Second was the widespread growth of the hippie culture with its adoption of conservative, i. e., communitarian, ideas. The hippies with their biblical coats of many colors, modes of life, etc. became a ready attraction for the picture-oriented newsmedia. Their publicity attraction to the media was a magnet to those who, in contrast to the serious SDS organizers for whom anonymity was a primary premise, felt that publicity and politics were the same things. Some of the publicity-minded organizers of the Berkeley mass march, such as Jerry Rubin, had made the claim that the hippies were the revolutionaries. Along with Abbie Hoffman, a protest at the Pentagon in the fall of 1967 was turned into a hippie "happening" to levitate the Pentagon. (While politicized hippies were charging the ranks of the airborne division—once they had broken through they did not know why they had done it and withdrew—a last-minute SDS decision to send experienced organizers resulted in their convincing several dozen troops to defect and led to the new development of GI organizing.) From that "happening" the sky was the limit for media-oriented politics and the Yippie party was established to run a pig in the 1968 presidential election. Membership in the Yippie party never exceeded three but the media treated it as though it had fifty million. Why?

Perhaps some explanation is to be found in the following comment by Irving Howe, prince of the right-wing socialist gang who form the intellectual vanguard defending the existing academic system and who represent everything that libertarians are against. After abstracting the political New Left from his comments, he discussed the cultural New Left:

The "new leftist" appears, at times, as a figure embodying a style of speech, dress, work and culture. Often, especially if white, the son of the middle class . . . he asserts his rebellion against the deceit and hollowness of American society. Very good; there is plenty to rebel against . . . He tends to think of style as the very substance of his revolt, and while he may, on one side of himself, engage in valuable activities in behalf of civil rights, student freedom, etc., he nevertheless tacitly accepts the "givenness" of American society, has little hope or expectation of changing it, and thereby, in effect, settles for a mode of personal differentiation.

Primarily that means the wish to shock, the wish to assault the sensibilities of a world he cannot overcome. If he cannot change it, then at least he can outrage it . . . But "the new leftist" is frequently trapped in a symbiotic relationship with the very middle class he rejects, dependent upon it for his self-definition: quite as the professional anti-Com-

munist of a few years ago was caught up with the Communist party which, had it not existed, he would have had to invent—as indeed at times he did invent. So that for all its humor and charm, the style of the "new leftist" tends to become a rigid anti-style, dependent for its survival on the enemy it is supposed to panic. To *épater le bourgeois*—in this case, perhaps, to *épater le père*—is to acquiesce in a basic assumption of at least the more sophisticated segments of the middle class: that values can be inferred from, or are resident in, the externals of dress, appearance, furnishings and hair-dos . . .

Victimized by a lack of the historical sense, the "new leftist" does not realize that the desire to shock and create sensations has itself a long and largely disastrous history. The notion, as Meyer Schapiro has remarked, that opium is the revolution of the people has been luring powerless intellectuals and semi-intellectuals for a long time. But the damnable thing is that for an almost equally long time the more sophisticated and urban sectors of the middle class have refused to be shocked. They know the repertoire of sensationalism quite as well as the "new leftist"; and if he is to succeed in shocking them or even himself, he must keep raising the ante. ("New Styles in 'Leftism'", *Dissent*, Summer 1965.)

The shared commitment of adult and youth to physical externals explains the media's insatiable hunger for new sensations and avoidance of serious political values. Among the media's creations has been the Black Panthers.

IV

Huey Newton had a brilliant approach to resistance to oppression: by tailing the Oakland police in the ghetto and insisting on police observance of ordinary civil liberties; Newton's insistence on the vindication of every person's right to carry arms was another positive contribution. However, the media found this a new sensation, and instead of encouraging Black people in other cities to develop similar neighborhood self-defense programs the Panthers launched a national party that imposed local units in other cities. The media trap has been literally fatal to the Panthers. The ever-thoughtful Julius Lester has offered an excellent analysis:

I see around me almost an entire generation of black youth being martyred needlessly and because I have been a part of the movement, because I have contributed my thinking to this revolution of ours, I must bear some of the responsibility for the needless deaths. It takes more than guts to make a revolution. It takes more than courage to risk one's life for an ideal. It takes more than a willingness to die. It takes sense enough to know when to say "Advance" and when to say "Retreat". It takes sense enough to know what your organization can do and what it can't do. Because one has a gun and some bullets doesn't mean to go out and shoot a cop. Cops, guns and bullets are not in short supply. They'll be there whenever one is ready. Prior to that, however, one needs to build himself a base, so that when he proceeds to shoot that copy, he has minimized as much as possible the dangers of losing his own life . . .

The deaths of Hampton and Clark were needless because they were totally without protection against what eventually happened. If they had a base in the black community, the police would not have dared come in and shoot them in cold blood. The Black Panther Party has support within the black community, but it has no real base. Its base is among the white radicals. Black America has related to the Panthers as involved spectators at a football game. They have not been involved as active participants. And because they have not, it is a simple matter

for the police to come into the community and take off whomever it wants to . . . Just as it hurts the parent of a soldier killed in Vietnam that his child died for no reason, it hurts to say the same about Hampton and Clark. But it must be said in the hope that some lives will be saved . . . The young are the revolution's most valuable resource. The Panthers have used that resource irresponsibly, endangering lives when it was not necessary, and most of all, by adhering to a politics of romanticism, not revolution, a politics which enshrines the dead and does little for the living . . . And tactically, the Panthers should be supported . . . Though I find the politics of the Panthers to be, in great part, but not wholly, destructive, it is impossible to forget that the Black Panther Party is composed of individuals . . . I must oppose the organization and support the individuals in it whom 'the man' is trying to take off. (*Liberation*, February 1970.)

White radicals have been committed to media showmanship and not to serious politics. When SNCC in 1966 emphasized the concept of Black Power among Black people, the white former organizers of SNCC were asked to organize their fellow white people. For white America's liberation was the best thing possible for Black America's liberation. But this path was not pursued, since it was realized that organizing white Americans was not possible when grounded on the socialist concepts being espoused in SDS. Instead, SDS's leadership attacked those in the Movement who did begin such work. Thus, in April, 1969, at the Austin national council meeting, SDS condemned SSOC (Southern Student Organizing Committee centered in Nashville), which along with SNCC was SDS's fraternal associate. SSOC had been founded by the southern whites who had worked in SNCC. With the Confederate flag as its symbol it sought to develop political consciousness of their oppression among southern whites on the basis of their equally separate culture. The assault on SSOC was the clearest signal to the Movement of the New Left's organizational disintegration. Carl Oglesby has commented:

At the last SDS Thing I was at, the Austin NC, the handwriting was already on the wall . . . For a long time I was baffled. Last fall the word began to reach me: It was being said that I had "bad politics". How could that be, I wondered, since I thought I had no politics at all. But by winter I conceded the point: no politics is the same as bad politics. So there followed a time in which I experimented with only the "mass line". It didn't come to much. My mind and my instincts only became adversaries. By spring I had to deactivate, couldn't function, had to float. What I know now is that this did not happen to me alone. On every quarter of the white Left, high and low, the attempt to reduce the New Left's inchoate vision to the Old Left's perfected remembrance has produced a layer of bewilderment and demoralization which no cop with his club or senator with his committee could ever have induced . . . SDS will have to take its share of the blame for this. Much more interested in shining with the borrowed light of Panther charisma than in asking all the hard practical questions, much more interested in laying out the metaphysical maxims that identify the "vanguard" than in assuming real political responsibility, this SDS, which so often chews its own tongue for being "petty bourgeois", must shamefully confess its origins precisely when it tries to vainly transcend them in worship of "solidarity" which really amounts to so much hero-worship . . . it is not lost causes, however heroic, or martyrs, however fine, that our movement needs. It needs shrewd politicians and concrete social programs. Not theoretical (really theological) proofs that The People Will Win in the End, but tangible social achievements now. Not the defiance of a small, isolated band of supercharged

cadre who, knowing they stand shoulder to shoulder with mankind itself, will face repression with the inner peace of early Christians, but a mounting fugue of attacks on political crime of all sorts, on all fronts, at all levels of aspiration, from all sectors and classes of the population, so that repression can never rest, never find a fixed or predictable target. (*Liberation*, August-September 1969; this special issue has not been as widely read as it deserves.)

V

The restoration of good politics is required for the Movement's future. The disappearance of organizational efforts which practiced bad politics is a very favorable development and is a reflection of the basic health of the Movement. Furthermore, the conditions from which the Movement sprang have intensified. The factory educational system has not been restructured; the military system has not been abolished. Yet those who are subject to those systems, who are in schools and have to arrange their future choices facing taxes on their bodies and on their incomes to maintain militarism, are increasing daily. The overwhelming significance of this was presented in a special issue of *Fortune*, "American Youth: Its Outlook is Changing the World" (January 1969), which is must reading for anyone interested in the Movement; particularly important are the articles "A Special Kind of Rebellion" by Daniel Seligman, and "Student Activists: Free-Form Revolutionaries" by Charles Burck. The latter concludes: "Philosophically, what seems likely to be most durable is the Movement's strong individualism and its quest for personal freedom."

Seligman emphasizes that youth would be important today if only by their sheer numbers; additionally, "there is undeniably something special in the educational level of today's youth. Educated youth have to be taken seriously in any society; even when they condemn it bitterly, they are presumed to be its future leaders. Almost eight million members of the young generation today are or have been in college (versus about two million for that 1938 group). No other society in history has ever had to deal with mass educated youth." But *Fortune* is concerned not merely with college youth but with what it calls the "forerunners" among college students. "Forerunners", now almost 45% of college students, are those whose attitudes differ from others in college, but whose attitudes will become increasingly prevalent in society. Thus, *Fortune* emphasizes that it is not a question of a generation gap, which has the agreeable implication that this younger generation will accommodate eventually to the State. It is the attitudes of the 'forerunners' that will become dominant in America; "this particular young generation is by all odds the most interesting to come along in all of U.S. history," *Fortune* editorialized, "it will shortly preside over the revolutionary changes that await us."

The Libertarian Forum

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First Class

Native Americans And Property Rights

By Leonard P. Liggio

PART I

Libertarians owe a debt of gratitude to *The Individualist* for publishing "The Property Rights of American Indians," by Rosalie Nichols (February, 1970). I do not agree with some of the points made by Miss Nichols, but I think that the topic is one of fundamental importance to libertarians. The matter of precise understanding of property rights in actual practice is basic to libertarianism; yet it is an area of the most profound ignorance and plain sloppiness among many libertarian-oriented people. If such people are not reliable on the matter of property rights, one wonders whether they have been drawn to libertarianism not by its rigorous theory and practice but by heaven knows what accidental cultural attractions. Central to the libertarian is which claims and titles are and which are not property; flowing from this theoretical discovery must be action to defend property in the hands of its rightful owners and to place it in the hands of these rightful owners wherever non-owners have occupied or used it. Justice is the ultimate objective of libertarians.

Obviously, any libertarian who concerns himself or herself with such matters is engaged in the preeminent libertarian activity. Rosalie Nichols clearly is such a person. Any differences which I may have with her are secondary to the fact that she has embarked upon preeminent libertarian activity. It is an honor to engage in a dialogue with her.

The history of the European immigrants' relations with the native Americans is one of unrelieved violence. In that shameful history the English immigrants were conspicuous by their violence. Other European peoples have been less violent, and the French were reknowned for the almost good relations which they maintained with all Indians, gaining friends even among former enemies, as Rosalie Nichols notes. For almost four hundred years the English immigrants have maintained a permanent system of violence against the native Americans.

The original sovereignty claimed by Europeans over the American Indians and over the land of North America was based upon the European claim of religious superiority. Since Christianity was viewed by the Europeans as giving Christian governments and Christian individuals a superior claim compared with others, including the inhabitants, the European claim to dominance is based on their Christian religion. This was the basis by which the native Americans were denoted as 'savages' while the barbaric Europeans were denoted as 'civilized.' As Rosalie Nichols indicates, it was the designation as 'savage' or pagan upon which the rights of the American Indians to life, liberty or property were violated. One recalls the famous description of the landing of the English in North America: "First, they fell on their knees to pray; then, they fell on the Indians."

Fall on the Indians they did. In New England the Indians first encountered by the English immigrants had the misfortune to occupy and cultivate the better farm lands as well as to prefer to sell their furs to the highest bidder. Clearly savages par excellence; extermination was their fate. The other New England Indian tribes inhabiting the valuable river valleys flowing into Long Island Sound--Pequots, Narragansetts, Mohegans, etc.--were later massacred or sold into slavery in the West Indies by methods too gruesome to describe . . . but sanctioned, when not led, by ministers of religion and civilized officials. In Virginia several campaigns were fought against the Indians who had originally welcomed the settlers in the James River region; the institutionalization of Black slavery (the Indians were too

'savage' to accept enslavement which was the original hope of the labor-short, land-rich European officials) led directly to the desire for huge plantation tracts and the wars to oust the Indians from the other river valleys.

Whatever the roots of European violence, even the argument that the profound differences between Europeans and native Americans could mitigate some of the violence--irrational as that argument is--is unsupportable; the model of the methods, attitudes and practice of violence carried on by the English upon the native Americans was established in the violence of the English 'plantations' imposed on the Christian, European, and neighboring Irish (of which the current civil war in Ulster is one product). Late nineteenth century English and American social theorists (mainly socialists), creating the intellectual foundation for the New Imperialism of this last century, singled out their English forebears' violence against the Irish, native Americans, *et al.* as proof of their racial superiority--aggressors and conquerors are defined as superior to the exploited and oppressed in superman theories--and as the justification for the wars of extermination and conquest launched by England and America, and which have culminated in the American aggression in Vietnam.

However rationalized, the Europeans' claim to sovereignty over North America is logically unsupportable. However, Rosalie Nichols claims that the North American continent could be legitimately claimed by the native Americans. She says: "The American continents were not ownerless." Yes, if it is meant that certain lands were owned. Certain lands were owned and the major part was unowned. I doubt if she means that the native Americans claimed sovereignty over North America (although, of course, if such a thing as sovereignty could be legitimate the native Americans would have possessed it and not the Europeans). But, the property rights of the Indians to the land they owned must be recognized; as well as the fact that that right was totally violated by the English immigrants.

When the English immigrants landed in the Chesapeake Bay and the Massachusetts Bay they were welcomed by the Indians. The English settlers brought manufactured products not yet developed by the Indians and the Indians taught the English immigrants agricultural methods not yet developed by the English. The Indians did not view the establishment of private property in land by the immigrants as anything wrong, immoral or in violation of their rights. The Indians along the Atlantic coast recognized that there was more than enough land there to satisfy many hundreds of times the tens of thousands of immigrants who poured out of England to find a freer and better life in America. The difficulty was that the English immigrants were not satisfied to live alongside the Indians in mutual recognition of rights. The English insisted upon the power of government over the lives and the lands of the Indians. According to the English, there could be no free exchange between individuals and groups living their own lives on the wide land. The English had to have the monopoly over people and land. The people and the land had to be obedient to English immigrant officials.

The problem then was not the matter of settlement and private property, but the matter of government. Where government exists, private property rights are negated. When the English immigrants came, they were divided into two groups, or classes, the farmers who settled and worked their private property and the rulers who had

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assumed government positions. The English immigrant farmers and the Indians tended to live in peace and mutual respect. It was the claim of government over the Indians by the English immigrant officials which was the cause of aggression and genocide against the Indians. The government officials in all the colonies used their offices as the means of their personal enrichment; since there was little in the form of liquid capital to be seized, they seized lands in the hopes that future immigrants would have to purchase lands from them if there were none available for free settlement. The governors did not attempt to develop the land to turn it into private property; rather they assigned each other large tracts of lands which they left unimproved and undeveloped--there was no mixing of labor with the lands. It was pure feudalism or land monopoly, the negation of private property. Most of the lands in the colonies not occupied by settlers were distributed among the government officials as land grants (there were also large land grants given to the courtiers by the English kings).

Of course, these tracts included the areas on which the Indians were settled and had carried out their industries of farming, fishing and hunting. So the Indians suffered the double violence of being placed under the government of English immigrant officials and of English land grantees--often the same people. If the Indians did not accept English immigrant government, war would be made upon them; if they did not accept English feudal landholders, war would be made upon them--by governments. In addition, if the Indians continued to live and to work these lands it would be difficult to get new immigrants, who now had to go to one of the land monopolists to get land, to pay much or any money for land which the Indians already lived upon and worked. The ordinary settler had enough common sense and respect for rights not to want to claim land which the Indians already lived upon and worked.

If the immigrants merely went in and worked unused land the Indians would have no objections, or if they came to an understanding with the Indians who might be using the land--the Indians valued very low economically their marginal uses of the land for hunting and fishing--the Indians would have no objections. But, this disturbed the feudal landlords who wished to assign lands and collect 'prices' or taxes. The existence of Indian settlement and farming undermined the feudal land monopolies, so the land had to be cleared by the extermination of the native Americans.

During the colonial period, the Middle Colonies witnessed less violence against the Indians. In part, this was due to the fact that most of the settlers there were not English. Like the French in the St. Lawrence and Ohio-Mississippi valleys, the Dutch, Swedes and Germans were more interested in the profits of commerce and good farming in peaceful accord with the Indians than in the destruction of lives and money in the plundering of the Indians. This situation was institutionalized with the founding of Pennsylvania by the Quakers; as in so many other matters, the Quakers are worthy of close analysis by libertarians.

The relations of the Quakers with the Indians were a model of justice which was constantly commended by the Indians themselves. The last of a series of mutually agreeable treaties between the Indians and the Quakers, the Treaty of Easton of 1758, placed the final limitation on European settlement. Pennsylvania released all claim to the soil west of the Alleghenies and of a large section east of the Alleghenies and north of the present Sunbury, as long as the Indians did not sell the territory to any other government.

This treaty of the Quakers was used by English government officials at a conference with northern Indian chiefs

at Canajoharie on the Mohawk River west of Albany as an example of English intentions (April, 1759): "I hope this surrender will convince you and all other Indians how ready your brethren the English are to remove from your hearts all jealousies and uneasiness of their desiring to encroach upon your hunting lands, and be a convincing proof to you how false the accusations of the French are that we are at war with them, in order to get your country from you." Of course, the French accusation was accurate; the English had gone to war against the French to gain the trans-Appalachian Indians' land which was protected by the French.

The officials in England in league with the American officials and the heirs of officials, who inherited the huge feudal domains that were the fruits of office-holding in America, hoped for even larger rewards by gaining land monopolies across the Appalachian Mts. Having monopolized the lands along the Atlantic coast, the planters by control of the government apparatus excluded the newer immigrants from homesteading the wide lands along the Atlantic coast. Since the Atlantic coast region is able to support many times its present population there was no economic need for Europeans to settle beyond the mountains. The only attractive resources--minerals--were either in the Appalachian Mts. or bordered major waterways such as the Great Lakes, and could have been extracted by miners whose settlements would be approved by the Indians without any difficulties.

But, as a result of the feudal land system along the Atlantic coast, the new immigrants could not pay the high 'prices' demanded by the government officials and their heirs; they hoped to be able to homestead across the mountains. Crossing out of the control of the seaboard officials, into the lands of the western Indian tribes, these settlers could and did homestead farms and gained the recognition of the local Indians. An ideal situation would have been the acceptance by the European settlers of the essentially stateless society of the Indians. The Europeans could have developed among themselves and with the Indians a social system based on free exchange which was the basis of much of the economic life of the Indians. The Quakers' excellent relations with the Indians were based on the fact that they were the only Europeans dedicated to social relations based upon equal and free exchange--which explains why Quakers have always been out of step with other Europeans.

An imperfect but acceptable system was proposed by some of the wise organizers who carried forward the American Revolutionary struggle against English officialdom and their associated American feudal landholders. The revolutionary impetus for the abolition of feudal holdings and their replacement with the institution of private property would have meant that there would be plenty of land for homesteading along the Atlantic seaboard. But, retaining elements of Christian messianism, the United States government claimed the trans-Appalachian territories inhabited by the Indian tribes. However, the trans-Appalachian areas were projected as states in the American Confederation: states composed of and controlled by the Indians themselves.

During the period of the American Revolution the control of the trans-Appalachian territory by the Indians was recognized in treaties with the American Congress such as that between the Delawareans and the Continental Congress (September, 1778). In return for a trade dependency in which the Americans had the monopoly right of supplying goods for purchase by the Indians, the United States proposed that the Indians could form state governments in the trans-Appalachian area which would be equal to the states of the European settlers on the Atlantic coast. "... the United States do engage to guarantee to the aforesaid nation of Delawareans, and their heirs, all their territorial

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rights in the fullest and most ample manner as it hath been bound by former treaties, as long as the said Delaware nation shall abide by and hold fast the chain of friendship now entered into. And it is further agreed on between the contracting parties should it for the future be found conducive for the mutual interest of both parties to invite any other tribes who have been friends in the interest of the United States, to join the present confederation, and to form a state whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representation in Congress." A similar project was promised to the Southwest Indians in the Hopewell Treaty of November, 1785 with the Cherokee Nation: "That the Indians may have full confidence in the justice of the United States, respecting their interest, they shall have the right to send a deputy of their choice, whenever, they think fit, to Congress."

The Northwest Ordinance passed by the Continental Congress in 1787 declared: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress." In conforming with that a treaty was drawn up with the Indian tribes north of the Ohio River and west of the Allegheny mountains. Signed in January, 1789, the United States did "confirm the said boundary line; to the end that the same may remain as a division line between the lands of the United States of America, and the lands of said nations forever," and did "relinquish and quit claim to the said nations respectively, all the lands lying between the limits above described, for them the said Indians to live and hunt upon, and otherwise to occupy as they shall see fit."

This reasonable arrangement was quickly overthrown by the new government which took control in April, 1789 as a result of the overthrow of the Continental Congress and the Articles of Confederation by the *coup d'etat* in Philadelphia in 1787. The control and exploitation of the lands west of the mountains was a major cause for the calling of the secret conclave in Philadelphia and for the Constitution it produced. Just as the impetus for the abolition of feudal holdings and the institution of private property following the revolution was blunted, so the impetus for the abolition of slavery had been blunted. Part of the drive for the new, more powerful central government was in defense of slavery. The limitation against slavery in the whole west as originally intended was restricted to the Northwest territory, opening the Southwest territory to slavery. The plantation areas of the coast had become depleted and the slave-holders required new territories extending through Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi for plantation cultivation. Land clearing by the extermination of the Indians was necessary to make room for the slave quarters.

The early aggressions by the new United States government were defeated by the Northwest Indians in November 1791; but the United States army reversed this defeat and "the big push westward over the prostrate bodies of slaughtered Indians was begun." A thorough and detailed description of the process of genocide carried out by the United States government against the American Indians would be required for a final view of the subject. A study of the "Five Civilized Nations" of the Old Southwest would be a good beginning. The Cherokee, Chocktaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole had some of the most developed and productive villages among the American Indians. Their skill in agricultural industry made them especially subject to elimination. By 1838 the "Five Civilized Nations" had been driven over the "Trail of Tears" from their rich lands to the barren territory across the Mississippi River.

Bits And Pieces

By Jerome Tuccille

A few months back I mentioned in this column that a short booklet, *HOW TO REFUSE INCOME TAXES - LEGALLY*, written by Lucille E. Moran, might be a good investment for libertarians interested in beating the revenue authorities. My good friend and "legal advisor," Lucille Moran, has now come up with another booklet called *WHAT LICENSE?*, available for one fiat dollar through the Independent Bar Association of Massachusetts, P.O. Box 187, Islamorada, Florida 33036. I have read the piece in manuscript form and can testify that it is a truly radical attack on the judicial system in the best libertarian tradition and well worth the price. Miss Moran is a muckraker and radical of the Old Right variety (an anarchist although she doesn't like the word), an individualist activist well versed in natural law and early-American history centering around the revolution. She analyzes the stranglehold that privileged groups have on our judicial system and advocates the creation of independent bar associations such as her own (of which I am a board member). Lucille is now opening shop as a legal advisor at an initial fee of \$100 for those who need counsel in avoiding the income tax.

What are her credentials? The fact that she has not filed and gotten away with it for over eight years. What establishment lawyer can make that claim?

The libertarian movement has grown at a refreshing pace during the past year. It has received favorable coverage in such diverse publications as *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, *Cavalier*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *Nation's Business*, and was deemed worthy of a lampooning in the September, 1970 issue of *Esquire*. Any idea that catches on and becomes fashionable runs the risk of being exploited by unsavory characters with a firm grasp on the "pulsebeat" of the nation. So it was predictable that such a one as Jeffrey St. John, a fanatical Buckley conservative four years ago, a slavishly devout Objectivist two years ago, and a fanatically slavish Buckleyite Objectivist today, would publish an article in the *New York Times* identifying himself as a libertarian. They are stumbling out of the woodwork, tripping over one another's ambitions in a mad race to latch onto an accelerating bandwagon. Others of that stripe are sure to follow.

Realistically speaking, libertarianism is still a minor fringe movement virtually unknown among the general population which can barely pronounce it let alone understand what it's all about. For this reason libertarians must seek out alliances with larger groups in order to achieve even limited political goals. There simply are not enough libertarians around to constitute a single movement independent of all others. Murray Rothbard touched on this in his October 1st editorial, "When Revolution?" The question that poses the biggest problem for us today is: alliances with whom?

The Right Wing is, of course, hopeless all the way down the list of issues important on today's political scene: foreign policy; economics; civil liberties; a broad range of domestic policies including the draft, abortion laws and censorship (if only libertarians had known three years ago what the traditionalist half of the conservative alliance would be like once it ascended to power)! Our old friend, "Chairman Bill," has now established himself as a self-

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Disestablish Public Education

by Leonard P. Liggio

One had to be struck by the vehemence with which Ivan Illich's *Deschooling Society* (New York, Harper & Row, 1971) has been attacked. The review in the *New York Times Book Review* (July 11, 1971) by one of the educational establishment is an example. Why this violent reaction, one wondered, reading through the review? And then, the answer came. Illich's advocacy of the free market in education is the bone in the throat that is choking the public educators. The reviewer says: "If the consumer approach has misled and cheated people in supermarkets (and particularly poor and uneducated people), why would any of the free market mechanisms so popular in radical circles work better in education?"

One cannot allow to pass un-noted the reviewer's remark that "free market mechanisms" are "so popular in radical circles." The historic conjunction of free market and radical when free market concepts were in their prime and really challenged the monopoly system, has been restored. After being long lost in the baggage of stand-pattism, the free market has been liberated as the result of the hard work of recent libertarian economists, philosophers, and historians, and has moved to the forefront as the only solution to the chaos of the monopoly system.

Illich begins by saying that "I had never questioned the value of extending obligatory schooling to all people. Together we have come to realize that for most men the right to learn is curtailed by the obligation to attend school." He feels that the public school system is the paradigm of all the "bureaucratic agencies of the corporate state," and that his basic approach to de-monopolizing education (ending its compulsory nature in all its aspects) is the answer for the rest of the corporate state's bureaucracy. Illich's solution is to de-finance these institutions - remove their tax support. Illich notes: "Justice William O. Douglas observed that 'the only way to establish an institution is to finance it.' The corollary is also true." Illich wants to eliminate the tax support for the schools as well as health, welfare and one supposes American business in general. Illich contrasts right-wing (monopoly) institutions with left-wing (free market) institutions, showing the advantages of the un-tax supported, competitive approach to serving consumer wants:

"Right-wing institutions, as we can see clearly in the case of schools, both invite compulsively repetitive use and frustrate alternative ways of achieving similar results.

Toward, but not at, the left on the institutional spectrum, we can locate enterprises which compete with others in their own field, but have not begun notably to engage in advertising. Here we find hand laundries, small bakeries, hairdressers, and - to speak of professionals - some lawyers and music teachers. Characteristically left of center, then, are self-employed persons who have institutionalized their services but not their publicity. They acquire clients through their personal touch and the comparative quality of their services."

Illich places public education near the extreme right of the spectrum: "they belong near the extreme of the institutional spectrum occupied by total asylums." Illich presents an interesting contrast between science in a free market and science in the monopoly system:

"An even more valuable body of scientific objects and data may be withheld from general access - and even from qualified scientists - under the guise of national security. Until recently science was the one forum which functioned like an anarchist's dream. Each man capable of doing research had more or less the same opportunity

of access to its tools and to a hearing by the community of peers. Now bureaucratization and organization have placed much of science beyond public reach. Indeed, what used to be an international network of scientific information has been splintered into an arena of competing teams."

Just as the role of the state has transformed science and deformed it, the role of the state has been to deform education and learning. Compulsion and public tax support are the common destructive elements. The right-wing or tax-supported approach - the current matter of government aid to Lockheed which developed from government contracts is instructive - with its twin of compulsion must be confronted.

"School has become the world religion of a modernized proletariat, and makes futile promises of salvation to the poor of the technological age. The nation-state has adopted it, drafting all citizens into a graded curriculum leading to sequential diplomas not unlike the initiation rituals and hieratic promotions of former times. The modern state has assumed the duty of enforcing the judgment of its educators through well-meant truant officers and job requirements, much as did the Spanish kings who enforced the judgments of their theologians through the conquistadors and the Inquisition. Two centuries ago the United States led the world in a movement to disestablish the monopoly of a single church. Now we need the constitutional disestablishment of the monopoly of the school, and thereby of a system which legally combines prejudice with discrimination. The first article of a bill of rights for a modern, humanist society would correspond to the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution: "The State shall make no law with respect to the establishment of education."

Until that happy day when education is disestablished Illich is searching for methods of moving strongly away from the public education system. He has been influenced by the conversations and papers of members of the Chicago school of economists who advocate a program of tuition grants.

"Taxpayers are not yet accustomed to permitting three billion dollars to vanish from HEW as if it were the Pentagon. The present administration may believe that it can afford the wrath of educators. Middle-class Americans have nothing to lose if the program is cut. Poor parents think they do, but, even more, they are demanding control of the funds meant for their children. A logical way of cutting the budget and, one hopes, of increasing benefits is a system of tuition grants such as that proposed by Milton Friedman and others. Funds would be channeled to the beneficiary, enabling him to buy his share of the schooling of his choice."

The approach of the Chicago school of economists, in this as in so much else, requires two comments: first, they more than any other group address themselves to real issues and not imaginary constructs; and second, as they are not libertarians, their solutions fall far short of the answers which the free market offers. A tax credit approach, for instance, would be preferable. But, however much they may be holders of the truth, libertarians do not bring that truth to those such as Illich who are seeking it. While Chicagoans are here, there and everywhere, giving or attending seminars, libertarians retreat. How many libertarian scholars will be contributing to the seminar on "Alternatives in Education" next year at Illich's Center for International Documentation in Cuernavaca, Mexico?

The Rising Sun

By Leonard P. Liggio

The major Nixon Counter-Revolution of mid-August 1971 was a possibly fatal act of violence domestically; less well-known are the foreign affairs implications of the Nixon Counter-Revolution. The unpublicized remarks of the central figures of Nixon-finance regarding international relations may indicate the most dangerous aspects of all in the administration's long-run strategy. The greatest violence was directed against Japanese business as the principal cause of the monetary disarray in which the American Treasury found itself publicly exposed during 1971. Their attitude was revealed by a remark that American monetary problems, as well as the Nixon administration's many other problems, could be solved if only the Japanese once again could be maneuvered into a second attack on Pearl Harbor. The United States gained an additional quarter century of international financial dominance by its success in bringing about a war with the Japanese. Even if only another decade could be gained by another war, think what the American Treasury might be ready to risk. Anyone interested in further background regarding the origin of the United States intervention in the second world war should consult the recently published book by Richard Minear, *Victors' Justice, The Tokyo War Crimes Trial* (Princeton University Press). The most important source on that matter is the work edited by the late Harry Elmer Barnes, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*.

The Nixon administration's singling out of Japan as Enemy Number One came as a surprise to those who had not understood the long-run conflicts that have been basic to the economic development of the United States and Japan. These economic conflicts lead to political and military conflicts. The lead editorial in the *New York Times*, January 11, 1972, "U. S.-Japan: Summit or Nadir?" summarized some of the issues:

But the limited results of the Nixon-Sato meeting in San Clemente suggest that in Japan's case, the malaise stirred by last year's "Nixon shocks" will not be quickly dissipated . . . The crux of the problem is that the United States for a quarter-century has been the fixed sun around which Japan has revolved. That sun now has moved. The certainty that it will be in its place every morning is gone. Japan's concept of a benevolent America, acting in the common interest, has been fundamentally altered. Mr. Nixon last summer announced the opening of an era of rivalry with America's allies in West Europe and Japan, coinciding with his "era of negotiations" with the rivals of the past, Russia and China. He began to talk of promoting American interests first and to act in the same way - on pocket-book as well as political issues abroad. Tokyo, as a result, has begun to talk about and grope for a revival of a Japan-centered foreign policy.

The *Times* reported that Premier Sato's "economic aides are moving to reduce Japan's dependence on the United States and the dollar. They have announced plans for a "yen settlements union," a kind of yen bloc in Asia that faintly recalls the World War II Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

Alongside the basic international monetary conflicts between the dollar and the yen, there has been the strong Nixon administration opposition to free competition between Japan and the United States in regard to textiles, electronics, steel, etc. In late January, Tadayoshi Yamada, permanent executive counsel of the Nippon Steel Corporation, representing Japan's steel makers in negotiations with the U. S. State Dept., confirmed a three year agreement to reduce Japan's steel exports to U. S. American steel makers

complained that the previous three agreements had allowed too great a freedom to Japanese exporters. In the earlier agreement Japanese exporters were permitted an overall growth rate of 5 percent a year. However, within those limits Japanese exporters sold Americans high-priced specialty steel products at a total 50 percent above the earlier level. In the new agreement there is provision for only a 2.5 percent yearly growth, for a banning of shifts of unused quotas from one category to another, for specific quotas for stainless steels, tool steels, alloy steels, etc., and for an annual reduction in the quota for specialty steels. Finally, the Japanese must limit exports to West Coast United States to one third of their quotas. Under the previous agreement, Japan's steel export was strongest to the West Coast due to major shortages in U. S. steel production; and U. S. firms felt deprived of the vastly higher prices they could have gained in the shortage period but for Japanese competition. (In Europe, Japanese steel competition is being met with increased concentration in the steel industry. When in January the formation of a German-Dutch steel trust, the second largest on the continent, was announced, it was said

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The Political Circus

McGovern as Hatchet-Man.

It is high time to revise the universal view of George McGovern as a sincere, likable, Mr. Nice Guy. For the McGovern forces are increasingly playing the role of hatchet-men, hacking away at everyone else on the "left" competing for the same constituency. While this of course is standard political practice, it hardly squares with the Nice Guy image.

In New York, the McGovern forces have been slashing away at the horrendous record of Mayor Lindsay, and here they are playing an amusing and worthwhile role, if hardly gentlemanly. But the situation is more serious in New Hampshire, where the McGovern people have been bitterly attacking Rep. Paul McCloskey, for fear that the anti-war youth and independents will flock to the Republican primary. As the McCloskey people have been pointing out in rebuttal, for a sincere anti-war person this is terribly self-defeating strategy, since a strong showing by Pete McCloskey in the New Hampshire primary could have an immediate and vital impact in ending the war in Vietnam. For the anti-war, dump-Nixon forces, the first order of business is to ravage him in the Republican primaries, to show that Nixon has no mandate, and has lost the support of even the Republican voters. McGovern's hatchet role is not only unworthy, it calls sharply into question his allegedly superior "sincerity" as compared to the other candidates in the field. Indeed, Pete McCloskey has shown high courage in early going into lone opposition to a President of his own party.

As icing on the cake, the McGovern forces have been attacking McCloskey on the grounds that he has not shown enough commitment to "progressive domestic policy and legislation." (New York *Times*, Feb. 6) Apparently, McCloskey dared to vote against increased federal health and housing appropriations, for example. For libertarians the information that McCloskey is not nearly as socialistic as McGovern is hardly calculated to swing us into the McGovern camp. ▀

"Hinceforth th' policy iv this gover'mint will be, as befure, not to bully a sthrong power or wrong a weak, but will remain throe to th' principle iv wrongin' th' sthrong an' bullyin' th' weak." --- Mr. Dooley.

From The Old Curmudgeon

Mod Psychology. The California Libertarian Alliance, in its eternal quest for the hip and the mod, has now latched on to "humanist" psychology. On our desk is an announcement of the first major Libertarian Conference in the Los Angeles area in over a year, geared to the theme of "The Psychology of Freedom", and held on Feb. 12-13. The Conference is exploring the alleged "similarities between the humanists and the libertarians" and an "analysis of the humanist vs. the behaviorist schools."

Apart from the valiant battle of Dr. Thomas Szasz (a speaker at the November, 1970 Libertarian Conference in L. A.) against compulsory commitment of mental patients, and the interesting researches of Sharon Presley into the personalities and attitudes of different wings of libertarians, it is difficult to see any relation whatsoever between psychology and libertarianism. Psychology is designed to help people, to aid individuals in achieving their goals? Well, so are a lot of other things, including penicillin and bone surgery, driver-education and Berlitz. So what? No one has yet presumed to organize campaigns for these good things on behalf of "libertarianism." It is high time that libertarians heeded the justly famous article of Professor Walter Grinder, reprinted in the December issue of *The Abolitionist* ("What Is A Libertarian?", pp. 5-8, available for 36¢ from P. O. Box 14, Verona, N.J. 07044). Grinder wrote: "Lately, we hear more and more about the 'libertarian' life style. The praises of the 'libertarian' mind opening experiences of grass and acid are unending . . . Some or all of these activities may very well have positive merit and increase the desirability of living. I am not passing judgment on any of them except to say that they have as much to do with libertarianism as, say, playing checkers or being particularly fond of the concertos of Rachmaninoff . . . So if those who are circulating the spurious myth that an 'if it feels good, do it' life style is essential to libertarianism will cease in their assertions, I will not engage in the propagation of the equally preposterous 'libertarian' symbiotic relationship between liberty and the game of checkers." (p. 6) The same can be said of psychology as a whole or any of the schools thereof.

There is a further problem in libertarians' identifying with any particular branch of psychology. If it be a science, psychology is somewhere in the infant state, and to hitch our wagon to one particular star is equivalent to 18th century libertarians identifying themselves with the phlogiston theory. Furthermore, there is nothing at all about "humanism" that is more libertarian or even more individualist than any other school of psychology or psychotherapy. It is absurd to say that psychoanalysis, for example, is any less libertarian than humanism - Dr. Szasz, for example, is a psychoanalyst. And neither can the much reviled behaviorism be brusquely discarded; there is an enormous difference between the totalitarian politics of B. F. Skinner and behavior therapy as a psychological method between therapist and patient. The insights of behavior therapy, in fact, are now being used by all schools of psychotherapists. (Not of course that I am trying to claim that libertarians as such should advocate behavior therapy!)

So come on, fellas; or are we going to be treated next year to a Conference on the "New Libertarian Astronomy?"

--- Thomas Paine.

THE RISING SUN — (Continued from page 3)

by one of the executives "I don't think it would be unfitting" to call the new company, the "Anti-Japan Company."

These agreements represent a major deterioration of Japanese relations with the United States because they result from the Nixon administration's threat to establish extremely harsh restrictions of trade against Japanese products. In seeking alternative major markets, the Japanese foreign ministry in January indicated pleasure at the prospect of vastly increased trade with the People's Republic of China. Major trade between Japan and China was begun in the 1950's through the sending of a Japanese prince, deeply interested in Chinese culture, to be a permanent resident of Peking. Thus, although no diplomatic relations existed due to United States pressure, in Japanese eyes, the residence in Peking of this prince was of equal importance, and he was the host to the many trade delegation from Japan that visited China. Trade with China was carried on through numerous "friendly" trading companies which Japanese firms established for this purpose to avoid American displeasure.

However, the United States pressured the Japanese government to place so many restrictions on Japanese trade with China that Japanese exports to China stabilized at over a half billion dollars a year. The United States wished Japanese business to direct its energies to light industrial products for sale to South-east Asia (where the U. S. wished Japan to play a military role also) rather than the heavy industrial products for the China market. Thus, the South-east Asian economies were viewed as necessary for keeping Japan in the junior partner role which the U. S. wanted for it rather than as an independent world trader. President Eisenhower, in his "falling dominoes" press conference of April 7, 1954, while the question of U. S. military intervention in Vietnam hung in the balance, indicated the relationship between Vietnam policy and American aims for Japanese dependence: "It (successful Vietnam revolution) takes away, in its economic aspects, that region that Japan must have as a trading area or Japan, in turn, will have only one place in the world to go - that is, toward the Communist areas in order to live. So, the possible consequences of the loss are just incalculable to the free world." In the spring of 1955, explaining the increasing United States intervention in Vietnam, Secretary of State Dulles indicated that America's reasons included creating economic opportunity for Japanese light industries - "there is a good chance of Japanese textile goods, for instance, moving into Indo-China." But, Japanese heavy industry developed despite America's plans for Japan, and the restrictions imposed by the United States on Japan's exports make China the logical market for Japan. In 1972 China indicated that it wished to send trade missions to Japan to discuss trade with the steel, shipbuilding, electronics, automotive and railway industries.

China has indicated that automobile and railway trade are first on their list. China would like to establish the railway technology that has made Japan's railway system the most advanced in the world. World interest has centered on the high-speed trains on the New Tokaido Line, where trains average one hundred miles an hour between Tokyo and Osaka. The Japanese foreign ministry welcomed China's initiatives for it had been redefining Japanese policy toward China and had drafted a paper setting forth Japan's three principles for establishing formal diplomatic relations. These principles are: "that the People's Republic is the sole legitimate Government of China, that Taiwan belongs to China, and that the question of Japan's peace treaty with the Chinese Nationalist regime on Taiwan (that is, its abrogation) is to be dealt with in the course of government-level negotiations between Japan and China." Japan has also initiated major trade relations with North Korea.

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"The trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally individuals of mankind."

THE RISING SUN — (Continued from page 4)

The present nadir of U. S.-Japan relations is the result of the sharp contradiction between American aims for Japan as its junior economic and military partner and Japanese desires for economic independence (read competitiveness) and a military position in Asia much smaller than desired by the United States for Japan. In the military area, Japan was seen as playing an active role in future 'local' Asian wars, with the United States merely providing the money and equipment, so that the U. S. would not suffer the domestic crisis which has accompanied the Vietnam intervention. The Nixon doctrine represented the most explicit statement of this objective. Thus, Nixon's anti-competitive monetary and trade policies were accompanied by pressures on Japan to re-militarize. The interrelationship of these two policies, of course, is that re-militarization is very expensive and would require large increases in Japanese taxation, thereby greatly reducing the competitive and monetary advantages Japan has enjoyed. (Any study of American monetary and trade decline in the last thirty years would require centering on the taxation and expenditures of the military budget.)

American policy toward Japan has been prefigured in the analyses of former ambassador and Harvard professor Edwin Reischauer over a period of two decades. "In an industrialized country, Japan has the factory power which generates modern military strength," Reischauer noted in a 1950 essay for the Foreign Policy Association. "Although far weaker industrially than Western Europe, the United States or the Soviet Union," he continued, "Japan is still the only other centre capable of producing significant military power today, and it is militarily all the more important because of its isolation from the other great industrial nations. Japan, therefore, is an area of major military significance, an area which, if it were to shift sides, could appreciably alter the balance of power in the world." Reischauer in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (January, 1967) looked forward to the implementation of a new self-consciousness by the Japanese in military policy: "a close partnership with the United States, including a defense relationship, is seen to be greatly in Japan's interests, and not an undesirable situation forced on Japan by American might or historical accident."

During a Japanese-American conference at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in January 1969, Reischauer said: "Without bases in Japan and the support of Japanese economic power and technical skills, the United States could not have done what it has in East Asia during the past two decades." In response former Japanese foreign minister, Aichihiro Fujiyama replied: "I do not believe that a United States military withdrawal from the Far East would necessarily precipitate an outbreak of fighting. Nor do I believe that renewed hostilities on the Korean peninsula would inevitably spread into an all-out war. If the elements that can cause war are present and are not resolved, fighting will resume regardless of the American presence, but I do not believe that present conditions will lead to such an impasse. Although American military aid to South Korea helps to keep the situation inflamed, the Chinese and the Soviet Union have withdrawn the active support from North Korea that brought about a major confrontation in 1950 . . . I could not bring myself personally to approve a continuing American military presence in Asia, and I do not think that China would ever voluntarily accept it." Suji Kurauchi (Director of Japan's House Committee on Foreign Affairs) concluded by noting widespread Japanese fears "that the United States is grooming Japan for a military role in Asia similar to the one it expects West Germany to play in Europe . . . Many Japanese fear that as the United States moves to make Japan its successor as the policeman of the Pacific, rearmament will naturally follow."

This role of Japan as Pacific policeman became central to American objectives with the impact of the intervention

in Vietnam. In the period immediately preceding the January 1968 TET Offensive, U. S. pressure on Premier Sato intensified, and he travelled in South-east Asia to prepare opinion for an increased Japanese support of the United States. A press offensive was launched in the U. S. by official academics in favor of Japanese remilitarization, and deepest regret was expressed that until then "in political affairs abroad, she has remained largely inactive if not frankly isolationist." The November 1969 Washington meeting of Premier Sato with Nixon was the culmination of a campaign for a new foreign policy for Japan based on rearmament. In his policy speech to the Diet on February 14, 1970, Premier Sato declared that the nineteen-seventies would be a decade during which Japan's power would grow to carry "unprecedented weight in world affairs." However, there developed strong but unpublicized opposition to this policy in the majority Liberal-Democratic party which is composed of many factions. In addition, the Defense Agency which is the center for pressure for re-militarization is unable to apply full pressure because officials from the Ministry of Finance hold high positions in the Defense Agency and they are strongly opposed to policies which will increase the tax burden and reduce Japan's competitive advantage in world trade. Thus, Premier Sato during 1970 was forced to reverse the pressure to create a climate of public opinion favorable to remilitarization. He denied the goal of "great-powerism" as well as the fears that "with her expanding national strength and rising nationalism, Japan might well behave in such a way as to disturb the international equilibrium . . . It is entirely a new case that a country such as Japan, possessing great economic strength, has no significant military power and yet makes its presence felt throughout the world."

Japan has become the world's third largest industrial power after the United States and the Soviet Union. It has gained the position from which it could transform its present satellite role into economic independence, if partnership with the United States did not provide an area of economic growth. The time has come when the United States has failed Japan's needs in the economic, monetary and trade areas and Japan is establishing its economic independence of the United States. A self-directed and self-confident Japan may be the natural result of Japan's economic independence. Vastly increased trade with China would be one aspect of that development. There has also been a large expansion of Japanese investment in Siberia. Joint Soviet-Japanese companies have been developing timber, mineral, water, and transport facilities in Siberia. Siberia is a major source of raw materials for Japan. A recent example results from the decline in American production of coking coal, the importation of which was central to Japan's steel industry. The Soviet Union is building a 270-mile railroad to connect with the Trans-Siberian railroad from Chulman coal fields in the Yakut Republic of the USSR and which might extend to the Aldan coal center further north. The river and rail transport in Siberia and the short distance over the Sea of Japan from Vladivostok makes that area attractive to Japan as a raw material supplier. Consortia of Japanese firms and banks are investing heavily in Alaska, especially in timber, pulp mills, iron, coal, copper, and pipelines and leases in the oil-rich North Slope of Alaska. Japan purchases almost 80% of the exports of Alaska. Almost half of British Columbia's mineral output goes to Japan, along with timber, pulp and crude oil from the tar sand deposits.

Heavy Japanese investment has been placed in raw materials production in Australia, New Zealand and especially Indonesia. Japan is a member of the ten-nation consortium called the Amsterdam Group which re-financed Indonesia's three billion dollar debt. Japan generally contributed a third of the total amount of the re-financing.

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The Lone Eagle

Review of *The Wartime Journals of Charles A. Lindbergh*
(New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970)

By Justus D. Doenecke

He was always a loner, the man called Slim, and yet in his own way he has always felt secure. Surely, his inner confidence was phenomenal, and could convey to the casual onlooker the false sense of placidity. While Charles A. Lindbergh never finished college, he was widely-read, and the simple writing style shown here in his war diaries bears its own eloquence of dignity and restraint. A single act of heroism had catapulted him to the status of the world's foremost pioneer of flight. Yet he always retained a love of the soil, hating the blights technology made upon the landscape.

To understand Lindbergh, one must comprehend an aviator who could still say, "This hour I rode the sky like a god, but after it was over, how glad I would be to go back to earth and live among men, to feel the soil under my feet and to be smaller than the mountains and the trees" (p. 222). Annual retreats to the wilderness were essential, for only there could he gain "the strength that comes from solitude and distance and starlight nights" (p. 359). Cities were centers of "unhappiness and uninspired drabness," whose "tension and turmoil" one could feel while flying 5,000 feet above (p. 450).

The son of a populist congressman, and the husband of a sensitive and poetic heiress, Lindbergh held to a Jeffersonian concept of a natural aristocracy rooted in the land. Mass culture — as reflected in the tabloid press, popular novels, the cinema — generated "the decline in character that is obvious in the nation today" (pp. 534, 601). Modern art was both "diseased and perverted" (p. 149). The Lone Eagle even felt alienation from his neighbors on Long Island Sound, and his reflection could almost have been

made by Nick Carraway at the end of *The Great Gatsby*: "We get along with them without difficulty, but we do not understand their ways, and they do not understand ours — beyond that border line of superficiality which screens the depths of human character as a shore line screens a continent" (p. 262). Where, he wondered, could one find in America today "the character of the pioneer" and "the courage of the Revolutionary Army"? (p. 360)

His posture was martial. In a real sense, he was a militarist, finding military training essential for his own sons ("They must be taught how to fight well, to survive" — p. 10), as well as for such decaying nations as Great Britain (p. 163). Indulgent parents merely prevented their children from gaining the necessary "character and resourcefulness" (p. 521). Pacifism was folly.¹ War would always break out when nations differed on issues of "vital importance". Yet, humanity must reduce its frequency by intelligent and mutually-beneficial agreements backed by sufficient force (p. 170). Said Lindbergh, himself a colonel in the Air Force Reserve, "Trust of one's enemy should not pass far beyond knowledge of his actions" (p. 270). In his critique of Moral Rearmament, he stated, "I am not sure

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¹The Lone Eagle found little merit in the film, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, declaring, "It will not add to the courage of our country" (p. 277). Upon discovering that he liked the pacifist lobbyist Frederick J. Libby, he wrote that he found the Maine Quaker showing "unusual understanding and intelligence (if one can apply the latter term to a pacifist)" (p. 320).

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(A good recent study on this and similar matters is Teresa Hayter, *Aid as Imperialism*, Penguin Paperbacks, 1971; also see, Bruce Nissen, "The World Bank: A Political Institution," *Pacific Research & World Empire Telegram*, Vol. II, Number 6, September-October 1971, pp. 9-23, from Pacific Studies Center, 1963 University Ave. East Palo Alto, California 94303. Another important source of information on the Far East is: *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Building 600 T, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305.) Japan is especially anxious to develop the oil production of Alaska's North Slope and of Indonesia, and has made major oil discoveries in the southern Ryukyuan island chain about 100 miles north-east of Taiwan on the edge of China's continental shelf (50 miles from the mainland). A UN economic study indicates there might be more than 15 billion metric tons of oil in this off-shore field. At present more than 90% of Japan's oil imports come from the Middle East through the narrow and shallow Strait of Malacca, between Malaya and Sumatra, connecting the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. The shallowness of the passage makes the use of the famous Japanese-built super-tankers quite difficult. Britain has begun its withdrawal from the Indian Ocean as a defense interest. The United States had embarked on a large build-up in its naval interest in the Indian Ocean, and the Soviet Union has promised to match any United States naval plans there. The recent American naval activity in the Indian Ocean regarding the developments in Bengal relate to those plans. Thus, Japan, which has never maintained any peacetime naval forces beyond the Pacific Ocean, and is limiting itself to the North Pacific, finds the Indian Ocean route less than satisfactory and welcomes the

development of oil resources within the Pacific Ocean itself. The Pacific Ocean's depth and expanse make it especially suitable for using Japan's super-tanker fleet. (FORTUNE magazine is a good source of economic information regarding Japan; especially useful are the issues of July, 1957, July, 1963 and September, 1970.)

During the 1960's Japan extended its markets and supply sources to all parts of the world, tripling its gross national product. This was accomplished through an almost total political isolation or invisibility. Presently, the deeply sensitive Japanese are anxious and distraught over the humiliating treatment they have been receiving from the Nixon administration. They have not been consulted on major diplomatic matters which directly concern them. They have seen major US monetary policies directed against them. "They also sense an underlying American antagonism that they fear is rooted in racial prejudice." (New York Times, January 6). "Yet, in one of those paradoxes that are the mark of Japan in Western eyes, the Japanese are showing greater personal and national self-confidence than in previous years. There is a sense of National pride in Japanese accomplishments, particularly in the visible results of the 'economic miracle.'" (*Ibid.*) If this self-confidence continues, Japan will eschew any of the military and political roles which the United States wishes to impose on it. In addition to its international economic role, any sense of mission will be best directed internally. "Most of the problems of foreign relations before us cannot be solved without taking proper action in domestic policy," a recent official statement emphasized; "in brief, the Japanese people are now expected to show the world their sense of responsibility and power of original thinking, which should accompany their growth." ■

Mises And History

By Leonard P.iggio

The death of Ludwig von Mises has brought forth numerous essays on his contribution to economics. It is equally in order to discuss his work in the historical sciences, as he called them. Having had the honor and pleasure of attending Mises' graduate seminar during the years in which he wrote *Theory and History* and devoted his seminar to that subject, I had the rare opportunity of participating in the final formulation of his long-considered concepts of the historical sciences. But, before discussing that part of his contribution in another article, I shall indicate some of the substantive historical analyses which Mises made.

Faced with the rise of classical liberalism in the 19th century and its collapse since the first world war, Mises had very special motives for examining contemporary history. Mises emphasized that ideas are the base on which all social activity takes place. It is in the realm of ideas that the battle for civilization and progress takes place. Mises emphasized the fact and the necessity that classical liberalism had to be obstinate and uncompromising. Success of liberal ideas required the enlightenment of people who studied ideas who would convince the citizenry of their correctness. Mises advocated a revolution in ideas as the necessary step to the revolution of the practice of freedom. However, the advocates of classical liberalism in the 19th century were not obstinate and uncompromising. The English utilitarians, especially Ricardo, had incomplete and compromised notions leading succeeding liberals not to correct and complete them but to turn away to more compromises as in the case of John Stuart Mill.

One of the important causes of the decline of liberalism, Mises believed, was the illusion that society would necessarily continue to accept and perfect its ideas. Mises believed that as classical liberalism came closer to realization, it was necessary for its advocates not to rest, but to increase their activity and perfect the theoretical base of classical liberalism. Instead, liberalism was swept away by the emergence of parties speaking to special interests. For Mises liberalism meant the abolition of special privileges. In discussing class conflict, Mises emphasized: "Conflicts of interests can occur only in so far as restrictions on the owners' free disposal of the means of production are imposed by the interventionist policy of the government or by interference on the part of other social forces armed with coercive power." Coercive power, government intervention are the sole causes of war between interests. For Mises, the supporters of feudalism, privilege and status were clearly defeated by classical liberalism. The rise of the new challenge to classical liberalism came from within itself, from the failures of utilitarian economists. Mises said:

But in Ricardo's system of catallactics one may find the point of departure for a new theory of the conflict of interests within the capitalist system. Ricardo believe that he could show how, in the course of progressive economic development, a shift takes place in the relations among the three forms of income in his system, viz., profit, rent, and wages. It was this that impelled a few English writers in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century to speak of the three classes of capitalists, landowners, and wage-laborers and to maintain that an irreconcilable antagonism exists among these groups. This line of thought was later taken up by Marx.

"In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx still did not distinguish between caste and class. Only later, when he became acquainted in London with the writings of the forgotten pamphleteers of the twenties and thirties and, under their influence, began the study of Ricardo's system, did he realize that the problem in this case was to show that even in a society without caste distinctions and privileges irreconcilable conflicts still exist. This antagonism of interests he deduced from Ricardo's system by distinguishing among the three classes of capitalists, landowners, and workers . . . At no time, however, did Marx or any one of his many followers attempt in any way to define the concept and nature of classes. It is significant

that the chapter entitled "The Classes" in the third volume of *Capital* breaks off after a few sentences. More than a generation elapsed from the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto*, in which Marx first makes class antagonism and class war the keystone of his entire doctrine, to the time of his death. During this entire period Marx wrote volume after volume, but he never came to the point of explaining what is to be understood by a "class."

(Mises, *The Free and Prosperous Commonwealth* (trans. by Ralph Raico; ed. by Arthur Goddard), Princeton, Van Nostrand Series in the Humane Studies, 1962, pp. 163-64.)

However, the wedge of Ricardian concepts of disharmony of interests in a perfect capitalist society, and the existence of special interests, political parties in societies claiming to be capitalist, permitted the socialists to appear the champions of the abolition of privilege, of a classless society resulting from the withering away of the state. Mises emphasized that in the absence of an uncompromisingly presented liberalism, socialism appeals to people who think more clearly and seek a serious solution to government by special interests. Through the dominant position socialism gained at the Universities, it was able, in Mises' view, to gain the sincere, honest, and best minds among the youth. In many ways, the success of socialism was due to its ability to appear to be what liberalism actually is. Mises described the many ways that the parties of the special interest state have prevented the presentation and success of liberal ideas and, thus permitted the success of socialism. Mises insisted that liberals must emphasize the fact that since liberalism serves no special interest there is "no class that could champion liberalism for its own selfish interests." For Mises liberalism could not be the special party of capitalists. Historical reality has demonstrated that the wealthy tend to support any other party except the liberals. Indeed, for capitalists to support liberalism, it is necessary for them to rise above their self-interest to the level of general principles. Mises noted:

The "have's" do not have any more reason to support the institution of private ownership of the means of production than do the "have-not's." If their immediate special interests come into question, they are scarcely liberal. The notion that, if only capitalism is preserved, the propertied classes could remain forever in possession of their wealth stems from a misunderstanding of the nature of the capitalist economy, in which property is continually being shifted from the less efficient to the more efficient businessman. In a capitalist society one can hold on to one's fortune only if one perpetually acquires it anew by investing it wisely. The rich, who are already in possession of wealth, have no special reason to desire the preservation of a system of unhampered competition open to all. . . . They do have a special interest in interventionism, which always has a tendency to preserve the existing division of wealth among those in possession of it. But they cannot hope for any special treatment from liberalism, a system in which no heed is paid to the time-honored claims of tradition advanced by the vested interests of established wealth. (*Ibid.*, p. 186)

Mises deduced from history that all governments inherently recognize no limitations on power. Complete domination over property is the goal of all governments, and if they accept limitations it is merely tactical since the admission of any government control over property implies total control. Mises concluded:

"Thus, there has never been a political power that voluntarily desisted from impeding the free development and operation of the institution of private property of the means of production. Governments tolerate private

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Mises And History —

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property when they are compelled to do so, but they do not acknowledge it voluntarily in recognition of its necessity. Even liberal politicians, on gaining power, have usually relegated their principles more or less to the background. . . . A liberal government is a *contradictio in adjecto*. (Ibid., p. 68)"

Mises insisted that the concept of self-determination was the most logical derivation from liberalism. Self-determination made sense not as a collective concept, but as an individualist concept. "If it were in any way possible to grant this right of self-determination to every individual person, it would have to be done." But, Mises considered individual self-determination to be technically impractical; however, as a matter of principle it was irrefutable that the individual must have the right to individual self-determination. In foreign policy, Mises applied this concept to self-determination consistently.

The right of individual self-determination was clearly applicable in the area of education. For Mises, compulsory education in any circumstances was a violation of this right. Compulsory education is a clearly political act. "There is, in fact, only one solution: the state, the government, the laws must not in any way concern themselves with schooling or education. Public funds must not be used for such purposes. The rearing and instruction of youth must be left entirely to parents and to private associations and institutions."

Mises made an important, if often unrecognized, analysis of imperialism, which is another aspect of the negation of the right self-determination. Mises indicated that the origins of imperialism can be found in the desire of states to create protected export "markets." A desire to avoid the effects of competition, Mises said, led states

to the adoption of the policy of using import duties to protect domestic production operating under less favorable conditions against the superior competition of foreign industry, in the hope of thereby making the emigration of workers unnecessary. Indeed, in order to expand the protected market as far as possible, efforts are made to acquire even more territories that are not regarded as suitable for European settlement. We may date the beginning of modern imperialism from the late seventies of the last century, when the industrial countries of Europe started to abandon the policy of free trade and to engage in the race for colonial "markets" in Africa and Asia . . .

"The basic idea of colonial policy was to take advantage of the military superiority of the white race over the members of other races. The Europeans set out, equipped with all the weapons and contrivances that their civilization placed at their disposal, to subjugate weaker peoples, to rob them of their property, and to enslave them. Attempts have been made to extenuate and gloss over the true motive of colonial policy with the excuse that its sole object was to make it possible for primitive peoples to share in the blessings of European civilization . . . If, as we believe, European civilization really is superior to that of the primitive tribes of Africa or to the civilizations of Asia — estimable though the latter may be in their own way — it should be able to prove its superiority by inspiring these peoples to adopt it of their own accord. Could there be a more doleful proof of the sterility of European civilization than that it can be spread by no other means than fire and sword? (Ibid., 123-25)."

Mises countered the argument that the liberal solution — immediate withdrawal of government (European colonial) and leaving the inhabitants alone — might lead to chaos or oppression. Since Europe exported the worst of its civilization under imperialism, it is not the fault of the natives that they may adopt all the evils taught them by the Europeans. Since imperialism is the negation of liberalism, there was no possibility for non-Europeans to come into contact with liberal concepts and practices. Imperialism itself was one of the means by which European politicians sought to escape from the logical necessity of completing the liberal revolution in Europe. Just as mercantilism was

Danish Delight

It takes a lot for the august and stately New York Times to lose its cool; sometimes one gets the impression that if Canada were suddenly to launch an atomic attack on the U. S. tomorrow, the Times would comment in low and measured tones. But the Times has lost its cool, and it has taken the sudden and magnificent emergence of libertarianism on the international scene to do it. And for the second coolest newspaper, the Washington Post, to suffer the same trauma.

The occasion was the Danish elections of December 5, when the ruling Social Democrats were decimated in the Parliament, while the old-style opposition suffered just as badly. Instead, leaping on to the scene was a brand new party, the Progress party, formed only recently, and corraling no less than 28 seats to make it the second largest party in the country.

The Progressives are led by their charismatic founder, Mogens Glistrup, a wealthy tax lawyer who has been stumping Denmark championing an all-out libertarian program. Boasting that he has managed to legally avoid payment of income tax for years, Glistrup promised a grievously tax-ridden public that he would abolish the income tax, beginning with all incomes less than \$10,000 a year. He also called for drastic cuts in the government bureaucracy and in the welfare system, and magnificently called for changing the name of Prime Minister to Minister in Charge of Abolishing Government Activities. One of the problems with previous libertarian-style parties in Europe, from the nineteenth century to the present, has been the temptation to be patriotic: to abandon libertarian principle on behalf of militarism and war. But not Glistrup; instead he and the Progressives call for abolition of the Danish military. His foreign policy? An automated tape recorder on a hot line to Russia, saying "We surrender."

The Washington Post so lost its vaunted "objectivity" that in its news headline it said "Clowns Win in Denmark". The New York Times editorial (Dec. 6), succumbed to scarcely concealed hysteria. It noted in the Danish elections (and indeed in Norway and Sweden as well) "a

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the overseas extension of feudalism, so imperialism was the overseas extension of neo-mercantilism.

For Mises none of the arguments in support of imperialism could have any basis in liberalism. Abolition of all forms of imperialism was alone consistent with liberalism. Mises felt that the evil consequences of imperialism would become evident only after the withdrawal of European troops and bureaucrats because only then would the full extent of the impact of European illiberalism flower. The longer the Europeans remained the more poisonous the blossoms. Thus, the immediate end of imperialism would reduce the effects, and its prolongation "in the interests of the natives" would intensify it. Mises added:

"If all that can be adduced in favor of the maintenance of European rule in the colonies is the supposed interest of the natives, then one must say that it would be better if this rule were brought to an end completely. No one has a right to thrust himself into the affairs of others in order to further their interest, and no one ought, when he has his own interests in view, to pretend that he is acting selflessly only in the interest of others. (Ibid., p. 127)."

Mises total commitment to classical liberalism, pure and uncompromised, made him an heir in history to the great 19th century classical liberals who dealt with history generally, such as Acton, or with contemporary history, such as Cobden and Bright. Mises was fearless, as were Acton, Cobden and Bright, in attacking the state in all its aspects, not the least in its more recent manifestation, imperialism. The Individual and the State are irreconcilable. History confirms what reason teaches us, that the State is the negation of the individual and his extension, private property, just as where the Individual and his property rightfully exist, that the State be abolished. It was because of the failure to pursue and achieve that freedom by 19th century liberals, that the current struggle is necessary. Mises has emphasized that it is by study of that failure that the lessons will be learned to achieve liberty. Those who dare not study history will be bound to repeat it. ■

European Politics —

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over economic or private life, support for the Common Market and the 'tradition of free trade, and for decentralization or "community politics." The Liberals' image is that of radical capitalism and decentralization. On Wilson's new cabinet, the Liberals bitterly attacked it as "an old-fashioned Socialist government of the type which failed the country before."

There is a possibility that the Labour government may be less inflationary than the Conservatives. The chancellor of the exchequer, Denis Healy, favors floating exchange rates rather than controls. Harold Lever, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and key economic advisor to Wilson, strongly opposes increased taxes. But should the battle against inflation fail it has been suggested that Enoch Powell will benefit. Powell refused to run for Parliament in the election due to his opposition to wage and price controls and to the inflationary monetary policies of the Conservatives. This action places him once more in a serious political position instead of the dead end of opposition to the free movement of people and goods that he had been emphasizing. Powell called on his supporters to vote Labour to save the country from the Conservatives' price-wage controls and inflation. The *New Statesman* declared: "Who would be the beneficiary? It could be Enoch Powell, who in my view has — so far from committing political suicide — played his cards adroitly by placing himself outside the party arena. To rise above the enmities of Right and Left, to 'unite the nation', is a well-tried but always potentially effective technique." To whom has Powell been appealing? Powell has represented Birmingham which, according to Jane Jacobs, was the center of the flexibility and quick responses to the market which are the flower of capitalism. The *Manchester Guardian* commented on Powell's new influence from concentrating on issues of controls and inflation (Powell had earlier contributed to England's abandonment of imperialist positions around the world and to the reduction of defense spending): "The West Midlands is the home of independent capitalism. The typical voter is not a frightened bank clerk of Carshalton but a small businessman with three men working for him somewhere in Cradley Heath. He doesn't like an incomes and prices policy."

The developments in England reflect some changes that have been occurring in other parts of the Commonwealth. The Labour parties of Australia and New Zealand were victorious after long periods of opposition, mainly in response to Conservative inflations. Since coming to power, these Labour governments have had the courage to break with U. S. domination of their foreign policies and defense programs. In Canada, the Liberals have been ruling as a minority party from the increase a year and a half ago of the New Democratic party and the decline of the Social Creditists who also lost their strongholds as the provincial governments in Alberta and British Columbia. The only unifying element in Canadian politics appears to be a desire to stem the influence of American investments. That theme has been carried further in Quebec, where the French population would like to limit the role of English-speaking Canadians. Last fall in provincial elections the separatist Parti Quebecois, led by Rene Levesque, received 29% of the vote against 55% for the Liberals, with the rest going to the National Union and to the Creditistes.

In Holland and Scandinavia there have been important electoral developments. In Holland, a year and a half ago, the electorate polarized. The religious parties — a Catholic one and several Protestant ones, headed by the Anti-Revolutionary party (aimed against the classical liberalism and freedom of religion of the French Revolution) — lost their joint control of national politics. The Dutch voted against the traditionalist parties and their no-issues campaign and favored parties taking strong stands. The Dutch Liberals, with the Young Liberals in the vanguard, made strong gains among the youth vote opposed to inflation and to the repression of new culture. The Radical People's Party similarly made gains as people have left the old religion-oriented culture for the new culture.

In Sweden last September the long dominant Social Democrats lost heavily, and now rule in a Parliament in which their coalition has only half the seats. The biggest Swedish gainer was the Center party which appealed to a "desire among many for the simple life that preceded industrial society." The Center party seemed to represent the Sweden of

the past before the shifts of population from country to city — "a nostalgia for the day when the people didn't have to move to cities and work in factories." At the same time in Norway the thirty years of Labor rule was maintained only barely. The growth of the opposition is somewhat similar to Sweden. Five per cent of the vote went to the "Anders Lange party for the sharp reduction of taxes, levies and public interference." Anders Lange does not like taxes. A lot of people don't include a lot of Danes. Last December Berkeley-trained Mogens Glistrup and his Progress party won 28 seats in Denmark's Parliament. Glistrup seeks abolition of the income tax and burning of the papers of the revenue office, and wants to start budget cuts with defense. Glistrup declared: "I'm also against spending money on defense . . . If we had our own defense, we could last five hours, without it, five minutes. So who needs it?" This view represents the result of serious study by Europeans of defense problems and the economic advantage of peace and peace policy rather than defense spending. The *New York Times* went out of its mind when Glistrup received so many votes. The *Times* editorial was entitled: "Poujadism in Denmark." Poujadism in mid-1950s France sought to organize tax resistance. At the time it attracted the attention of libertarians in America as a significant contribution to serious politics rather than to verbal exercises. However, both the *National Review* and *Human Events* rejected articles expounding the role of tax resistance in France and indicating its value for organizing a popular libertarian movement in America. No taxes, no warfare state!

In Germany the Free Democrats continue to make gains at the expense of the Socialists and Christian Democrats. The Free Democrats' leader, Walter Scheel, the present foreign minister, seems likely to be elected the next president of Germany. When formed after the second world war, the Free Democrats united those opposed to the socialism of the Socialists and the dominance of religion in society of the Christian Democrats. They opposed high taxes, government interference with private lives and the pro-American foreign policy which they felt did not reflect a nationalist position between America and Russia. As radical capitalists the Free Democrats are to the left of the Socialists on many issues. This radicalism was reflected in their breaking with Ludwig Erhard in 1966 when he violated a pledge not to increase taxes as he bowed to U. S. demands that he increase contributions to defense. Under Scheel Germany has been engaged in a massive investment program in the Soviet Union, most recently a plan to build an over 1 billion dollar steel plant. Germany and the Soviet Union have agreed to set up joint companies to operate in third countries with mixed Soviet-German capital, management and production. The Free Democratic resurgence has been explained as the result of changes in German society away from traditionalist attitudes. Time has noted: "discipline is giving way to what sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf, who also happens to be the Free Democrats' leading thinker, calls the individual search for happiness by people freed of the fetters of tradition and thrown into the affluent society." Writes Dahrendorf in *Society and Democracy in Germany*: "Discipline, orderliness, subservience, cleanliness, industriousness, precision, and all the other virtues ascribed by many to the Germans as an echo of past splendor have already given way to a much less rigid set of values, among which economic success, a high income, the holiday trip, and the new car play a much larger part than the virtues of the past. Younger people especially display little of the much praised and much scorned respect for authority, and less of the disciplined virtues that for their fathers were allegedly sacred. A world of highly individual values has emerged, which puts the experienced happiness of the individual in first place and increasingly lets the so-called whole slip from sight."

Scheel and the German government have been major targets during this March of Nixon and Kissinger. Nixon wants the Europeans to continue to underwrite the costs of American inflation; they refuse. Likewise, they do not wish to have America dominate Europe's defenses. But, especially, they wish to have the freedom to operate in the world market to purchase raw materials, mainly oil, without the intrusions of American political demands. Kissinger has attacked Michel Jobert, French foreign minister, for seeking since last July to block U. S.-European defense arrangements under NATO, as well as for opposing U. S. claims that there was a Soviet threat during the Middle East crisis.

However, the big blow-up came during the February Washington meeting that Kissinger had determined would present a solid, hard-line toward the Arab countries. Jobert presented a blistering critique of American policy and affirmed France's independent policy toward the

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The British Elections

Given the unspeakable state of British politics and the economy, the results of the recent elections were the best that could be hoped for. The Labor Party is now gung ho socialist, and so a victory for Labor in the elections would have been an unmitigated disaster: Labor was pledged, for example, to the nationalization of a host of vital industries, as well as to the monstrous despotism of compulsory abolition of the private schools of Great Britain. Under former Prime Minister Edward Heath, however, the Conservatives were proceeding to wreck the British economy by the familiar combination of large-scale inflation of the money supply coupled with severe price and wage controls (Is Britain ten years further down the American road?) While we cannot condone the stranglehold of union monopoly in Britain, the immediate cause of the breakdown of the British economy and the miners' strike was Mr. Heath's stubborn insistence on keeping wage controls far below the free market level. Heath's policy was particularly repellent for its Nixonian quality: masking collectivist policy in a cloak of free-enterprise rhetoric. A clear-cut victory for Heath, then, would simply have endorsed his disastrous economic policies.

Through the closeness of the vote, and still more by the large increase of votes for the minor parties, the British electorate has made sure that neither incubus of a major party could command a majority in Parliament. Furthermore, in the short run, Prime Minister Wilson was able to solve the economic crisis by in effect removing wage controls on the coal miners and thereby ending the strike. Labor's minority status insures that Mr. Wilson will not be able to push through the galloping collectivism of the full Labor program. Since both major parties are horrendous, a stalemate government blocking both party programs was the best that could be extracted from the situation.

But there are even more goodies in the British election. For the striking increase in the votes for the Liberals and for the Nationalists can only be beneficial in themselves. The Liberal Party is, alas!, very far from its libertarian Cobdenite origins. But while it is a confused, middle-of-the-road party, the Liberals are not prepared to go along with the pet collectivist extremes of either the Laborites or the Tories. At least the Liberals will throw some sand in the collectivist machinery of either major party. Even healthier is the rise of the Scottish and Welsh Nationalists, the former increasing their number of seats phenomenally from 2 to 7, amassing over one-fifth of the Scottish vote; while the latter, the Plaid Cymru, gained 2 seats in Parliament over their previous zero. Americans tend to think of all the inhabitants of the British Isles as "English". Nothing could be further from the truth. For centuries, the Scottish and the Welsh, each with a totally separate language and culture, have been the victims of English imperialism and English oppression, and the rise of the Plaid Cymru and the "Scot Nats" presages a dramatic shift toward home rule for these minority nations. Furthermore, while the Scot Nats are hardly champions of the free market, they are at least staunchly opposed to the Labor program for the nationalization of the large new oilfields that have recently been discovered off the North Sea coast of Scotland.

It is characteristic of the growing adherence to the Establishment of Bill Buckley that he gave Heath and the Tories an all-out endorsement before the election. Or else it was a breakdown of his much-vaulted "strategic intelligence." For Buckley explicitly rejected the only political strategy that carries hope for Britain in the foreseeable future: that of the dissident stormy petrel of British politics, Enoch Powell. For Powell, head of the "right wing" of the Tories, refused to stand for reelection to Parliament, and urged his supporters to break the Heath administration by voting Labor. Only in that way, only by turning the Tories out, was there hope for overturning Heath and thereby paving the way for a later ride of Enoch Powell to power. In fact, Powell's defection was responsible for the loss of at least six Tory seats in the West Midlands, the major base of Powell's political support.

Decades of horrific British policies have created a rigid, stratified, and cartelized economy, a set of frozen power blocs integrated with Big Government: namely, Big Business and Big Labor. Even the most cautious and gradualist of English libertarians now admit that only a radical political change can save England. Enoch Powell is the only man on the horizon who could be the sparkplug for such a change. It is true, of course, that for libertarians Enoch Powell has many deficiencies. For

one thing he is an admitted High Tory who believes in the divine right of kings; for another, his immigration policy is the reverse of libertarian. But on the critical issues in these parlous times: on checking the inflationary rise in the money supply, and on scuttling the disastrous price and wage controls, Powell is by far the soundest politician in Britain. A sweep of Enoch Powell into power would hardly be ideal, but it offers the best existing hope for British freedom and survival. □

European Politics —

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Arab world. Jobert's standing in French public opinion has skyrocketed and he has become a leading contender to succeed to the French presidency. Even the very influential *Le Monde*, almost never having praised Gaullist attitudes, strongly attacked the American leaders and defended the French position of independence. President Nixon has given dire warnings to the Europeans and threatens to unleash his secret weapon — i.e., he may not visit them this year. The Europeans may emerge from this situation stronger and more independent, which would be a plus for world peace as well as a check on the Nixon administration's taste for super-run-away inflation. □

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European Politics

By Leonard P. Liggio

There has been a single theme in the foreign policy philosophy of the Nixon Administration; it was re-emphasized in a recent headline datelined Key Biscayne, Fla., May 27: NIXON FEARS NEW ISOLATIONISM. The immediate task of the president was to gain support for the most massive military budget yet put forward. The long-term aspect concerned America's domination over Europe. This had been undermined by French president De Gaulle, and was not repaired during the term of Georges Pompidou. Pompidou had taken the lead in insisting that European unity could be based only upon opposition to United States domination of Europe. He expressed this strongly last December at the Common Market summit meeting in Copenhagen. It was restated by French foreign minister Michel Jobert in his strong exchange last February in Washington with Henry Kissinger. It was reexpressed that month when French finance minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing abruptly decided to float the franc — always a threat to American monetary policies — rather than borrow money from international sources in order to artificially maintain the franc. These policies had led Kissinger on March 21 to repeat Nixon's constant warnings about the growth of neo-isolationism in America.

Thus, the recent presidential elections in France were of considerable importance to the Nixon administration. If there was a basic aspect to the election it might be said to have been the issue of principle. Giscard has a non-political image. He has been an economic expert, no more and no less. Mitterand, on the other hand, had a particularly political image. He became head of the Socialist party even though he had not been a member of that party, in order to run for president against De Gaulle in 1965 (he did better than expected with 45% of the vote). Mitterand had been the disciple in the 1950s, of René Pleven, a center politician and member of almost every cabinet, who always seemed to want what the U.S. wanted in military and foreign policy. Pleven and Mitterand fought against the program of the French right-wing which was for reconciliation with Russia. Mitterand served in many French cabinets of the Fourth Republic and his major disagreement with the Fifth Republic of De Gaulle was that he never again was called into the cabinet. Like so many of the center politicians, against whom Gaullist politics was based, Mitterand has slept in more than one political bed. But, in politics as elsewhere, there is a large body of support for monogamy. Giscard benefitted from not having been involved in the swapping of French parliamentary politics.

Giscard's economic policies are not great. He invented the value-added tax; he has used price controls; he thinks in Keynesian terms; there is a bias in his politics toward inflation to aid business undertakings rather than toward the deflation favored by the saving population. Giscard was supported by the planners and reformers. Giscard appointed several of them to his new cabinet. In addition to the technocrats, he appointed four center party leaders to the cabinet, including Jean Lecanuet and Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber. One of Giscard's objectives in appointing the centrists, in addition to their support for him in the election, is to try to create a more middle-of-the-road image. The election was one of the closest — Giscard, 50 plus percent; Mitterand, 49 plus. If Mitterand had relied only on Socialist and Communist support, there would have been no contest. The Fourth Republic had a six-sided politics — Communists, Socialists, Radicals, Catholics, Gaullists and the Independents (which was led by Giscard's mentor, Antoine Pinay, a no-nonsense hard money advocate who initiated the sound financial base of the Gaullist period on which Giscard could play with his newer economic policies). De Gaulle's majorities were based on the latter three groups plus many of the former voters for the Radicals. In the meantime, a lot of older voters had died and a lot of the newer voters without any memory of Mitterand's earlier role as politician viewed him as the non-political candidate against those who have been in office for the past decade and a half, like Giscard.

Thus, in addition to the Socialist and Communist votes, Mitterand was supported by a lot of centrists. If he had been elected, Mitterand would have appointed the extreme centrist and pro-American mayor of Marseilles, Gaston Defferre, as prime minister. In fact, there might have been a lot of old politician faces of the pro-American heyday back in the

cabinet had Mitterand won. Even the few possible Communist cabinet members might have fitted in by not being pro-Soviet. During the election, the Soviet ambassador made a public call on Giscard — no doubt to discuss some pressing aspect of French investment in the Soviet Union that could not wait the few days until the election was over. Doubtless it never crossed the Soviet ambassador's mind that this highlighted the image of Giscard as a strong advocate of *detente* with the Soviet Union. However, the French Communist press denounced the action and protested the Soviet Union's interference in French domestic politics. Once more, a local Communist movement was sacrificed to broader Soviet foreign policy objectives.

Giscard's foreign policy is likely to be less publicly anti-American than Pompidou's but more directed to building up France's relations with Europe and Russia. The new foreign minister, Jean Sauvagnargues, was the recent ambassador to Germany, who in the nineteen thirties studied German culture "when there was a surge in French interest in German romanticism and a fascination with the rise of Hitler." He entered the diplomatic service during the Vichy regime of Marshal Petain. He has had long experience in the Arab and African worlds. The new prime minister, Jacques Chirac, was a brain truster for Pompidou and then chief aide to Giscard at finance, and more recently, agriculture and interior minister; his father-in-law is the director general of the foreign ministry and major contributor to De Gaulle's foreign policy. Chirac was a new Gaullist of the Pompidou variety rather than an old Gaullist. He will take a leading role in trying to split the new from the old Gaullists to form a new coalition around Giscard. The new finance minister, Jean-Pierre Fourcade had been an aide to Giscard at the finance ministry. The most important member of the cabinet will be the minister of state and interior minister (in charge of police), Michel Poniatowski, a leader of Giscard's Independents and a cousin of Giscard's wife. Poniatowski is a descendent of the family of the last king of Poland; one nephew of that king became a French marshal, dying at the Battle of the Nations near Leipzig in 1813, and another nephew, the grand treasurer of Lithuania, was the father of a senator of France under Napoleon III and was the ancestor of the present Michel.

Pompidou before his death was attempting to create a new political alignment of Giscard's Independents, the younger Gaullists such as Chirac, and the reform center. Pompidou had removed Jacques Chaban-Delmas as prime minister so that he would not be the heir of Pompidou. Chaban-Delmas had led the Gaullists in the nineteen fifties during De Gaulle's retirement and had been Gaullist speaker of the national assembly under De Gaulle. Chaban-Delmas has been mayor of Bordeaux for twenty-five years and was allied with the Gaullist party bosses led by Alexandre Sanguinetti. In the recent election, Chaban-Delmas received only about fifteen per cent of the vote. It was not surprising that Sanguinetti not only warned Chirac against causing defections in parliament from Gaullism, but pressed the new cabinet to push the Gaullist concept of worker participation in industrial management which was a major policy since De Gaulle issued his 1947 call. Sanguinetti said that the Gaullists would pay more attention to the workers and cause workers to press the unions toward Gaullist "corporatist" notions rather than socialist ones. The Gaullists did have voting support among the industrial workers, but in this election that disappeared. The Catholic labor federation supported Mitterand and joined the Socialist and Communist federations in the *Cartel des Gauches*. The industrial north-east, a stronghold of Gaullist worker votes, went over to Mitterand as early as the May 5 vote.

Pierre Gaxotte, in *Le Figaro* (May 11), recalled May 5 as the two hundredth anniversary of the death of Louis XV — the Well-Beloved (in many ways) — which ushered in the short-lived finance ministry of Turgot. However, May 5's election (first round) represented the loss of the Gaullist strongholds — Paris and the north-east. The other old Gaullist centers — the East and the West — went for Giscard. Gaullist and general right-wing strength has been centered in the northern half of France; the agricultural south has tended to be left-wing-Socialist and

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For Tuccille

By Roger Lea MacBride

I hear
That in New York this year
The Democrats will select Reid, Samuels or Carey
None of whom to us is the least bit scary.

Libertarians think them the absurdest.

I hear
That in New York this year
The Republicans will choose incumbent Malcolm Wilson
Who if re-elected promises the state to tilt some.

Libertarians' greeting: a cold blast.

I hear
That in New York this year
The Conservative choice is a surprise: Wilson, Malcolm
Who to a majority may prove less than welcome.

Libertarians need a fistful of aspirin.

I hear
That in New York this year
The Marxist parties will struggle to get on the ballot
Some strange exemplar — maybe this time a shallot?

Libertarians would rather run up Mt. Everest.

When we put it all together, what have we got?
I submit to you a hell of a lot.

The absurdest: Too silly.
A cold blast: Too chilly.
A fistful of aspirin: Too pilly.
A run up Mt. Everest: Too hilly.

All four points agree, you see.
In 1974 it's Jerome Tuccille!!

Note by Roger Lea MacBride:

The common law copyright in the above has been hastily assigned to Joey Rothbard. While of course I hope that large sums will flow into her coffers as a result of requests to reprint, candor prompts me to admit that the major motive was to protect myself from potentially damaging law suits.

Reply from Joey Rothbard:

Since my taste in poetry is as low as my taste in music, I am tickled to have the copyright, and am eagerly awaiting the large sums.

European Politics —

(Continued From Page 3)

Communist (the Communists have massive peasant support in France). Northern France was the old center of feudal law and administrative government; while southern France was the center of civil law and representative institutions. These divisions seemed to have continued in the present political situation.

Chaban-Delmas thus gained strength in the formerly non-Gaullist center, the south-west, around Chaban's center of power, Bordeaux. But, in the second round election on May 19, this area shifted to the left again. Similarly, the votes of former cabinet member, Jean Royer, the mayor of Tours, shifted to Mitterand in the second round, even though Royer ran as an anti-inflation but even more as an anti-pornographic candidate representing the puritan wing of Catholicism. The poor showing of this campaign paralleled the events surrounding the vote to repeal the new law in Italy permitting divorce. The voters approved the new divorce law by a 3-2 vote. The new law was opposed by the Catholic hierarchy led by the Pope himself (including removal of Catholic spokesmen favoring non-church interference in civil matters such as the abbot of the historic monastery of St-Paul's Outside the Walls). The Communists and Socialists were joined by the right-wing Italian Liberals and the center Republican's in supporting the law while the Christian Democrats were allied with the new Fascist party. Italian senate president and former prime minister Fanfani led the Christian Democratic faction that wanted to repeal the law as a step to his returning to power. As he is left-wing on domestic matters and pro-American on foreign affairs his defeat is a major step to an improvement in Italy's politics — strong anti-inflationary monetary policy which will reduce reliance on the U.S. economically and a more neutralist foreign policy. Italy's long-standing favorable relations with the Arab oil countries and its emergence as a refining, storage and petro-chemical center increased Italy's independence from the United States.

Portugal, which has been a keystone of American military power, experienced a total overturn in its politics which should cause it to end its special military ties with the United States and become part of the widening European bloc which Kissinger sees as defining itself in opposition to the United States. The revolution resulted directly from the

desire of major elements of Portugal to direct its attentions to concentrating upon Europe, and to experience a modernization of the economy in a capitalist direction. Until now, Portugal has been a strong support for U.S. policy regarding NATO; Portugal's main interest has been its wars to maintain colonialism in Africa and its alliance with South Africa. Like South Africa, Portuguese colonies had large numbers of European settlers who prefer to be bureaucrats ruling over millions of Africans rather than establishing themselves as a European state in the portions of Africa which they settled and which were not settled by African peoples. Instead of being satisfied with settlement of a small area which was totally European, they preferred rule over a huge native population. The colonialism and monopoly enterprises of the previous regime are being dismantled by the revolution which was led by General Antonio de Spínola, the new president, who was removed from the army in February for publishing, "Portugal and the Future," in which he called for a Lusitanian Community of Portugal and its former colonies, similar to the British Commonwealth. The African revolts had started in December 1960 in Angola (inspired by the revolt and independence in the Congo in that summer in which the BaKongo people of the lower Congo and northern Angola had taken the lead), and in Guinea-Bissau in West Africa. The guerilla war in Guinea was led by the late Amílcar Cabral who was assassinated last fall. The war was based on the stateless Balante people against the pro-Portuguese feudal Fula emirs. Cabral had advocated a future government which would be without a capital and without bureaucratic departments attempting to run people's lives from a central government. Cabral in his book, *Revolution in Guinea*, challenged the established Marxist notions of revolution and of society in liberated Guinea. The Portuguese government is composed of liberals, socialists and Communists (a Communist party totally controlled by Moscow and thus extremely moderate; the Communist cabinet members' role is to maintain low wage rates among the workers on the model of the Soviet Union.)

Outside of Europe, the revolution of the Kurds of northern Iraq is worthy of note. The revolt has been going on for about two decades, and at times was well covered by the New York Times Middle East correspondent who periodically would take a couple of months to cross through the Turkish mountains to reach Kurdistan. There are about two and a half million Kurds in Iraq and about six million in eastern Turkey

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Arts And Movies

By Mr. First Nighter

Thunderbolt and Lightfoot. dir. by Michael Cimino. With Clint Eastwood.

First, I have to report, as a dyed-in-the-wool Clint Eastwood fan, that this picture is a total disaster. It is not Clint Eastwood's fault; he struggles manfully through the role. The fault is strictly Cimino's, may he retire for the rest of his life to television. Eastwood is cast as the hero of a crime caper to recover buried loot, for which both another set of crooks and the police are chasing him. It sounds interesting, but it isn't, largely because action disappears into the twin killers of any good action-suspense movie: a lot of witless horseplay, interspersed with much moping and "tragedy."

Walking Tall. dir. by Phil Karlson, with Joe Don Baker.

Walking Tall, on the other hand, is an authentic hero picture, and a smashing success. For weeks, I was put off by news of its "underground" success, and ad comparisons to one of the turkeys of all time, Billy Jack. But the two, rest assured, are as different as day and night. Walking Tall is not only expertly directed and acted, but the plot is truly heroic, and is, as most everyone knows, the true story of Buford Pusser, first as citizen-farmer and then as sheriff, battling a passel of bad guys in rural Tennessee. Left-liberals who complain about Pusser's "puritanism" ignore the fact that the bad guys' gambling was crooked and that the hero and friend were nearly killed when they tried to get their money back; and that the moonshine was poisonous enough to kill a dozen customers. Joe Don Baker makes a great hero, in the classic tradition of an innocent who is victimized, and then fights back to conquer the victimizers. It's great to see Phil Karlson back after many years, and let's hope that he makes many more films.

Chosen Survivors. dir. by Sutton Roley. With Jackie Cooper.

A pleasant, though scarcely a great, politico-science fiction film, with — let us strongly note — an explicit libertarian content. The villain of the piece is the U. S. government, its computers, and its *verdame* "behavioral scientist"; the government shanghai and drugs a group of people chosen by its computer to serve as unwilling guinea pigs in a behavioral science experiment. Shipped far underground to a "totally controlled environment", the poor experimentees are told that nuclear war has just wiped out virtually everyone on earth, and that they are among the few chosen survivors, who would have to remain underground for years until radiation on the surface had disappeared. It's all, however, a trick, for the good of "research."

Interestingly enough, the capitalist in the group, well played by Jackie Cooper, is the only one to smell a rat and to keep agitating for the group to escape. Treated by everyone as a greed-filled and selfish pariah, it turns out that the pesty capitalist was right all along. For this we can forgive Roley some of the crudities derived from his TV background.

Daisy Miller. dir. by Peter Bogdanovich. With Cybill Shepherd.

Written by Frederic Raphael, from the novel by Henry James.

Dare I say it? Dare I think the unthinkable? Namely, that I have always found Henry James b-o-r-i-n-g; is there anything quite so excruciatingly boring as the old gentleman's endless, quibbling, and plotless stories? I have said before that Peter Bogdanovich is one of our best young directors, but here he is trapped by his own major *leitmotif* — his reverence and love for "classical" literature and cinema, his rejection of the *avant-garde*. For Bogdanovich is here trapped by his neo-classicism — usually a virtue of his — into a faithful translation of the original vapidly to the screen. For James, the most uncinematic of writers, such a faithful rendition may be of interest to antiquarians, but it is a film disaster. If one wants to translate James to the screen, he must be made cinematic; a literal rendition is a disaster, in this case *Daisy Miller*.

For one point, for those who like that sort of thing the charm of James is his endless filagree and subtlety of language; since all that has to drop out in any movie version, what we are left with is a plotless plot, and endless shots of the passive protagonist of the film standing around moping as he observes Daisy's pointless antics. Another problem here is that Bogdanovich and Raphael, as sophisticated Americans of the 1970's, seem incapable of understanding that James' viewpoint of a century ago, in his endless novels and stories about crude Americans visiting aristocratic Europe, was pro-Europe and anti-American. In pitching the movie in precisely the opposite direction, Bogdanovich and Raphael have

made hash of whatever point James was laboring to make.

To top off the whole stew, Bogdanovich fell into another trap, one that has been mentioned by most of the critics. Usually, he is a master at getting sterling performances from his actors; but here he cast the crucial role of Daisy with his current amour, Cybill Shepherd, who either can't act at all or can't do so under Bogdanovich's direction. I suppose it's something like the old motto that a lawyer should never argue his own case. At any rate, Miss Shepherd, who is supposed to be a charming flirt, rattles on in a machine-gun delivery, and with such an evident lack of even feigned, much less genuine, interest in any of her suitors, that the center of the film never has a chance to hold. □

European Politics —

(Continued From Page 4)

and north-western Iran. The leader of the Kurds is Mullah Mustafa Barzani. The Kurds were promised independence by the Treaty of Sevres in 1920, one of the post-World War I peace treaties. This treaty gave public recognition to the secret Anglo-French Skyes-Picot Agreement of 1916 whereby France was to receive Syria and England Iraq, from the Ottoman Empire. The Agreement had to do with hoped for petroleum resources which had been feared would fall to German possession in 1914 through the Berlin to Bagdad concession. The important area, the vilayet of Mosul, was a known petroleum reserve and England wanted it. Although the war in Mesopotamia had ended in November 1918 with English forces (Indian troops) sixty miles south of Mosul, English forces gradually moved to and beyond the city. In 1923 as one of the seventeen agreements signed at Lausanne, Turkey agreed to what amounted to English control over Mosul while nothing was said about carrying out the treaty of Sevres' provision for an independent Kurdistan (which would have included Mosul). Under the English imposed Hashemite family the Kurds' struggle continued. After the establishment of the Iraq Ba'athist regime in the nineteen sixties, recognition of Kurdish autonomy seemed possible. The Ba'ath, which also rules in Syria, is a complex political philosophy founded by a Syrian Christian on the basis of French Catholic social theory. But, the Iraq Ba'ath did not live up to their agreements and the conflict continues in and around the petroleum center of Mosul. (For a really valuable explanation of Middle East politics and American policy in that area, read Miles Copeland, *The Game of Nations*; Copeland, a pr man in Cairo for decades, was involved in more crucial diplomatic activities than a thousand ordinary overseas ad men; it is a first-hand deep-cover overview).

Meanwhile, India has exploded an atomic weapon. A very strong criticism was issued by the Gandhi Peace Foundation secretary, Radha Krishna: "The economic costs of this program are unimaginable. There is also the likelihood of it adding to our monstrous inflation. When the country's economic situation is one of great stress, on account of gross underutilization of industrial capacity and available resources including human resources, the search for a new source of energy of doubtful immediate use, does not exactly square up with our national priorities . . . Is prestige not synonymous with the assertion of our national ideals — no begging for food, our entire people sweating it out in the task of national reconstruction and very friendly relations between the countries in the subcontinent?" Asher Brynes, author of *We Give To Conquer*, dealing with foreign aid, noted in *The Nation* (June 8, 1974) that Nobel Peace Prize winner and Rockefeller Foundation spokesman, Dr. Norman Borlaug, had chewed out Indian bureaucrats. Echoing what Milton Friedman had said about foreign aid in India in the 1950's, Borlaug demonstrated the complete failure of bureaucracy. Since foreign grain is either given by the U.S. to the Indian government when it behaves or is purchased by government agencies, there is no room for private enterprise. The government officials did not buy wheat for reserve stocks, and then flooded the American commodity markets on a panic basis driving up the price two or three times. No oil reserves were undertaken by the government monopolies so the grain regions of India will not be able to produce full yields due to absence of oil for the massive irrigation pump system and of synthetic fertilizers. □

Destutt de Tracy: Early French Classical Liberal

By Leonard P. Liggio
Department of History, City College, CUNY

July 20 is the 220th anniversary of the birth of Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), a founder of the Ideologue school and a leading laissez-faire economist. He was raised by his mother and his grandmother, who was the grand-niece of the leader of Jansenism, Arnauld. He was a disciple of the Encyclopedists, and especially of Voltaire whom he visited at Ferney. He read and re-read the works of his hero of reason. He was elected in 1789 a deputy to the Nobles in the Estates-General, and with the Marquis de Lafayette, he led the assault on feudalism and government privileges which marked the French Revolution. He later retired to the suburb of Auteuil to the house of Mme. Helvetius, which served as a center for the last of the eighteenth century philosophes, Condorcet and Cabanis. Condorcet died in prison during the Terror and Destutt de Tracy barely escaped execution. He returned to Mme. Helvetius' home and worked with the physician Cabanis who married Charlotte de Grouchy, the sister of Mme. Sophie de Condorcet, widow of the philosopher, and translator of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Mme. de Condorcet married the Irish general, O'Connor, and with Cabanis and Dominique Joseph Garat published the complete works of Condorcet, which became an intellectual support for the opposition to Napoleon. Along with the historians, Constantin Volney and Pierre Claude Daunou, and the editor, J.-B. Say, the Ideologues exercised a major intellectual influence during the period of the Directory (1795-99) and the Consulate (1799-1804). But, when Napoleon crowned himself emperor, he denounced the Ideologues as his most dangerous opponents.

Destutt de Tracy's major work, *Elements of Ideology*, included in its section on will his analysis of political economy. The major influences on his psychological thought were Locke and Condillac. Destutt de Tracy and Dupont de Nemours were the two Frenchmen who had the longest association and influence on Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson translated and published (in 1811) Destutt de Tracy's *Commentary on Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws* (written in 1806 but not published in France until 1817). One of the few works on his thought is Jean Cruet, *La Philosophie Morale & Sociale de Destutt de Tracy* (1909), from whom the following quotations are taken:

"The social philosophy of Destutt de Tracy included a political part and an economic part. Such are very much in effect the two essential elements of the revolutionary ideal. The Revolution had been at the same time a political crisis and an economic crisis; it had been the protestation of the public conscience against the despotic regime; but it did on the other hand profoundly modify the economic regime of France. We find in the works of Destutt de Tracy the expression of this double tendency.

"One has often said that the great merit of the Revolution was to have founded its political ideal on a perfect knowledge of human nature. It had taken men as they are and not as they ought to be. It allowed a free field to human egoism. In giving as a foundation to his social philosophy a psychological study of men, Destutt de Tracy rested in the revolutionary tradition." (pp. 40-41)

"Finally the political philosophy of Destutt de Tracy is an individualist philosophy. For the French Revolution had been — one cannot doubt it — unreservedly individualist. Destutt de Tracy had defended individual property, condemned the intervention of the State in the affairs of individuals, and declared on several occasions that communism was a "utopia" or an "aberration." The economic system of competition, of freedom of labor, of wages, and of heredity, appeared to him the strong support of the political ideal of the Revolution . . . The socialists and the republicans (liberals) have, to our conception, the same political ideal founded on different economic principles. Is that not the secret of their conflicts, and also of their union against the parties of the Old Regime (conservatives)?" (pp. 165-66).

"The economic theories of Destutt de Tracy are today still those of the republican liberal party. Destutt de Tracy rejected, as equally contrary to the intimate nature of man, the Christian concept and the Communist concept of society. Destutt de Tracy is a utilitarian and an individualist: with that double title he is the type of republican without epithet. After

having read the *Elements of Ideology*, one understands better the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" (1789), at once in its political part and in its economic part." (p. 100)

"From the faculty of feeling and the faculty of willing is born the idea of personality; from the idea of personality is born in its turn the idea of property. Property has its origin in a natural and necessary fact. Property was a fact, it does not depend on us to make it that or not to make it that . . . There is a fundamental property, anterior and superior to all institutions. In other terms, for Destutt de Tracy, the foundation of property is the psychological order. Man is born property-owner." (pp. 52-53)

Destutt de Tracy considered government to be sterile at best, but generally a source of exploitation. He organized the deposition of Napoleon in 1814 (as he had sought to do for ten years) and was a source of support for public and secret opposition to the succeeding governments. ■

New Forum Policy

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World-Wide Inflation —

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checkbook money in the economy, which adds fuel to the inflation.

The first necessary step to stopping the inflation is, then, simplicity itself, once we penetrate to the arcane processes of how the money supply expands: a command to the Fed to stop, forevermore, any purchases of assets; better yet, would be to gain credibility by forcing the Fed to sell some of its assets and thereby contract the swollen supply of checkbook money. Of course, longer-run measures would also be vital: including the separation of money and banking from the State by a return to the gold standard at a realistic gold "price", and the abolition of the Federal Reserve System. But the first step would be a permanent command to the Fed to stop! its inflationary process. And the Fed will, of course, never do this unless it is compelled by mass public pressure from below. And to do that we need a massive public education in the cause of the inflationary disaster. Furthermore, similar public pressure on the other central banks of the world is also vitally necessary. ■

The Non-Dismal Science

By Leonard P. Liggio

Percy L. Greaves, Jr., *UNDERSTANDING THE DOLLAR CRISIS*, with a foreword by Ludwig von Mises, Boston, Western Islands, 1973, 302 pp., \$7.00.

Gottfried Haberler, *ECONOMIC GROWTH & STABILITY*, Los Angeles, Nash Publishing, 1974 (Principles of Freedom Series), 291 pp. \$10.00.

"Economics is not a dry subject. It is not a dismal subject. It is not about statistics. It is about human life. It is about the ideas that motivate human beings. It is about how men act from birth to death. It is about the most important and interesting drama of all — human action." Thus, Percy Greaves launched his very readable book concerned with explaining to the general reader economics in general and monetary matters in particular. The book is based on the lectures which Greaves presented to the Centro de Estudios sobre la Libertad in Buenos Aires at

the invitation of Alberto Benegas Lynch. Greaves' experience as an economic author began as a financial editor for the *United States News*. During World War II he was Research Director of the Republican National Committee until he resigned over the party's shift to support for Federal aid to education, public housing, etc. During 1945-46 he was Chief of the Minority (Republican) Staff of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, and in 1947 was a congressional expert in drafting the Taft-Hartley Law. For the past quarter century, Greaves has been a noted economic columnist and lecturer (Freedom School and Foundation for Economic Education), and Armstrong Professor of Economics at the University of Plano in association with Professor von Mises.

The first part of the work, concerned with general economics, presents a clear analysis of the misunderstanding of value by the classical economists, and the rectification by the Austrian School. Greaves' fine

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Only One Heartbeat Away

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government loot behind a facade of intellectual apologetics, set forth by kept intellectuals, experts, and university professors. Being less hungry and more far-sighted, furthermore, the Yankees are typically willing to allow more dissent, civil liberties, and adherence to democratic forms, so long as their power remains essentially undamaged. The Southern Rim "Cowboys", on the other hand, symbolized again by Johnson and Connally, take on the typical characteristics of the *nouveau riche*: hungrier, less sophisticated, more immediately grasping, and more willing to scuttle civil liberties in their thirst for power.

After Yankee Jack Kennedy was deposed by a "lone nut", Cowboy Johnson was catapulted to power. What of the Nixon Administration? While Nixon himself was personally Cowboy (Southern California), his administration was clearly a Cowboy-Yankee coalition, with foreign policy wrapped up by the Rockefellers (Henry Kissinger was for years Nelson Rockefeller's personal foreign policy adviser.) Economic policy was also basically Rockefeller, Arthur Burns having long been in the Dewey-Rockefeller ambit, and George Shultz being a member of the Pratt family (his middle name is Pratt). But the rest of the Administration was Cowboy, a designation that clearly applies to the West Coast and USC White House power boys, as well as Connally, and to Bebe Rebozo (Florida and Cuba: how Southern Rimmy can one get?)

The interesting focal question about the great media revelations on Watergate is: how come the powerful Establishment press (the New York Times, Washington Post, CBS, NBC) suddenly got honest? How come, that after years of supinely accepting federal government press handouts, they suddenly became demon investigative reporters in the great old, but forgotten, tradition? The point is not that the press was wrong and Nixon victimized about Watergate, but that how come the press suddenly got right? A conspiracy analysis provides the only plausible explanation: namely, that the press expose was the spearhead of a massive Eastern Establishment-Yankee counterrevolution to smash the Nixonite cowboys: almost all of whom are now banished, under indictment, or in jail. Why the Yankees concluded that they must take such drastic measures, even unto impeachment, is not completely clear: part of it was certainly the naked grab for power, the burgling and the espionage, on the part of the Nixon Cowboys. But another part centers on the still mysterious role of the CIA, which was strongly if muddily concerned with Watergate. The catalyst seems to have been Nixon's

appointment of James Schlesinger to head the CIA, after which Schlesinger began to purge the "Old Guard" of the CIA, which had always been thoroughly Yankee-Eastern Establishment. It is certainly possible that James McCord, who finally blew the whistle on the plot, was a double agent of his beloved Yankee-controlled CIA, in bringing down Nixon and his Plumbers.

At any rate, we come down to the great empirical test of the Yankee-Cowboy conspiracy analysis of the Watergate Struggle: if true, if the fight over Watergate was a massive counter-revolution engineered by the Rockefeller-Morgan Yankees, then who would be appointed Vice-President by the cipher Jerry Ford (who himself was a political disciple of Yankee-controlled Arthur Vandenberg?) If the conspiracy thesis were correct, then either Yankee Brahmin Eliot Richardson, or, even more blatantly, Nelson himself, would be appointed. And the rest is history. With Rockefeller receiving general hosannahs as heir-apparent, with Donald Rumsfeld now in and Kissinger still around, the Yankees have now taken over completely. Dr. Josephson's seemingly paranoid analysis of twenty-two years ago has virtually come true; the man who could not have been nominated, let alone elected, on his own, is only a heartbeat away from total power, and is the front-runner for 1976.

As a corollary of this mammoth fusion of political and economic power, it is not surprising that Nelson Rockefeller, as much as Scoop Jackson, is Mr. State: in every policy field, Rockefeller opts for statism and Big Government. High taxes, high government spending, fiat paper over gold, jail for drug addicts, compulsory racial integration, military-industrial complex. Cold War and global intervention, you name it, Nelson Rockefeller is in the forefront of the drive for Leviathan State power. The monstrous choice of Nelson Rockefeller, and the confirming of the conspiracy thesis, does not of course mean that we libertarians should retract our hosannahs over the bringing down of the corrupt and tyrannical Nixon gang. No group of men have more richly deserved such a fate. But the State of course rolls on, albeit under rather different management. The Yankees may be smoother and more civil libertarian, but they are in the long run more dangerous, and this especially applies to Nelson. Now that we have used the once rusty impeachment weapon so successfully, let us keep it revved up and at the ready. Boy are we going to need it.

The Non-Dismal Science —

(Continued From Page 7)

summary of the position of mathematics in economics deserves quotation:

Mathematics in the field of economics is always statistics, and statistics are always history. Mathematics cannot and does not enter into measuring the ideas or values that determine human action. There are no constants in these. There is no equality in market transactions. Therefore, mathematics does not apply. The use of mathematics requires constants. Mathematics cannot be used in economic theory.

He notes a debate between Walter Heller and Milton Friedman which was described as "a readable exchange between two of the nation's best-known economists who take contrasting views of government's role in managing the national economy." (Emphasis added by Greaves.) A fine critique is presented of the fallacies of Friedman's monetary thought. As Greaves notes, Friedman is a good economist in areas such as labor economics, or foreign aid, but unfortunately he does not stick to matters that he understands, but dabbles in monetary theory. One may judge the correctness of one's monetary theory by the distance of the economist from the President's ear.

Basing himself on Boehm Bawerk and Mises, Greaves undertakes a thorough historical analysis of modern American monetary problems. He calls to mind the anti-inflation writings of Pelatiah Webster (1726-1795). The center of his attention is the monetary and banking policies of the 1910's and 1920's, and the special relationship of the New York Federal Reserve Bank and the Bank of England. Of special importance was Churchill's 1925 blunder of overvaluing the English pound; it ranks along side his 1940 foreign policy as the Alpha and Omega of England's total decline. Greaves details the role of foreign policy and war as the steps used by the New Deal to escape the consequences of its economic programs. War production and Lend-Lease to the Allies was financed by increases in the money supply (\$46.5 billion at the end of 1938, \$64.5 billion at the end of 1941). Greaves also shows the very important relationship between inflation of the money supply after World War II and the Marshall Plan and foreign aid programs; this analysis is must reading.

Especially good is Greaves' discussion of the "Effect of Wage Rate Intervention," and his critique of publicly financed education.

Anyone who understands the benefits of competition must hold that the system that is best for producing what people

Correction

The article, "About Quotas," in our August issue, was written by Professor William R. Havender of the Genetics Department, University of California, Berkeley. We apologize to our readers and to Dr. Havender for inadvertently omitting his name from the article.

want most through the market forces is also the best system for producing the best education.

The most valuable part of Gottfried Haberler's book is the current analysis of the energy crisis, and the correct, market mechanisms for dealing with the energy crisis. His treatment of that topic alone makes the book worth reading. But, his discussion of business cycle, inflation, and the international monetary situation are valuable for the general reader and expert alike. He devotes much attention to the conflicts over monetary policies, for example, creeping inflation:

On these questions the line-up of different economists is curiously mixed. Some laissez-faire liberals like Milton Friedman and good Keynesians like Paul Samuelson and Robert Solow take a relaxed view of creeping inflation while others, such as F. A. Hayek and some adherents of the "New Economics" (in the 1967 controversy over the tax increase) take it much more seriously. . . . I made it clear earlier that I do not question that creeping inflation per se is by far a lesser evil than severe depressions. But this does not tell us how high the cost of creeping inflation actually is. Is it possible that creeping inflation, if allowed to continue for a long time, brings with it some delayed dangers? Furthermore, it is necessary to pay any price at all in the form of inflation for the kind of growth we had during the postwar period? In other words, is growth without inflation altogether impossible?

Haberler offers in his discussions of each major topic the Keynesian and non-Keynesian explanations for the developments. His postscripts ending many chapters concern the immediate events of the crises of the winter of 1973-74, and underscore the earlier controversies on policies. □

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Foreign Affairs

By Leonard P. Liggio

Last May, the Danish Progress Party, the anti-tax party which was second largest in the parliament, averted a government crisis by supporting a sales tax. In January, 1975 the governing Liberal party called elections, and jumped from 22 seats to 42 seats. The largest party, the Social Democrats, gained seven seats to total 53. The Liberal premier, a former pastor, called the elections when he could not get support in parliament for wage and price freezes. His gains in the elections came at the expense of his supporters and was considered cannibalism by political commentators. The conservatives lost six seats, the Radical Liberals lost seven, and the Progress party lost four of the 28 seats gained in the December 1973 elections. Led by Mogens Glistrup, the Progress party can be the balance of power between the Socialist and the Liberal coalitions. But, can one be surprised that despite the good showing of 14 per cent the Progress party's vote for increased taxes rather than abolition of taxes cast it some credibility? A few weeks after the election, the Liberal premier resigned after losing a vote of confidence by one vote.

Taxes and the economy have been the basis of the crisis which continues to befall Italy. The short-lived government of Mariano Rumor, composed of Christian Democrats, Republicans, Socialists and Social Democrats, had fallen over the need to reduce government spending. Last fall, the president of the Senate, former premier Amintore Fanfani, was called upon to form a government. Fanfani was a leading Catholic intellectual whose social ideas paralleled those of corporatism. He has been a strong supporter of NATO and the US, and follows the usual path of being very socialistic domestically and anti-communist internationally. He headed the first "Opening to the Left" government, and as foreign minister served as UN General Assembly president during the beginning of the US aggression in Vietnam and undercut efforts in the UN to end the aggression. Returning to Italy, he became secretary general of the increasingly failing Christian Democratic party. Fanfani led the attempt to end the newly passed divorce law; but despite the support of the Vatican, including the silencing of bishops and abbots opposed to changing the new divorce law, Fanfani's efforts were defeated. This led to his inability to form a government last fall, and the calling on foreign minister Aldo Moro. Moro, in a previous stint as premier, had attempted to include the Communist party as part of the coalition, but was blocked by Fanfani. Moro is in favor of rigid economy in government, and balanced budgets, but is viewed as leader of the left-wing of the Christian Democrats because he is not a tool of the U. S. Moro, as foreign minister, greatly improved Italian-Soviet relations and created much good will among Middle Eastern nations. Moro succeeded in forming a new cabinet, which left out the socialists and the social democrats since he could not also include the communists. The Republican party is strongly opposed to increased taxes and to inflation, as well as committed to civil liberties. Its leader, Emilio Colombo, is Treasury minister.

Its earlier strong ties with Middle Eastern countries, based on its long-standing oil policy independent of US interests, is gaining the Moro regime investments from Iran and Saudi Arabia. Led by the Governor of the Bank of Italy, Guido Carli, a leading monetary expert, Italy is undertaking a severe criticism of US economic policies. Carli has been attacking the US for exporting its own inflation; the US's exporting of its own Vietnam War-based inflation has generated anti-American feelings in Italy. Carli is able to build on a national reaction to increasing US interference in Italian domestic affairs. Carlo Donat-Cattin, a leader of the Christian Democratic party, quoted US ambassador John Volpe as pushing for an early election to create a coalition including the NATO-loving Liberals and excluding the Socialists who are united with the Communists in the trade union movement (the Catholic unions are also united with the Communist unions). Donat-Cattin detailed this in an interview in the Genoa daily, *Secolo XIX Nuovo*.

The New York Times has noted that Carli "is now opposing proposals by Secretary of State Kissinger on how to avoid further damage to the industrialized nations from the energy crisis on the grounds that they are inflationary. Mr. Carli also says that the situation and interests of the United States and Western Europe in the oil crisis are basically different and that interdependence between the two should be reduced rather than

increased . . . Mr. Carli said that the Kissinger project was aimed at blocking all possible financial outlets so as to force oil producers to purchase United States Treasury bills with their dollar surpluses. If they did that, Mr. Carli observed, the oil-producing nations would pile up, 'though in the form of dollars, pieces of scrap paper that they wouldn't know how to spend whose future conversion into real resources is endangered by continuing inflation.' "

Similarly, in France, there has been increasing reaction to President Giscard d'Estaing's apparent bowing to American pressure and abandoning of the independent foreign policy of the late Charles de Gaulle and the late Georges Pompidou. Furthermore, Premier Jacques Chirac surprisingly gained the post of secretary general of the Gaullist party. This is likely to modify that party's healthy anti-Americanism. However, Michel Jobert, Pompidou's foreign minister, is striving to set up an alternative for the supporters of an independent foreign policy. Jobert had engaged in the famous clash with Kissinger a year ago in Washington. Jobert's Movement of Democrats has gained national support and is planning to run candidates in the next national elections.

Similarly, the US faces increased independence from Japan as a result of the election of Takeo Miki as prime minister. Miki has been a member of parliament since 1937, holding posts of foreign minister, minister of international trade and secretary general of the Liberal-Democratic party. The party was formed under the pressure of the United States out of a conservative party and a laissez-faire party, and the election of Miki prevented the break-up of the party. Miki had outspokenly broken with the past four prime ministers. Miki had demanded less reliance on the US and the recognition of China. He is an advocate of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union, an opponent of large Japanese military forces, an opponent of sending Japanese armed forces abroad (as urged by the US during the Vietnam War), and a defender of the "no war" clause of the Japanese constitution. In addition to a strong supporter of diplomatic and trade relations with China, Miki is the Japanese leader closest to the Arab nations. In late 1973, he toured the Middle East to emphasize Japan's friendliness to the Arab states upon whom Japan is totally reliant for oil.

The recent Kissinger outburst threatening US invasion of the Middle East sounds like the death rattle of a dying Empire. The very ability of the US to carry out the purely physical aspects of such an invasion is open to question. There are no allies between Long Island and the Suez (except Israel) where US planes carrying paratroops could land and re-fuel. Germany, France and Italy drew the line in October 1973; Greece and Turkey have done so since the Cyprus crisis. Spain and Portugal have said no. The only hope for US geopoliticians is the Soviet Union. Would it allow US use of its Black Sea airfields for an invasion of Araby? Despite the dependence of the Soviet Union on the US, it is unlikely to do that, but one can never rule out the willingness of the Soviet Union to serve the US. (US-Soviet relations might have been close even had the Soviets permitted Nixon and his cohorts a place of exile in Yalta!)

Drew Middleton, in the New York Times of January 10, presented the Pentagon's assessment of Kissinger's threats. The Arabs would have warning — from the Soviets — of impending US invasions, and could destroy the oil fields. But, the real problem for the military officers is maintaining intervention once it had begun. The US does not have forces trained for desert warfare, and would face a Lawrence of Arabia guerrilla war. Western military leaders in NATO indicated that NATO would be destroyed by any American military action against Arab oil. The reaction of Iran and Saudi Arabia, the two largest oil suppliers, would be violently anti-American. The US has been giving and selling billions of dollars of high efficiency hardware to these two countries as the most conservative in the Middle East. Yet, the threats of US aggression have caused Iran to move to an anti-US position. Iran is now giving financial and military aid to the Arab states. Although a Moslem country, Iran follows a different form of Islam. However, it has allied with Saudi Arabia's desire to gain the independence of Moslem holy places in Jerusalem.

Until October 1973 Saudi Arabia had found a powerful Israel a barrier to

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radical Arab Nationalism. Saudi Arabia aided Syria and Egypt in October 1973 only after they had made unexpected gains. After the Six Day War of 1967, US Secretary of State William Rogers sought to implement UN Resolution 242 calling for immediate return to pre-1967 borders. But, with Black September 1970 and King Hussein's massacre of the Palestinian guerrillas, and the elimination of Jordan as a major sector of their conflict with the Israeli regime, Rogers' plan was dropped and Kissinger moved into the dominant position with a plan to recognize the 1967 conquests. Jewish settlements were introduced in the conquered lands and according to Abba Eban (*New Republic*, March 23, 1974), General Ari Sharon spoke of Israel conquering everything between Khartoum and Algeria, and Teheran and the Persian Gulf. After the Arab success in October 1973, Kissinger shifted to the Rogers plan, which is no longer operable, as indicated by the total recognition of the Palestinian cause at the Rabat conference.

Yet, the kind of "stability" that Kissinger is aiming for in the Middle East — one which gets the administration off the hook through the 1976 election — is likely to ensure the continuity of the conflict and more US dollars poured into the area. (There is almost no doubt that the Soviet Union was pleased to turn over the Egyptian situation to US funding as it would bankrupt the Soviet Union to try to supply arms and domestic development funds to Egypt; but the US taxpayer gladly takes on the task!). The mere creation of a Palestinian state on the basis of UN resolutions would only continue the path of conflict and confrontation. What we must do is go outside the current state of the question, which permits no solution. As the present state of the matter is illegal in international law as a violation of the initial UN trusteeship plans, it would be useful to go to the original plans as a starting point. This was the concept of a single Palestinian state, composed of two commonwealths or cantons based respectively on the European Jewish and Arab Jewish populations, and on the Christian Arab and Islamic Arab populations. Within the original concept of a single political entity, the growth of the Jewish homeland and of the Palestinian nation could follow the original expectations of the trusteeship and of the leaders of the respective communities.

Noam Chomsky, the MIT professor and moderate analyst of the Middle East problem, explained some of the basic issues in an article in the October, 1974 *University Review*:

If short-run stability is imposed, the most that the Palestinians can hope for is a mini-state subject to Israeli and Jordanian control. Israel will remain a Jewish state, that is, a state based on the principle of legal and institutional discrimination against non-Jews. . . . Thus, more than ninety percent of the pre-1967 territory of Israel is, by law, owned in perpetuity by the Jewish people. Non-Jewish citizens may not lease, rent, or work on these lands. The Law of Return grants automatic citizenship to Jews, and excludes Palestinians who fled or were driven from their homes. All-Jewish settlement areas are developed, with no protest from liberal opinion; imagine the reaction if all-White settlement areas were designated by law in New York City . . . Internally, Israel can hardly avoid religious domination of social life, regardless of popular feelings about the matter, since some principled basis must be established for distinguishing the privileged majority from other citizens or from stateless Arabs in Israel — a growing category, since statelessness is inherited, contrary to standard practice in the Western democracies.

A relevant recent development regarding Palestine was the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the establishment of an official representative by India. Although African, Asian and some European nations had PLO offices, the Indian government was the first non-Arab and non-Communist government to grant diplomatic status. The PLO emphasized the long tradition of Indian nationalist support for the rights of the Palestinians. The founder of Modern India, Mohandas Gandhi, published a famous dialogue on the insistence of Zionist organizations on establishing a Jewish state in Palestine, though already inhabited by another people. They did so rather than choose an uninhabited part of the world where they would neither be aggressors nor unwelcome, especially as several such offers had been made to Jewish

organizations. Gandhi was anxious to avoid the great problem faced by India due to two different religious groups. For this he was criticized by Moslem extremists and assassinated by a Hindu extremist.

Gandhi's point was well taken, as the attempts to set up a separate Moslem state of Indian Moslems have not succeeded. A hundred million Moslems have lived in India for a quarter-century; among those that selected to set up a Moslem state — Pakistan — the majority revolted, to set up their own state independent of the north-west Moslems. Bengal is a Moslem state closely allied to India, while Pakistan remains the tool of western imperialism for which it was created, first, by the British as they left India and now by the US. The PLO representative to India noted that Pakistan, as a religious, Moslem state, "will not solve the problems of Moslems," and that "to establish a state on the basis of religion will not solve communal problems planted by other forces." The PLO representative declared: "India can do a great deal for us in convincing Jews and world Jewry that a secular, democratic state in Palestine is the only solution. India has its own experience in creating this kind of state." Regarding the Palestinian cause, he added: "This is not a struggle against Jews. It is a struggle against Israel." However, the PLO delegate indicated that the PLO had not asked India to end the Israeli consulate in Bombay as demanded by members of Parliament and by the popular weekly *Blitz*. Indians are struck particularly by the refusal of Israel to accord the rights of Jews to many Indian Jews on the grounds that they can never be Jews according to the racial concepts of the Orthodox rabbis (who also exclude Conservative and Reform Judaism from Israel).

The partitions of India and Palestine by the British colonialists have had the same effects — conflict, division, continuity of political influence — that occurred in Ireland. Just as the Jordanian monarchy and its English-officered Arab Legion and the Pakistanian army were a means of maintenance of English imperial influence, so the partition of Ireland following the Irish Revolution attempted to use the different populations for English political purposes.

When the Republic of Ireland was created in 1922, it was composed of three of the four provinces of Ireland, plus three counties of the fourth province, Ulster. The remaining six counties of Ulster were included in a new entity — Northern Ireland. The Republic of Ireland contained a population which was 95% Catholic and five percent Church of Ireland (Episcopal or Anglican). The Church of Ireland was not only respected and supported, but members of it were given a majority on the Supreme Court and large representation in the Senate of the Irish Republic, in order to give a sense of security to the Anglican population. Recently, an Anglican, son of an IRA martyr, was elected president of the Irish Republic. Most of the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone and Derry — west of the Bann River — have Catholic majorities with Church of Ireland minorities. Similarly, south Armagh and south Down, adjacent to the Irish Republic, have Catholic majorities. It would have been possible to have included these in the Irish Republic in 1922, leaving an overwhelming Presbyterian majority in Antrim (and Belfast), northern Armagh-Down, and northeast Derry (around Coleraine). But, the English army demanded the western and southern areas as a defense in depth sector in case of invasion from the Irish Republic, so that the war could be fought in the Catholic areas of Northern Ireland. As Northern Ireland is divided by population into thirds — Catholic, Church of Ireland and Presbyterian — the Catholic demands for equal rights gained support among the Anglicans although opposed by the hard-core Calvinists. The introduction of the British army — for whatever motives — gave a boost to the Irish Republican Army faction led by the Provisional Sinn Fein Party (the Official Sinn Fein Party and its IRA have developed a non-violent, political program of civil disobedience and political struggle) because the IRA alone defended Catholic urban neighborhoods against British army invasions. This defense by the IRA gave them a huge popular support which they otherwise would not have had.

However, this popular support for the IRA (Provisionals) was on the verge of being undercut last spring by the formation of a coalition government composed of the moderate Catholics and the Anglicans. It was made up of the Alliance party which combines Catholics and Anglicans, the Social Democratic Party of Northern Ireland which is the main Catholic political party, and the Anglicans in the Unionist Party (which used to be the dominant party under the system reducing the Catholic electorate). This coalition had every chance of gaining complete support from the Catholics and totally eliminating the IRA from popular support. It would have given the Catholics equality of rights in education,

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housing, employment, health, etc., within the Ulster entity. A paper formal conference system between the prime ministers of the Republic and of Ulster would provide for conferences between the two parts of Ireland. The extreme Presbyterians opposed this (moderate Protestant leaders in Belfast have been assassinated for supporting the coalition concept). However, the coalition found its real enemy in the officer corps of the British army in Ulster, and, through threats of mutiny among the officers, the coalition government in Ulster was overthrown in mid-1974. The most hopeful attempt to solve the Irish problem had failed. The result was to give popular strength to the Provisional IRA, so that, after the Christmas truce, the British representatives in Ulster, through the intermediary role of Irish Protestant clergy in both parts of Ireland, have had to recognize the political role of the IRA. During the Christmas ceasefire, the English leaders missed a major chance to end the violence by releasing a large number of the illegally jailed Catholics, but it freed only a few. In addition to freeing large numbers of jailed Catholics, Prime Minister Harold Wilson seems about to agree to further talks with the IRA for the gradual withdrawal of the almost 15,000 British occupation troops from Ulster.

The question of communal divisions continues to plague Yugoslavia. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was created by the Western Allies after World War I under the dominance of Serbia. The Serbian dynasty had come to the throne only after 1900, after assassinating the whole of the previous royal family, and then had expanded in the Balkans, under the auspices of Tsarist Russia, incorporating Macedonia before World War I. Then, it desired to expand to the sea by incorporating the non-Serbian Croats and Slovenians who were Catholics and Latin cultured rather than Orthodox and Greek cultured like the Serbians. For this purpose, the Serbians assassinated the heir of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and started World War I. The events leading up to this are well detailed in the work of the revisionist historians: Sidney B. Fay, *Origins of the World War* (2 vols.) and Harry Elmer Barnes, *Genesis of the World War*.

The dissident Yugoslav writer, Mihajlo Mihajlov, has an article in the February 3 issue of the *Welfare-Warfare*, socialist-militarist journal, *The New Leader*, entitled: *Disentangling History — The Mihajlovich Tragedy*. Mihajlov starts off on a bad foot to disentangle history by stating that the Kingdom of Montenegro, which was aggressively annexed by Serbia after World War I, had "fought on the Axis side during World War I." Not only was there no Axis during World War I, since the Axis only came into existence in the late 1930's, but Montenegro was an ally of Serbia, fighting on the side of Russia against Austria-Hungary. The royal family of Montenegro, which went back many centuries, was deposed in favor of the upstart Serbian dynasty.

But, the major area of opposition to incorporation into the Allied-created Yugoslavia was Croatia. Croatia was the historic kingdom on the Adriatic Sea with a long and glorious cultural tradition tied to Italy, Austria and Western Europe. Although most Croats were Catholics, many of those living in Bosnia were Islamic, as a result of conversion during the Turkish rule. Thus, in Bosnia a third of the people were Moslem while a quarter were Catholics and about forty-percent were Orthodox. Yugoslavia has a large Moslem population (about 15%), which facilitates relations with the Moslem world and gives Yugoslavia a leadership role of the non-aligned powers. In the total population, Orthodox account for about forty percent and Catholics about thirty-five percent. But, religion and nationality overlap — Catholic equalling Croatian and Slovenian and Orthodox equalling Serbian, Montenegrin, Macedonian and Albanian.

Mihajlov harkens back to the beginning of World War II. The Yugoslavian government was split between supporters of an alliance with Germany and its Balkan allies, and an alliance with England and its power in the Mediterranean. The pro-German group allied with the Germans and attempted to settle the deep nationalities crisis by setting up a Serbian and a Croatian state. The extreme Serbian royalists, led by Draza Mihajlovich, carried out a guerrilla war against the Serbian and Croatian governments allied with Germany. Mihajlovich's Chetniks were lionized in the literature and movies of England and America. But, although strongly supported by England, the Chetniks were more interested in preparing for England's victory and restoration of the Serbian domination; they carried out campaigns to destroy the Croatian nationalist movements. Josef Broz Tito, having fought in the

The Day-Care 'Shortage'


A few years ago, the new feminist movement began to raise the cry of a nationwide "shortage" of day-care centers, with a corollary clamor for government to sponsor, subsidize, or operate a fleet of such centers so that mothers could work in jobs and careers. To economists, the outcry was a peculiar one; the free market never suffers from shortages, as supply always rises to meet demand. The answer clearly was: either the demand for day-care centers was far less than the feminists claimed, or — more likely — that somewhere government was deliberately restricting the supply and thereby itself creating the shortage.

That the latter hunch is correct is made clear by a recent hysterical campaign by the New York City Health Department. The Health Department has now issued a frenzied statement that "illegal" private day-care centers are "spreading like a cancer throughout the city" (*New York Sunday News*, Jan. 26, 1975). Aha! Literally "hundreds" of such centers have appeared through the city, **unlicensed**, dedicated (horrors!) to the making of a profit. But never fear, the Health Department is in the process of cracking down on this rash of illegality.

In short: the numerous requirements imposed by the New York city government are so onerous and costly that the supply of day-care centers is severely restricted, and so black-market, illegal centers have had to appear in response to consumer demand. Some of these requirements are: licenses from the Health Department; certificates of occupancy from the Buildings Department; and passing inspection by the Fire Department. The paternal city authorities are worried both because the fees charged by the private centers are "too high" (the fees "can go sky high") and also too low: they can make money "even if they only charge \$25 a week." (Tsk! Tsk!)

It is OK, for some reason, for mothers to hire private baby-sitters, or even to use a local neighbor as a personal day-care center. These, too, are of course unlicensed, and yet the authorities do not seem to worry here about licensing, health, safety, building codes, or the proper educational facilities. Yet, for private day-care centers, **defined** as an outfit that takes in more than five young children and meets more than 5 hours a

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International Brigades of the Spanish Civil War, organized the Croatian resistance — the Partisans — under communist leadership. But, having an "internationalist" perspective, the communists also included anti-monarchical Serbs, Montenegrans and Macedonians. Since the Chetniks were tools of the English foreign office, the US gave its support to the Partisans and by December 1943 forced Churchill to support Tito too. Mihajlov correctly notes that this was not desired by Stalin, who distrusted Tito's militant nationalism and who preferred his agreement with England. Stalin urged Tito to join with the English aligned forces led by King Peter and Mihajlovich. After the war, Tito continued his clearly anti-Soviet policies, and eventually established close ties with the US while formally calling himself non-aligned. In 1946, Mihajlovich was captured, tried and shot. Tito defeated him because he offered a modernizing, non-unitary approach to solve Yugoslavia's nationality crisis in place of Mihajlovich's Orthodox religious approach, his Serbian domination over the other nationalities, his massacres of Croats and Moslems. Although there are many problems remaining in regard to the nationalities question in Yugoslavia, Tito eliminated the most serious and dangerous ones, as Mihajlov emphasized. Although Yugoslavia has made great strides toward a market economy, in the last few years brakes have been put on that development. Advocates of increased personal freedom in economic and cultural areas have been labelled "anarcho-liberals," and "anarcho-liberalism" has been the major target of attack by the official press. The one hopeful development is the re-emergence of Edvard Kardelj, 64, as the heir apparent to Tito. Kardelj initiated the struggle against Soviet influences and the introduction of market approaches to economic problems, as well as general concepts of freedom in Yugoslavian politics. But, in recent years, it was thought he was losing influence as chief theoretician of the League of Yugoslav Communists. But, Kardelj has become the authoritative spokesman recently, and was elected the representative of the Republic of Slovenia to the collective presidency comprised of one member from each of the national republics. In place of Tito, he would be the natural leader of Yugoslavia. 

Burton K. Wheeler, Montana Isolationist, RIP

By Leonard P. Liggio

Several years ago the Merv Griffin Show featured Burton K. Wheeler, former Senator from Montana, and Earl Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party USA. Both ancients had suffered purges by their respective parties, essentially for the same reason — their commitment to Americanism. Browder, Kansas-born, was in the tradition of native American radicalism, and had joined the CP as the heir to that tradition. His slogan that "communists were as American as apple-pie" brought perhaps millions to join the CP as the partner of Roosevelt's New Deal. However, his pragmatism brought him into conflict with the Marxist ideologues who probably could not stand being associated with the masses that Browder recruited. The hard-line Hegelians came to the fore and Browder was purged for taking the capitalist road. (Philosophically, many American Marxists have come out of the Pragmatic tradition, typified by Dewey's pupil, Sidney Hook, whose amalgam of Pragmatism and Hegelianism, made his positions the most diabolic in modern American philosophy.) Browder noted the anguish of the CP leadership at having to shift the line after the June, 1941 German invasion of the Soviet Union, for before that the Communists were a major force in the American isolationist movement. Wheeler centered his attention on that period because before June, 1941 his opposition to US entry into war was called Communists, while immediately afterwards his opposition was called Fascist; such has been the clear thinking in American politics.

Wheeler had been the leader of the investigation of the Teapot Dome oil grants and of the successful fight of the Senate to block FDR's Supreme Court packing plan in 1937. Thus, he was approached in May 1940 by those military officers who opposed FDR's plans to involve the US in war, to lead the opposition to those plans. In FDR's May 16, 1940 defense message to Congress, he had warned that if Germany was victorious in Europe, it might gain control of Dakar in West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands, which would place it 1500 miles from Brazil from which vital American zones would be attacked and American cities bombed. The military pointed out to Wheeler that Germany did not have bombers with a range more than 500 miles and that Brazil was further from America than Berlin. FDR's geopolitics was later demolished by Hanson Baldwin, in *United We Stand* (1941).

Wheeler immediately agreed to speak to a mass rally in Washington on June 7, 1940 attacking FDR's geopolitics. On July 1, he addressed the Keep America Out of War Congress in Chicago, and was approached by students from several universities who wanted to organize a national anti-war movement. He sent them to General Robert Wood, chairman of Sears Roebuck, and the America First Committee was formed. However, at the Democratic National Convention which nominated FDR to a Third Term, Wheeler encountered a run around end by FDR. FDR wanted the convention platform to call for forcing everyone in America into a government designated role during the emergency. Heroic Senator David I. Walsh of Mass. denounced it as totalitarianism, and Wheeler led the fight to throw it out. But, the interventionist forces were given direct access to the platform writing through the work of FDR's agent Senator Jimmy Byrnes. Chicago Mayor Edward J. Kelly, one of the heroic but died-out breed of anti-war Chicago mayors, noted that none of his wards would vote for a president running on a war platform. Jimmy Byrnes cornered Kelly in the men's room to pressure him; Wheeler went in and declared he would belt the convention if a war platform were adopted, and Kelly returned to continue his battle against the defense plank. Given the choice between FDR and Willkie, Wheeler voted the Socialist ticket, since Norman Thomas was opposed to war and was to justify Wheeler's faith in the Socialist's anti-war commitment by appearing with Wheeler at America First rallies despite the charge of sentimentalists and liberals that he was sharing the platform with capitalists and businessmen.

Wheeler realized that Secretary of State Hull was anxious to get the US

involved in a war against Japan, and fought FDR's scheme for Lend-lease. On "American Forum of the Air" (which along with "Town Meeting of the Air" were important lost parts of American politics; they were dropped because it would no longer be permitted to have two sides to any issues, there was only the official, Liberal Establishment side), Wheeler declared: "The lend-lease program is the New Deal's triple-A foreign policy; it will plow under every fourth American boy." FDR went out of his mind, and Wheeler became the leading speaker, along with Lindbergh, at America First rallies. Joseph P. Kennedy, on returning from the ambassadorship to England, warned Wheeler that Neville Chamberlain had betrayed his Revisionist foreign policy and allowed England to go to war over the Polish boundary dispute with Germany

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by


MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

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The Ethics Gap —

(Continued From Page 6)

going to create within a few short years enormous strains upon the economy as it is now structured, and create problems of a social, political, legal and especially ethical dimension almost beyond our imagination.

In 1969 a research center was established in Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, to study the ethical and socio-legal implications of the rapidly developing technologies of the biological, neurological and behavioral life sciences. Under the direction of Daniel Callahan, a distinguished theologian and philosopher, the Institute for Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences began publication of an annual **Bibliography of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences**, an invaluable tool for anyone interested professionally in the problems raised in the field defined by the title; it also has published a series of special studies, and a 16-page **Hastings Center Report** (six issues annually) which contains specialized bibliographies, brief reports on special issues of concern, and a number of "case studies" followed by debate on the ethical or legal implications. Among the recent topics were: a study on the right to privacy ("The Psychiatrist as a Double Agent"); the use of behavioral modification techniques in prisons; use of the methadone treatment as an alternative to other methods; various incidents involving definitions of medical ethics, fetal research, abuses in sterilization practices; genetic screening; and the social implications of technology.

The Institute does not appear to have any particular ethical bias: it chiefly seeks to stimulate an awareness of the frequently ignored ethical implications of scientific and technological innovation. Thus, while not committed to a systematic libertarian analysis, by placing a stress on ethics and its relationship to the life sciences, the Institute encourages its contributors and audience to confront the human rights of individuals and the full dimensions and demands of the concept of human dignity.

The work of the Institute should be of great interest to all libertarians, and I would highly recommend use of their publications, especially by those interested in legal, medical, ethical or scientific problems. Membership privileges include receipt of all publications. (Students, \$10; others \$15. Institutions, \$25.) Write to: Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences, 623 Warburton Avenue, Hastings-on Hudson, New York 10706.

Burton K. Wheeler —

(Continued From Page 7)

because of "pressure from the United States."

As Charles Tansill has shown in **Back Door to War** (Regnery), Roosevelt and Hull played a prominent role in bringing about the conflict in Europe in 1939. Wheeler noted that Roosevelt refused to act as mediator to bring an end to hostilities, as he was interested only in English victory at whatever cost to England and America. He criticized Hull for not seriously negotiating with Japan and recognizing its claims for markets and raw materials; Hull increased the pressure on Japan until Japan finally reacted, which satisfied Hull since he felt it was better to fight the Japanese earlier than later.

Wheeler was at the center of a major furor in the fall of 1941. Military friends gave Wheeler the top secret plan for American military intervention in Europe and Africa in order to save England from defeat. Wheeler gave it to that great journalist of the Chicago Tribune, Chesly Manly, who published the original expose of the August 1941 Atlantic Charter meeting of Churchill and FDR. This December 4, 1941 story was an immediate blockbuster, "the greatest scoop in the history of journalism", according to Col. Robert R. McCormick, in whose Washington Times-Herald the article appeared. As the tide of public opposition to the plan rose, the anti-interventionist movement was silenced by the beginning of war on December 7, 1941. Much of the Chesly Manly scoop remains unknown. □

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Fanfani's Fall

By Leonard P. Liggio

Amintore Fanfani's leadership of the Italian Christian Democratic Party abruptly but at long last has come to an end. Fanfani's career began in the 1930's when he wrote a book on Christian and socialist corporatism which paralleled the New Deal. American New Dealers saw him as one of the hopes of the post-New Order Italy, and with the defeat of Italy in World War II, Americans pushed Fanfani's career. At the end of the Fascist regime in Italy, it was feared that the only successors would be the Communist party and its Socialist party ally. But, this was forestalled when the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ordered Gian Carlo Paccetta, leading Italian Communist advocate of armed struggle who has seized control of the administration of Milan and Lombardy, to turn power over to General Mark Clark. The Soviet Communist Party wished to respect the war-time agreements that western Europe would be the Anglo-American sphere and Eastern Europe the Soviet's sphere. For over thirty years, the Italian Communist Party has been a strong minority in Italian politics, and with its alliance with the Italian Socialist party almost has a majority. In fact, in the recent provincial elections which contributed to Fanfani's final fall, the Communist party gained control over half a dozen regional administrations in central and northern Italy — expanding the Red Belt that it dominates under the recently instituted Italian decentralization. In cities like Bologna, where the Communists had control for thirty years, the climate for business-expansion is very favorable. Not only is there not any corruption, but the Communists pride themselves on creating an atmosphere for business investment. In fact, many of the leading businessmen have become important members of the Communist party, enjoying the added dividend of no-strike pledges from the Communist-dominated unions (Christian unions tend to have a policy of refusing no-strike pledges, which is inconvenient for business planning). The Communist party has many kinds of organizations for various sectors of the economy-cooperatives for farmers and small businessmen and shopkeepers, etc.

Fifteen years ago the continued strength of the Communist party in the midst of the Italian economic miracle caused the Kennedy administration to suggest a new approach to Italian politics. The "Opening to the Left" was the answer: To detach the Socialist party from the Communist party and to make the former a partner in the government. Fanfani was the Christian Democratic leader chosen for that role over the other major candidate Aldo Moro. Moro was more moderate than Fanfani on domestic issues, but was less committed to NATO and America policy. Communist participation in the coalition. Fanfani's strong commitment to socialist philosophy, plus his support for NATO and America policy generally caused him to get the nod. His leadership as premier or foreign minister, however, did not bring the desired results. Instead, his policies led to inflation and a temporary setback to Italy's economic miracle. Inflation meant increased support for the Communist party. The recent crisis of energy resources increased the pressure on Italy's economy.

Energy resources have been an important determinant on Italy's policies in the twentieth century. Italy entered World War I against its allies Germany and Austria, and on the side of England and France, on the promise of participation in the Allies' control of energy resources. (The entry into the war caused the creation of the Italian Communist Party in protest.) The failure of the Allies to live up to their promises led to the rise of Fascism. In the 1930's Britain attempted to gain Italy's support by allowing Italy to seek development of oil resources in East Africa. But, when Britain reneged, and formed an opposition to Italy in the League of Nations, Italy was forced to ally itself with Germany, creating the foundations for World War II. The irony of the situation was that Italy already possessed a colony — Libya — under which was a reservoir of oil, yet unknown. In the 1950's, under Enrico Mattei, Italy was able to develop access to oil resources outside of the market-dominating Seven Sisters of the international oil industry. Italy gained an independent position and very good relations with the Islamic world before the mysterious death of Mattei who, as a power in the Christian Democratic Party, favored a coalition with the Communist party. Italy's tradition and increasing good relations with the Islamic world are the most likely barrier to Italy's continued role in NATO.

Naples is the headquarters for the U.S. Sixth fleet, with its transports filled with thousands of American marines ready to repeat the assault on Tripoli, as well as the Southern command of NATO. Naples gives that command control of the western Mediterranean (west of Sicily) and easy access to the larger eastern Mediterranean. But, since the major objective of any American military operation in the Mediterranean is the Islamic world: Turkish; Arab or Iranian, Italy's access to oil and its economic miracle will require a government willing to wish the Sixth fleet farewell and send it back to its rightful location — Norfolk, Virginia. It is most unlikely that Italy will withdraw from NATO. Although there are strong forces in the Christian Democratic, Republican and Socialist parties favoring Italy's withdrawing from NATO, there is one party which, whatever its public statements, will not push for withdrawal: the Italian Communist party. The Italian Communist party, like its sister, the French Communist party, is the heir to the nationalism created by the French Revolution (Italy was second to France in the effect of the French Revolution and the emergence of a heroic, middle-class Jacobin tradition against church and state). In Italy, the Communists are the Italian nationalists which the Christian Democrats are the admitted agents of two internationalisms — the Vatican and the U.S. States Department. Millions vote Communist as the only viable and committed alternative to Vatican-State Department dominance of Italy. One of the issues on which the Communist Party of Italy, and the Vatican and State Department, differ is relations with the Soviet Union. The Italian Communist party is much less pro-Soviet than the current Vatican and State Department lines. The Italian Communist party in its domestic policy, such as pro-business and pro-consumer attitudes and its organizational policy of more democratic and less hierarchical approaches, differs greatly with the Soviet Union. But, since the vicious Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which received the blessing of the United States, the Italian Communist party (like the Chinese Communist party which opened a dialogue with the United States to protect itself from a similar fate) is anxious to have diplomatic space in which to move. The Italian Communist party, if it entered into a coalition government, would not push for withdrawal from NATO. Unlike the right-wing French regimes of De Gaulle, Pompidou and Giscard, which have received unbroken foreign policy support by the Communists against the US-backed centrist parties, which have *de facto* thrown out NATO, the Italian Communists would prefer a NATO presence in Naples to remind Soviet hardliners not to interfere with the bourgeois Communists of Italy. (The alternative explanation that the Italian Communist party is taking these positions due to the large secret funds paid to it by American oil companies seems as likely as explaining current American culture on the basis of the large non-secret funds paid to the Public Broadcasting System in America.)

Fanfani's recent removal by the national committee of the Italian Christian Democratic Party was due to his own steadfastness in his guiding concepts which permitted the Communists to make larger gains. Fanfani insisted on committing the Christian Democrats to repeal of the recently enacted liberal divorce law. The majority of voters supported the parties, led energetically by the Communists, who championed liberal divorce laws. At the same time, Italy was faced with an inflation caused by the economic policies which Fanfani had advocated. While the so-called free enterprise Liberal party spent all its energies supporting United States foreign policy, the small, Republican party demanded an end to inflation and forced the Christian Democrats to throw out their inflationary wing and appoint last year a new cabinet devoted to fighting inflation, headed by Aldo Moro. In ousting Fanfani, the factions now dominate in the Christian Democratic party gave a vote of confidence to Aldo Moro's premiership, encouraging his policies of fighting inflation, increasing good will with the Islamic world, and working to gain a coalition with the Communists on the basis of sound money and anti-inflation. As the president of the Bank of Italy, Guido Carli, has emphasized, Italy's anti-inflation battle is a battle against the United States' exporting its inflation to the rest of the free world and making countries like Italy bear the burden of the effects of America's unsound monetary policies, deficit spending and Keynesianism. Fanfani's downfall is another defeat for the overseas agents of American Keynesian imperialism. ■

Foreign Affairs Review

By Leonard P. Liggo*

"More Polish Workers Going Into Private Enterprise," was the headline of an article by Malcolm Browne (New York Times, October 17). Capitalism has not only held on in Poland but it is continuing its renaissance in the non-agricultural sector. While there was strong collectivization in other East European countries, which had had more of a feudal tradition. Poland, with a recent period of de-feudalization, stopped collectivization after the 1956 revolt. About eighty percent of Polish agriculture is privately owned and a successful base for the Polish economy. Browne attributed the maintenance of capitalist attitudes to the strength of Catholic thought in Poland.

"The Government has tacitly acknowledged that many products and services can be provided better and more efficiently by private organizations than by Communist state enterprises. Under the present policy of putting a high priority on improving the quality of life for all Poles, the Government is encouraging private enterprise.

"By the end of last year, about 400,000 Poles were working for private organizations, with 62,000 others as apprentices. In 1960, there were 251,000.

"Meanwhile, artisans working in small private workshops have been steadily increasing the value of their output, adapting themselves to the general limits imposed by the system. Last year, the artisan sector did 15 percent more business than in 1973. Scores of interviews with Polish artisans disclosed wide agreement that really good craftsmanship resulted only from private enterprise, not from state factory product.

"There is also a general belief that craftsmanship now is threatened not only by the Communist economic system but by the changes in worker psychology it has brought about.

It is a simple, easily provable fact that Communism makes people lazy, a middle-aged machinist said.

"Most people don't like to think about their work and under Communism they don't have to. That's why relatively few Poles want to be private artisans anymore, even though we are better paid than socialist-sector workers, even though we work shorter weeks and even though we get real pleasure out of our work. We have to think and put our hearts into what we do, and that is what most young people reject these days."

England

Meanwhile, the English Conservative party has moved to economic liberalism or radical liberalism. Sir Keith Joseph, who has replaced Enoch Powell (gone off the deep end in support of Ulster oppression of Catholics) as chief spokesman for sound monetary policy and fighting inflation, was roundly applauded at the recent annual party conference for defending radicalism. Daphne Preston, chairman of the Conservative Political Center's advisory committee, declared: "We must get the Government off our back." Former cabinet minister Michael Heseltine said: "We are now the sole and embattled guardians of the rights of individuals and the family against the claims of a collectivist state. So let us state the position of our party in moral terms, and bring to the fight against sterile restrictions of Socialism the fervor and enthusiasm of a moral crusade." Under Churchill, Eden, Macmillan, Douglas-Horne and Heath, the Conservative party held to traditional Tory opposition to the free market. After losing the election in February 1974, Heath was defeated for leadership by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher.

Mrs. Thatcher's victory in the party was due to the work of libertarian-oriented young conservatives who are referred to as the Selsden Group, after an important program on which Heath was able to win his election to the prime ministership in 1970. Heath then abandoned the Selsden free market program for the "middle road." Sir Keith Joseph, chief policy-maker for Mrs. Thatcher, attacked middle of the roadism. "The trouble with the middle ground is that we do not choose it or shape it. It is shaped for us by the extremists. The more extreme to the left, the more to the left is the middle ground. It is a will-of-the-wisp which we follow at our peril." Part of this development can be attributed to Hayek's receiving the Nobel Prize in Economics and the speeches and articles he has given in the last year in England. This fall, Hayek had two articles in the Daily

Telegraph as well as a four page interview in its supplement. The only cloud on the horizon for the liberal revival in England is the traditional Tory imperialism. The Celtic peoples of the British Isles in Cornwall, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland find Tory governments oppressive and unresponsive to their needs, while the Labour party's strength is in the Celtic regions of western and northern British. If the Conservatives can disassociate themselves from Unionism in Ulster, and come out for decentralization in Wales and Scotland, there is a fair chance for classical liberalism to have a renaissance in England.

Norway

Like Scotland, Norway is becoming a major oil producer in its North Sea fields. It is on the verge of becoming one of the richest industrial nations in the world. "Norway is no longer a country of lumberjacks and fishermen," said Per Ravne, a former ambassador to China and now special adviser for oil and energy in the Foreign Ministry. "We are highly industrialized. We are a nation of importance." Norway has seen a re-birth of nationalism. It rejected membership in the Common Market in 1972.

The present policy is to limit oil production to 90 million tons, which will yield a revenue of 1 billion dollars. Radicals to the left of the dominant Labor party made substantial gains in the 1973 elections because of their strong nationalism. However, the conservatives are gaining strength due to their support for decentralization and preservation of small communities and limitation on industrial growth. The conservatives had emphasized development of industrial plants among the farmers and fisherman of the north: shipbuilding, chemicals, aluminum industries were built. But, oil production will draw workers to the south and upset the traditional balance of the northern communities and southern cities. A major policy, which contributed to the defeat of the Common Market, is to limit immigration. Common Market countries provide free immigration for citizens of former colonial areas. Other racial groups would bring their own social and cultural traditions, and the problems of immigrants of non-European background. All parties seem committed to limiting industrial growth due to new oil production to the limits of available Norwegian population growth. Could King Olav V's visit to the United States have been a subtle attempt to lure the millions of descendants of Norwegian immigrants from Brooklyn, St. Paul, Fargo and San Francisco back to Norway?

Germany

Germany's Social Democrats and Christian Democrats both fared badly in recent elections in the city-state of Bremen. The big winners were the Free Democratic party, winning 13 per cent of the vote (up from 7 per cent). They ran on an economy platform and demanded a fight against inflation. The New York Times in a lead editorial, "Bremen's World Message," declared that the rebuff to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt contained an important message for President Ford. The Times emphasized that the Free Democrats were the big winners in the protest vote due to their deeply anti-inflationary position.

German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has been busy supporting the Socialists in Portugal. Germany, supported by the Low Countries' and Scandinavian Socialists, poured money into the Socialist party (major rumors claim that the German Socialists have been conduits for CIA funds into Portugal; one must read the late Westbrook Pegler's famous reports of U. S. union representatives overseas carrying CIA funds to support left-wing groups in Europe, to place the whole thing in perspective). France, Italy and England have not given support to the Socialists in Portugal because they would not be unhappy to see a Communist party victory in Portugal. A Communist victory would cause their electorates to support their middle-to-right wing governments against continental coalitions of socialists and communists who are on the verge of gaining electoral victory in Italy and France.

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Portugal

The April, 1974 revolution in Portugal overthrew a fascist government of forty-eight years standing. In 1962 a strong call to the US was made by liberal opponents of the regime to support the overthrow of the dictatorship. Kennedy and Johnson opted for support of the fascist government over the unpredictability of liberalism. The consequences are a socialist rather than a liberal revolution, and an anti-capitalist, anti-feudal and anti-mercantilist revolution. For the last two decades the Portuguese army was involved in fighting anti-liberation wars in its African colonies and in Timor in the East Indies. India seized Goa in 1962 and China has been pleased to have the Portuguese possess Macao as a port of entry for prohibited western goods. In fighting the colonial wars, the army officers spent year after year studying Marx, Lenin and Mao in an attempt to understand and counter the successes of the anti-colonial liberation movements.

Thus, the army officers spent all their time studying socialist economics and the problems of underdeveloped, imperialist, mercantilist economies in Africa. They did not study market economics, the economic problems of the industrial Common Market, or of industrial countries. The legacy of the imperialist era is an elite which is trained to administer other countries with other kinds of economies than Portugal. After decades of administering African colonies, military administrators are trying to apply the same procedures to administering a European country.

Portugal emerged along the Atlantic Coast of the Iberian peninsula during the push in the eleventh century of the small Christian refugee states in the northern mountains to re-conquer central Iberia from Islam. While Castile and Leon pushed down the center and Aragon and Catalonia pushed down the Mediterranean coast, the Portuguese conquered as far as the Tagus River where Lisbon is located. As in Spain, the reconquest stopped for many centuries, with Islamic emirates controlling the southern territories. Thus, as in Spain, the northern provinces contain the private farms of individual peasants with a long tradition of autonomy. Such areas tend to be the strongholds of Catholicism. In Portugal, the area from Lisbon north is the area of rural homesteads, high population density, illiteracy and clericalism. Along the coast, Oporto, Coimbra, Lisbon, the large cities have become industrial centers, and the strongholds of the Portuguese Socialists. The south, the Alentejo and Algarve, were only conquered from Islam in the fifteenth century shortly before the voyages of discovery, which were continuations of these southward conquests by Portugal and Castile. The lands seized from the Moslems were granted to high nobles who established huge estates to support them at the court in Lisbon. Moslem serfs, and later landless migrant laborers were the basic populations. The voyages of discovery were seeking African slaves to work these huge estates, but with the seizure of Brazil it was more profitable to trade in slaves with the sugar plantations than with the wheat and olive estates of Portugal. Need it be said that the serf, tenant and day laborer population of the feudal south of Portugal are the mass base of the Communist party. Thus, the difference among the revolutionary movements in Portugal are rooted in whether the land system was private as in the north or socialist-feudal as in the south. The state socialism of feudalism has created the massive crisis of Portugal. No party that does not recognize that all laws must be designed with double application can long retain leadership. For the north, there must be recognition of private property; in the south, there must be abolition of feudalism. If uniformity is tried, then the northerners will revolt in the name of liberty or the southerners will revolt in the name of liberty. Either one would be justified.

Spain

In Spain, a revolutionary situation is developing. The revolution goes back to the time of the French Revolution when the royalists, the liberals, and the supporters of a pro-French regime fought among themselves. The royalists defeated the liberals and Francophiles. The royalists' strength were the Armies of the Faith composed of northern Spanish peasants. In the 1930's, Spain again was divided: in the extreme north, the Basques of the industrial coastal region were radicals. Led by their revolutionary

clergy, the Basques demanded autonomy as an independent, pre-Indo-European race. Today the Basques are the major force in the revolutionary movement against Franco. Still led by their bishops and priests, the Basques' program is radicalism and self-determination. The rest of the north is the center of clerical, conservative politics, with the Kingdom of Christ as the objective of these soldiers of the Cross. The Carlists of Navarre represent that tradition.

The industrial east of Spain, along the Mediterranean, Catalonia and Aragon, were the centers of the anarchist movements and the life-force of the revolution until crushed by the Communist-allied central army. The central army officers preferred working with the disciplined, pragmatic Communists than with the decentralist, principled anarchists. In addition to the army officers, the Communists had a mass base among the tenants and agrarian workers of southern Spain, where again the lands conquered from the Moslem emirates were distributed to the great nobles rather than created into private property. Feudalism is the seedbed for Communism. The Socialists were supported by the white collar middle class of the cities and towns. Since the Catholic Church was treated like a great noble it received many large estates and was part of the feudal system. Thus, the conflict between the left, which wished to end feudalism including the economic base of the Church hierarchy, and the right which wished to maintain feudalism. The Catholic Church supported Franco in the Civil War. But, after the war Franco kept power rather than turning it over to Catholic-oriented politicals like Gil Robles. The result has been a unity of all the opposition from the Basques and Communists to the Catholics. The contradictions of the Church supporting war to maintain its feudal privileges weighed heavily on the younger clergy of that day. They are now bishops and cardinals and support radicalism among the clergy. The Francoists call the archbishop of Madrid the Red Cardinal. A bishop of Madrid was recently exiled to Rome to protect him from attack by Francoists. Things are likely to get worse if the radicals are led by a Red Cardinal, which means that in American Catholic terms he is the right of American bishops.

The Basque, and the Catalan (which, of course, is led by the Benedictine monks of the Abbey of Montserrat near Barcelona) self-determination movements are paralleled by similar movements in France and Italy. The traditional independence movement in France is that of Celtic Brittany, which has increased in recent years. But, there was a blossoming of nationalism in southern France, Langue d'Oc, which had been conquered in the middle ages by the Franks of the north, and culturally ravished by educational centralization for the last two hundred years. The people of the Midi are not Franks, French, and they want everyone to know it. The Midi is now applied to the area bordering the Mediterranean while the Atlantic area of ancient Aquitaine is called Octian. But, the major center of self-determination activity is the island of Corsica. One problem is that when France ended its colonial empire it decided to plant its Foreign Legion in Corsica; this has led to much hostility to the French government. The militants are called the Action for the Renaissance of Corsica, and they claim that Corsica is treated as a colony. Policemen sent to Corsica are given an extra year's seniority for each year served in Corsica. The French invasion by police has caused a hardening of support, since the gun battles involving hundreds of youths created solidarity against government repression by the close-knit clans. Recently there was a European-wide conference of colonized European peoples including the Basques, Catalonians, Scots, Welsh, Cornish, Irish, Bretons, Octians, Corsicans, Sardinians and Sicilians.

Italy

The analysis of Italian political developments and American government attitudes about them which was presented this summer in the *Libertarian Forum* seems confirmed by recent events. The Council on Foreign Relations had invited Sergio Segre, director of the foreign section of the Italian Communist party, to confer with the Council's members about US-Italian relations when the Communists have to be included in a future government coalition. This reflected the recognition by leading groups in the US that the Italian Communist party could be an ally of the US in foreign affairs — since the Italian Communists would not fight to get Italy out of NATO — as it is an ally of large Italian business. However, the Administration in Washington denied a visitors visa on the ground that it would publicly demonstrate US recognition of the Christian Democratic party's weakness. In the US, the denial caused controversy because the US had just signed the Helsinki accords with the Soviet Union

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putting pressure on the Russians to permit freedom of travel while the US was denying freedom of travel. In Italy, the issue further strengthened the Communist party because the US embassy in Italy and the US state department had aided the visit recently of Giorgio Almirante, leader of Italian Fascism. He not only was greeted by members of Congress but met with two members of the National Security Council. This caused further fears in all parties in Italy that the Communists must be included in a coalition of all parties to preserve constitutionalism. The State Department's control over visas is a violation of traditional American concepts.

Tom Wicker, in a recent article in the New York Times outlined the Italian Communist party's program to "reprivatize" the economy. Forty-five per cent of Italian gross national product is produced by state-owned or state-partner industries. Wicker says: "The ironic fact is that the Communists are saying that their economic program might reduce the nationalization of private industry in Italy and even 'reprivatize' some concerns that haven't worked well under state control." The Italian Communists do not see any possibility of maintaining a democratic regime and a socialist economy; since the elimination of the market prevents calculation and shortages are constant in the Eastern Bloc countries with socialist economies, the Italian Communists wish to maintain the market and private industry and to use the state budget to influence the economy. Since that is exactly what the US economy has been, and the results of such state capitalism are now clearly evident, the Italian Communists clearly have been trapped between admitting the validity of market economics or accepting the last vestige of socialism, the contemporary American economy. The Italian Communist economists, such as Lucinao Barca, are in a dilemma. "This approach is also influenced by what Mr. Barca sees as the failure of Keynesian economics to produce in any society a stable relationship between employment, the rate of inflation and the balance of payments. Italy, for example, has sharply improved its balance of payments — but only at the cost of a drastic cut in demand, brought on by declines in employment and production, now down to about 70 per cent of capacity."

"The idea, Mr. Barca says, is to avoid development of 'bureaucratic socialism,' with everything run by the state, but to influence entrepreneurs to choose the right options for the public good." The Italian Communists point to state ownership of food industries as examples of the need for "reprivatizing." Instead of farm subsidies which create crop surpluses in certain crops while others are constantly imported, food firms would develop long-term contracts with farmers to assure stable prices and purchases. The state-owned firms seem to the Communists to be drained by large excess bureaucracies which private firms would not have. Italian Communists appeal to those who wish to emphasize research and application of technology. Wicker adds: "All of this seems carefully designed to avoid any hint of the kind of heavy-handed socialization of most aspects of the economy that is to be found in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. . . . The Communists may be able to 'get results' even without power because businessmen and industrialists as well as workers are looking for new approaches to Italy's problems; and because the regional and provincial governments are becoming more important in Italy, just as the Communists have greatly extended their power in those governments."

Turkey

Recent elections in Turkey maintained the equal balance between the two major parties while weakening the smaller conservative parties. The conservative parties wish a return to strict Moslem observance enforced by law. The present government, run by the Justice party, lost seats in the voting although it increased its popular vote at the expense of the more conservative parties. The Justice party supports an Islamic point of view but does not want state support of Islam. It does try to maintain the traditional village culture and agrarian system rather than encourage industrial development, with the result that large numbers of Turks unable to find either agricultural or industrial work in Turkey must migrate to Germany to work in industrial firms there. The Justice party is more pro-American bases and less inclined to embarrass the US over the Cyprus dispute.

Against these conservative parties stands the Republican party, which

has the largest popular support in Turkey, about forty-five percent of the voters. The Republican party was established by the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Attaturk. It is a secular party which wishes to eliminate the influence of religious thought in society and emphasizes science, industry and technology. As the modernizing party in Turkey, it wishes to encourage a climate of industrial expansion and investment and is critical of the taxing and spending policies of the present government. It opposes the present currency losses and large budget deficits. It is strongly supported in the cities and by educated and non-religious Turks. It is a nationalist party, strongly supported by the military officers who have been educated in modern concepts and is opposed to the control of Turkish foreign policy by US needs. It opposes US bases in Turkey and it carried out the Turkish occupation of the Turkish northern sectors of Cyprus when a pro-American right-wing Greek group attempted to oust Cyprus president, Archbishop Makarios, and attach Cyprus to the then military regime in Athens. The Turkish occupation led to the fall of the pro-American Greek dictatorship. Cyprus, Greece and Turkey have been the center of American interest in the eastern Mediterranean as bases for US influence in the oil regions of the Middle East. That was the reason the Sixth Fleet was stationed in the Mediterranean after World War II and why the Truman Doctrine launched the anti-communist crusade in March, 1947.

Israel

An interesting discussion of the Middle East appeared in the Social Democratic, pro-Zionist quarterly, *Dissent*. Henry Pachter's "Who are the Palestinians?" raised very important questions for such a source as *Dissent*. Pachter described the Arab liberation of Syria (including Palestine and Jordan) and Iraq from Turkish control in return for a British promise of sovereignty and self-determination.

The British foreign secretary issued a declaration of support for a Jewish immigration to a home in Palestine (the foreign secretary in his Memoirs "wondered how anybody could have been misled into thinking that they meant anything." On the eve of World War II, there were 1.1 million Moslems, 450,000 Jews and 150,000 Christians in Palestine. After World War II, the US refused to lift the immigration restrictions imposed after World War I mainly to keep Jews out of the US. Large numbers of Jews who wished to leave Europe and to go any place but Palestine could not find any place that would take them; once the traditional refuge for immigrants, the US, was closed, they had to go to Palestine. A UN Security Council resolution stated the terms on which a Jewish and an Arab state would each be created in Palestine. Three noncontinuous territories containing all Jews and an equal number of Arabs were created as a Jewish commonwealth, while the other half of the Moslem and Christian Palestinians were placed in the areas of an Arab commonwealth. The assumption was that the two commonwealths would form a single economic and social unit, while political and cultural life would be separate in each commonwealth. Arabs opposed being included in the Jewish sectors. The Zionist leadership sought to create a Contiguous Jewish state and to expel the Arabs from their lands in those territories. The UN resolution is the only legitimate basis in law for the solution or the Palestine question; a restoration of the status quo to the terms of the UN resolution would stabilize the situation in Palestine.

Pachter explains: "Much has been made of the Histadruth's (Jewish labor organization requiring high-wage Jewish labor instead of low-wage Arab labor) job policy. Obviously, in terms of Lenin's theory of imperialism, Jewish business has not been guilty of exploiting cheap Arab labor; rather, Jewish colonists have been guilty of making Arabs jobless and driving them from their lands. I have to explain here a subtlety of feudal law: fellahim can be sold along with the land jobless and driving them from their lands. I have to explain here a subtlety of feudal law: fellahim can be sold along with the land on which they have been sitting; but the land cannot be sold without them, pulling it away from under them. When the Jewish Agency, aware only of capitalist law, bought land from the callous effendis, it may honestly have thought that thereby it had acquired the right to expel the fellahim. . . . settlers, who had naively begun to cultivate this ground (including kibbutzniks who did so in the name of "socialism"), wondered why the former owners or tenants of those grounds were firing at them from afar or staging surprise attacks on their innocent children: from the vantage of expelled Palestinians, the settlers were usurpers, colonizers,

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Recommended Reading

Compiled by Bill Evers

(Mr. Evers is a doctoral candidate in political science, Stanford University.)

Henry W. Berger, "Bipartisanship, Senator Taft, and the Truman Administration," *Political Science Quarterly*, Summer 1975. Discussion of Truman's creation and manipulation of the notion of bipartisanship. Taft's belief in foreign policy debate and his opposition to intervention abroad and to executive branch aggrandizement of foreign policy decision-making.

Barton J. Bernstein, "Roosevelt, Truman, and the Atomic Bomb: A Reinterpretation," *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 1975. Now the definitive revisionist account of the decision to drop the atom bomb. Supersedes Alperovitz and Kolko.

Leon G. Campbell, "Black Power in Colonial Peru: The 1779 Tax Rebellion in Lambayeque," *Black Academy Review*, Spring-Summer 1972. (Issue sold for \$4 by Black Academy Press, 135 University Ave., Buffalo, N.Y. 14214).

Walter Cohen, "Herbert Hoover: Some Food for Thought," *Pacific Research*, November-December 1971. The politics of food aid at the conclusion of World War I.

Walter Cohen, "U.S. Foreign Policy — A Radical Study Guide," *Pacific Research*, March-May 1972. Includes a thorough reader's guide to "right-wing" and "left-wing" revisionist material on foreign policy. (May be obtained from Pacific Studies Center, 1963 University Ave., East Palo Alto, Calif. 94303, \$6.00 per back issue.)

Sime Djodan, "The Evolution of the Economic System of Yugoslavia and the Economic Position of Croatia," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 1972. Yugoslavian liberal Marxist economist criticizes bureaucratic socialism and the exploitation of Croatia. (Available for \$8.00 from the Croatian Academy of America, P.O. Box 1767, Grand Central Sta., New York, N.Y. 10017.)

G. William Domhoff, ed., "New Directions in Power Structure Research," *Insurgent Sociologist*, Spring 1975. Special issue of scholarly work on the Council on Foreign Relations, Advertising Council, the Industry Advisory Council to the Department of Defense, and other phenomena. (Issue available for \$3.00 from *Insurgent Sociologist*, Dept. of Sociology, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., 97403.)

Dan Feshbach and Less Shipnuck, "Corporate Regionalism in the United States," *Kapitalistate*, May 1973. Study of regional government in the U.S.

"From Wall Street to Watergate: The Money Behind Nixon," *Latin America and Empire Report* (North American Congress on Latin America), November 1973. A financial interest group interpretation of Watergate.

David M. Hunter, "Ohio's Usury Laws and Their Effect upon the Home Mortgage Market," *Akron Law Review*, Fall 1974.

Sabri Jiryis, "The Legal Structure for the Expropriation and Absorption of Arab Lands in Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 1973. (Available for \$3.00 from P.O. Box 329-A, R.D. No. 1, Oxford, Pennsylvania 19363).

Clark S. Knowlton, "Land-Grant Problems among the State's Spanish-Americans," *New Mexico Business*, June 1967. Detailed historical review that provides the background for the New Mexico landgrant struggles of 1967 led by Reies Lopez Tijerina. Published by the Bureau of Business Research, University of New Mexico, 1821 Roma Avenue, N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106.

Stephan Leibfried, "U.S. Central Government Reform of the Administrative Structure During the Ash Period (1968-1971)," *Kapitalistate*, Dec. 1973-Jan. 1974.

Michael Levin, "Marxism and Romanticism: Marx's Debt to German Conservatism," *Political Studies*, December, 1974. Shows that Marxism derives some of its important ideological views from the German conservative political tradition.

Jonathan Marshall, "Review of D. Borg and S. Okamoto, eds., *Pearl Harbor as History*," *Pacific Research*, March-April 1974.

Jonathan Marshall, "Southeast Asia and U.S.-Japan Relations, 1940-1941," *Pacific Research*, March-April 1973. Marshall's articles, based on new archival research, stress the desire of the American power elite to control access to S. E. Asian raw materials.

Charles W. McCurdy, "Justice Field and the Jurisprudence of Government-Business Relations: Some Parameters of Laissez-Faire Constitutionalism, 1863-1897," *Journal of American History*, March 1975.

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Foreign Affairs Review —

(Continued From Page 5)

imperialists in person, not the tools of mysterious powers across the sea."

Since the Arab peasants were the Lockean owners of the lands on which the effendis levied taxes and claimed to "own" under the Turkish regime, it is debatable that the Jewish Agency was operating under capitalist concepts of law. Pachter quotes George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (New York, Capricorn Books, 1965): "The revolt is largely manned by the peasantry, that is to say by the people whose life and livelihood are on the soil but who have no say whatever in its disposal; and their anger and violence are as much directed against the Arab landowners and brokers who have facilitated the sales as against the policy of the mandatory Power under whose aegis the transactions have taken place." Pachter adds: "The Jewish leaders — except for the Communists, Martin Buber, and some Chaltzim — never thought of allying themselves with these victims of colonization." Pachter also suggests that the Jewish armed groups initiated the terrorist approach to politics in Palestine. He adds: "But the Israelis who justify their claim to the land by their tribal memory of 2,000 years obviously have no argument against people whose claim is based on tribal memories reaching back only 30 years. More than the expelled's actual misery, the bitterness of the sacrifice that was imposed on them intensifies the hate that defines the Palestinians as a nation distinct from other Arabs." Pachter recommends that the Palestinian Arabs be given a choice of

compensation for lost land, residence or job, or returning to Palestine. Pachter does not say whether or not they should, if they return, be given their rightful land, residence or job, but obviously that is the only just solution. Of course, that would have to occur in the context of legal equality and the ending of special legal positions for Jews. Since the implementation of the 1947 UN security council resolution is the only international legal basis for ending the problem of Israel, these suggestions could be important contributions to the overall settlement. Pachter discusses the necessity to recognize the Arab commonwealth in Palestine as the basis for peace. He says: "There can be no settlement, no truce and no confidence between Arabs and Jews as long as their status is not determined equitably and as long as there is not international machinery to ascertain the will of the Palestinians themselves." He adds: "Both these peoples are too primitive in their tribal instincts or too immature as nations to be reasonable on such questions where self-respect is at stake." He thinks that the great powers have to impose solutions on the parties concerned. "In the beginning, a Palestinian state would probably make obstreperous noises at international gatherings, nor might it in other ways be the most desirable neighbor one would wish to have. Nevertheless, I believe that the nonsatisfied demand for a Palestinian state is now a major source of posturing, gesturing, and confrontation." (For a discussion of groups in Israel thinking about peaceful answers to Arab-Jewish relations, see Arthur Waskow's article in *Link*, Sept., 1975, published by the Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20009.)

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The Polish Question In Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin Diplomacy

By Leonard P. Liggio*

Ralph Raico's masterful "Winston Churchill: An Appreciation," (*Libertarian Forum*, August 1975) makes some telling points regarding Britain's relations with Poland. Recently released secret diplomatic papers have revealed that Ralph Raico's suspicions about Churchillian foul-play in the death of General Wladyslaw Sikorski, prime minister of the exiled Polish regime in London, were on-target. Britain had broken the German secret codes, and knew of a number of successful German sabotagings of aircraft carrying important Allied officials. In order not to allow the Germans to know that the codes were broken, these people, including Sikorski, died in plane crashes.

What was to be gained by this death? What was the state of Allied relations with Polish officials in July, 1943? Ralph Raico has noted that, after numerous calls by European leaders for a revision of the criminal provisions of the Versailles Treaty of 1919, the British government began at Munich in September 1938 to take the first step toward revision. However, the British government during 1939 drew back from this realistic diplomacy, and, probably at the behest of the American president, gave a blank check to the Polish colonels who ruled the state created by the defeat of Germany and Russia in World War I. As Ralph Raico notes: "Afterwards Churchill himself criticized the guarantee in these terms: 'Here was decision at last, taken on the worst possible grounds, which surely lead to the slaughter of tens of millions of people.'" The British blank-check caused all the deaths of World War II, and without any ability to provide military support for the Poles. The British condemned the Poles to endless years of occupation. Having refused German requests for boundary rectification and extra-territorial railroad passage between Germany proper and East Prussia (divided by West Prussia which had been given to Poland by the World War I Allies), Poland found itself at war without any British aid, except fine words. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union had chosen to re-establish the historic German-Russian entente which had maintained peace in Europe during the 19th century. The Russians took control of the non-Polish White Russian and Ukrainian provinces taken by Poland at the treaty of Riga (1921), by means of the German-Russian protocol of August 23, 1939 and the German-Russian treaty of September 28, 1939. This restoration of traditional diplomacy was broken by the irrational German attack on Russia on June 25, 1941.

Immediately, Russia became an ally of Britain (and its secret ally, the United States, which provided lend-lease to Russia). In Polish-Russian negotiations in July, 1941 between Sikorski, Polish foreign minister August Zaleski, and Soviet ambassador to London, Maisky, the Soviets renounced the treaty with Germany, and agreed to aid Poland's re-establishment of its national frontiers, i.e., frontiers inhabited by Poles, but not areas inhabited by White Russians and Ukrainians formerly under Polish control.

When the U.S. formally entered the war on December 7, 1941, British foreign secretary Eden was in Moscow. U.S. secretary of state Hull wrote to U.S. ambassador to Britain, Winant, that Eden could not make commitments for a post-war settlement. Since that was on December 5, two days before U.S. entry into the war, one might wonder why Hull thought that a non-belligerent, like the U.S., could act as though it was a belligerent? Did Hull know something? In Moscow, Stalin told Eden that Russia hoped to keep the Ukrainian and White Russian areas, while Poland should receive East Prussia. (Eden reported this to Winant who reported to Hull who told Roosevelt by February 4, 1942.) Eden felt that Russia was stronger than the U.S. or Britain had thought, and telegraphed Churchill, who was in Washington, to accept the Russian plan.

Churchill rejected Eden's proposal and said that after the war the U.S. and Britain would be powerful economically and militarily while Russia would be exhausted. Thus, Russia would have to accept peace plans drawn by Roosevelt and Churchill. Was this view something that Churchill picked up at the White House? It seemed to be the keystone to American wartime diplomacy. In May, 1942 Molotov negotiated in London with Eden and again asked recognition of the new borders. Hull

wired his refusal, and the British declined. Molotov then flew to Washington where he dropped his border requests in return for an American promise that the U.S. and Britain would establish a second front in 1942, which would draw away at least forty German divisions from the eastern front. This did not take place and the Russians, after their victory at Stalingrad, felt that the U.S. and Britain would not invade Europe early enough to have any say in Eastern Europe. A "Union of Polish Patriots" was established in Russia in March, 1943, as the Polish army raised in Russia by General Anders had departed to Iran on its way to join the British in the Mediterranean. In April, 1943 the German government, retreating from Russia, announced that it had discovered a mass grave of thousands of Polish soldiers in the Katyn forest, apparently the work of retreating Soviet officials following the German invasion of June, 1941. The Polish government in exile demanded an international investigation, for which the Soviet Union broke off relations with the London Poles. The Russians then set up a Kosciuszko Division of Poles to fight alongside the Russian army. It was at this low point of relations with the London Poles that Sikorski was allowed to die by the Churchill government.

The new Polish exile prime minister, Mikolajczyk, the leader of the militant anti-feudal Peasant Party, held the view that the war would end with U.S. and Britain occupying Germany with 300-400 fresh divisions and a victorious air force, while an exhausted Soviet Union would be dependent on the U.S. for food and reconstruction, and would have to recognize Allied power in Europe. The U.S. at one time had plans for an army of that size, but had long since dropped them as disruptive of domestic support of the war effort, which was why there was no second front in 1942 or 1943. But, Mikolajczyk's view seemed to have been shared by some segments of American policy-making up to that point, especially in the State Department. But, the State Department views were being replaced by those of the White House-Pentagon.

At the Teheran conference in November, 1943 it was agreed not to turn over the White Russian and Ukrainian areas to Poland, and to compensate Poland with German territories. If no Polish exile government would agree, then a Polish government in Poland would be created with a strong Communist component as an assurance of friendly relations with the Soviet Union. On January 2, 1944 Churchill told Mikolajczyk what Chamberlain had wisely told Czech president Benes and which Chamberlain should have told Polish foreign minister, Colonel Beck (which would have saved ten million lives): that the U.S. and Britain would not go to war over the borders of an eastern European country. Mikolajczyk was told that the Allies recognized the changed borders of Poland and was urged to make an agreement with the Soviet Union while he still had a chance. Instead, the Polish government in exile refused to reconstitute itself to exclude fascist elements whom the Allies opposed. The Russians responded by establishing in Lublin a Polish government to which was added Poles from the United States — Professor Oscar Lange, Fr. Orlemanski, and close contact with Leo Krzycki, of the American Clothing Workers' Union and head of the American Slav Congress.

Roosevelt's evasion of the implications of his low manpower military strategy, creating the dominant position of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe due to the geography of its military strength, caused ambiguities in American diplomacy toward Eastern European countries, especially Poland. Roosevelt's promise to Molotov of a second front in Europe in 1942 meant that he was promising a second front manned by British troops, since American forces were not ready. Since the whole point of Britain's wishing U.S. entry into the war was to spare British troops, the plan for a 1942 second front in Europe was dropped. As the late William L. Neumann, ("Roosevelt's Foreign Policy Decisions, 1940-1945," *Modern Age*, Summer, 1975) shows, U.S. inability to create a full military force due to domestic considerations, created many of the complexities of the wartime and postwar worlds. The original projection of a 400 division

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Polish Question—

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army had to be cut to 200 divisions, and finally to less than 100 divisions in the last year of the war.

Roosevelt delayed informing the Poles in London of his acceptance of boundary changes between Russia and Poland. Roosevelt's attitude of evasion caused the London Poles to believe that the United States supported their resistance to serious negotiations with the Soviet Union. In the end, the Soviet Union concluded that the London Poles opposed any attempt to find a basis for good Soviet-Polish relations. Finally, Roosevelt and Churchill became exasperated by the refusal of the London Poles to negotiate with Russia. They concluded that it was necessary for the Russians to form a Polish government friendly to the Soviet Union and willing to negotiate with it.

When Mikolajczyk visited Roosevelt on June 7, 1944, he was told that Poland might receive Silesia, East Prussia, Lvov and Tarnapol, if the London Poles negotiated with the Russians. Stalin wrote Roosevelt on June 24, 1944 that he would meet with Mikolajczyk if the Polish government in exile were reconstructed. At the end of July, the Soviet armies neared Warsaw. The commander of Polish forces in exile, General Kazimierz Sosnkowski, opposed any Polish uprising against the Germans as a waste of Polish forces. But General Bor, commander of the Home Army, started an uprising on August 1, 1944. Mikolajczyk met with leaders of the Lublin government on August 6, with inconclusive results.

During the Churchill-Stalin talks of October, 1944, Churchill had Mikolajczyk return to Moscow. Churchill and Stalin demanded that the Polish London government accept the eastern border changes and called for a coalition of half London and half Lublin governments. Mikolajczyk refused, and was told by Churchill these words — which he should have said in 1939 when Chamberlain gave Poland a blank check: "Because of quarrels between Poles we are not going to wreck the peace of Europe. In your obstinacy you do not see what is at stake. It is not in friendship that we shall part. We shall tell the world how unreasonable you are. You will start another war in which 25 million lives will be lost. But you don't care." In mid-November, 1944 Roosevelt wrote Mikolajczyk that U.S. accepted compensation for Poland in the west, and Mikolajczyk accepted the American decision about the borders. But he was outvoted by the London Polish government and he resigned.

Having been engaged in a vast miscalculation due to the duplicity of Churchill and Roosevelt, the London Poles refused to accept an accommodation with the Soviet Union, and were criticized as inflexible by Churchill and Roosevelt who made other arrangements during the Yalta Conference of February, 1945. The Lublin government became the dominant element because they accepted the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin

Right-Center Chic

The Village Voice (December 1) contains a hilarious and penetrating article by Alexander Cockburn and Jack Newfield, "Know Your Military-Intellectual Complex", which lists the leading figures in the new intellectual fashion of "right-center chic." The lists include the leaders of each of various departments of life and thought. The new right-center alliance is united on several basic political tenets: including admiration for the "new" Nixon of the mid-1960's; opposition to detente and a peaceful foreign policy; anti-Communism; opposition to quota systems; and adherence to Zionism. Some members of the coalition, as the authors point out, "trace their ancestry back to the CIA-funded Congress for Cultural Freedom."

The hero of the group, who appears on almost every one of the lists, is the notorious hawk and "Left-Nixonian", Patrick Moynihan. The right-center journalists include: (along with Moynihan) Robert Bartley (Wall St. Journal), Robert Bleiberg (Barron's), Hobart Rowen (Wash. Post), Harry Schwartz (N.Y. Times), Martin Mayer, Dorothy Rabinowitz, Walter Goodman, Howard K. Smith, Hedley Donovan (Time), and William Safire, among others. "Hitmen" include Moynihan, John Lofton, Pat Buchanan, Kevin Phillips, Evans & Novak, Ralph de Toledano, Ben Wattenberg, Nancy Kissinger, and Albert Shanker. "Institutions" include Commentary, Public Interest, Wall St. Journal, National Review, and parts of the New York Times. And so on. I particularly liked the Cockburn-Newfield lists of "Bores" (Teddy White, Allan Drury, Norman Podhoretz, and Saturday Review); "Theoreticians" (Irving Kristol, Daniel Bell, Sidney Hook, Nathan Glazer, Peter Drucker, Moynihan, and George Meany); "Economists" (Friedman, Greenspan, and Gary Becker); "Academics" (Edward Shils, Robert Tucker, S.I. Hayakawa, Robert Nisbet, S.M. Lipset, Richard Scammon, Ernest van den Haag, Buchanan & Tullock, and Moynihan); "Rabble" (Roy Cohn, Richard Nixon, Martin Abend, and Norman Podhoretz), and "Martyrs", which include James Angleton (CIA), James Schlesinger, and Max Schachtman (former right-wing Trotskyite who later moved to the pro-Cold War wing of the Socialist Party.) "Phobias" of the right-centrists include: Noam Chomsky, Daniel Ellsberg, detente, Philip Roth, and I.F. Stone, while its "Blind Spots" consist (in full) of the CIA, racism, anti-Communist dictatorships, and Elliot Richardson.

There is more, but everyone should see for themselves. □

requirement of friendship toward the Soviet Union.

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Foreign Affairs

By Leonard P. Liggio*

UNITED STATES OF EUROPE?

April 1 is the beginning of discussions on increased union among the European states. The objective is to move toward an elected parliament of the European community. Especially in France there is opposition to a super-state and its parliament. The Communists and right-wing Gaullists oppose any infringement on France's nationalism; while the Socialists oppose a parliament unless based on proportional representation. But elsewhere the Christian, Socialist and Liberal-Free Democratic parties are forming transnational political coalitions. The Free Democratic German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, wants a European foreign policy, as on Angola and Western Sahara, so as to have a unified foreign policy, mainly to back the US, but against it in the case of American cut-off of aid to Turkey. France opposes a common foreign policy as a restriction on its nationalism, as in its opposition to the US on Angola, where it supported the MPLA.

The important decision will be selecting a new president for the

European Economic Community, for the present president, F-X. Ortoli, is retiring to return to politics. Also, the industry minister of EEC, Altiero Spinelli, will retire due to age. Likely to remain as ministers are Carlo Scarascia Mugnozza, Wilhelm Haferkamp and Dr. Patrick Hillery, along with the classical liberals, Albert Borschette, minister of competition, and Hans-Dietrich Brunner, the research minister, who is expected to become external relations minister. The present external relations minister, former English ambassador to France, Sir Christopher Soames, son-in-law of Winston Churchill, is the prime candidate for president of EEC. He is supported by Harold Wilson and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, but not by James Callaghan. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, conservative leader would like Soames to return to parliament as shadow foreign minister for a conservative government of the future. Instead of Soames, Thatcher would like to have former prime minister, Edward Heath, go to Brussels as EEC president. Too clever by half! Meanwhile, Labor chancellor of the exchequer, Denis Healey, stole a

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Capitalism — (Continued From Page 6)

tourists, have high quality merchandise at below cost prices in order to compensate the tourist for the government's artificially high exchange rate for rubles. However, James Wallace points out that "high-ranking Government officials, senior military officials and upper ranks in the Communist Party are all privileged to shop in these stores as a fringe benefit of their jobs." They are therefore able to buy "hard-to-get goods for a fraction of the prices their neighbors pay for often-lower-quality merchandise."

It is a revealing sidelight, and one that should be especially noted by those who condemn capitalism for its unequal "distribution" of wealth, that there is greater inequality of wealth in the more socialist countries like the Soviet Union than in the relatively more market-oriented economies such as the United States.¹⁸ This, moreover, is not a historical accident but in conformity with economic theory. For under capitalism there is a natural tendency for capitalists to invest in areas with a low wage level, thereby forcing those rates up to a level commensurate with that of other areas doing the same work, while workers in low pay jobs tend to migrate to areas where pay is higher. Similarly, entrepreneurs invest in areas manifesting high profits. But the increased output forces prices and profits in those areas to fall. In short, while capitalism will never eliminate inequality, it does tend to reduce extremes of wealth and poverty.

Conclusion.

Under capitalism the price system performs the crucial function of transmitting knowledge throughout society and thereby eliminates the need for bureaucracy. But precisely because it eliminates the market, bureaucratic management is indispensable for a socialist economy. Furthermore, since there is an inverse relationship between central planning and the market, bureaucratic management is inherently contradictory. Its dilemma can best be summarized, perhaps, in the form of two planning paradoxes:

Paradox One: For central planning to be viable it needs market data to guide its decisions. But the greater the role of markets the less that of central planning. Conversely, the more extensive the area of central planning the more limited the market data, and hence the more inefficient must be the operation of the economy.

Paradox Two: If the planning board endeavors to maximize consumer satisfaction it merely does manually what the market does automatically. It is then just a wasteful, redundant entity. But if the planning agency plans operations that would not have been undertaken on the market, then that is an indication that the priorities set by the agency are in conflict with those of the consumers. It is clear that regardless of the course adopted by the agency the position of the consumers must be worse off than it would have been under a market economy.

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¹²In David Granick, *The Red Executive* (New York, 1961), pp. 133-4.

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¹⁴J. P. Hardt et al., "Institutional Stagnation and Changing Economic Strategy in the Soviet Union," *Man, State and Society in the Soviet Union* Ed.: Joseph Noguee (New York, 1972), p. 183.

¹⁵Granick, p. 111.

¹⁶See Milovan Djilas, *The New Class* (New York, 1968). Also see the interesting remarks on the Bolshevik Revolution by a Russian Anarcho-Syndicalist and contemporary of the Revolution, "M. Sergven," in "The Paths of Revolution," reprinted in *Libertarian Analysis* (Winter, 1970), pp. 9-12.

¹⁷Wallace, "Classless Russia," p. 35.

¹⁸Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago, 1969), p. 169.

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Foreign Affairs — (Continued From Page 7)

march on the Tories by announcing the need for extreme budget cuts, less social spending and not pressing for further nationalized industry.

FRANCE AND ITALY

The big issue in French and Italian politics is the role of the Communist parties. In Paris, Nelson Rockefeller warned the French and Italians that the US will end its alliances with them if they allow Communist participation. This echoes Kissinger's statements. In France, elections for the General Councils of the 95 departments showed a majority vote for the left-communists, 22.8%, socialists, 26.5%, and Radicals of the Left, 5%. President Giscard's Independent Republicans gained, but his ally, the Gaullist party, lost. This points to a socialist-communist victory in parliamentary elections in 1978. The communists in France and Italy were strengthened by their outspoken independent line at the recent Moscow congress of the Soviet Communist party. President Giscard will have to continue the popular anti-US foreign policy to maintain a strong political initiative. The interior minister, Michel Poniatowski, has lost the administration much support over his handling of the Corsican self-determination movement, along with those of the Bretons, the southern French of the Midi and the Ocians, of the Southwest. Also, Giscard's economic 'reforms' will not gain support. The proposed capital gains tax would have fewer teeth than the British model, and they would be felt mainly by stockbrokers, antique dealers, art salesmen and auctioneers. But then the French are an acquisitive people, and it is not just the wealthy or conservative who loathe the concept of taxing capital gains. According to one opinion poll, 61% of even Communist voters are opposed to the bill. If American liberals and social democrats want to learn how to gain popularity they should learn from the French communists' acquisitiveness and their opposition to capital gains taxes.

In Italy, events are moving to the Historical Compromise (*compromesso storico*) of a joint Communist-Christian Democratic cabinet. For the first time, the premier, Aldo Moro, held a ninety-minute talk with Communist party leader, Enrico Berlinguer. This was the result of the request by the leader of the highly respected Italian Republican party, Ugo La Malfa, that the Communists be included in the cabinet. Communist leader Giorgio Amendola declared that the Communists would carry out an extreme austerity program once they were included in the government. Although the Catholic trade unions are more radical, that would mean that the Communist-led unions, having the most members, would keep industrial peace. For that reason the leading industrialists have been urging Communist membership in the cabinet. As evidenced in Portugal, Communist commitment to central control and planning makes them excellent discipliners of worker demands. The strong Marxist hatred of inflation makes their concerns coincide with those of capital owners. Italian money markets, after closing for forty days, were opened with a major anti-inflation program of the government, but to get parliamentary approval and union discipline, the

Communists are the basic ingredient. The Italian Socialist party — which was led into a coalition with the Christian Democrats a dozen years ago by Pietro Nenni — are demanding Communist inclusion before they will support austerity. This plan of their leader, Francesco De Martino, is challenged by left-wing socialists, led by Sr. Lombardi, which demands a government coalition of Socialists and Communists without the Christian Democrats. The Communists reject this. They want a grand coalition with the Christian Democrats so as to insure that there is strong popular support for difficult economic measures, so as to neutralize Vatican opposition, and to maintain continuity of government since the Christian Democrats have ruled for thirty years. Also the Christian Democrats have no moral credibility, especially as a result of the Lockheed bribes. The Communists would restore a moral cover to the government. The Communists have just joined the Socialists and the Social Democrats in a coalition regional government in Latium, whose capital is Rome. This is a result of a left-wing shift of the Social Democrats at their recent national congress.

But the Christian Democrats have the one thing the Communists need — a hegemonic position, the capacity for decision-making for a general public and not limited constituencies. The Christian Democrats have the tradition of 'Consensus politics' which the Communists need desperately to learn if they wish to be successful. Although a former leader, present defense minister, Arnaldo Forlani, an ally of the American puppet, Amantore Fanfani, is attempting to prevent the Historical Compromise, the party leader, pediatrician Benigno Zaccagnini, and premier Aldo Moro, require Communist participation in the austerity program. Although Communist rule in regional governments are giving them a sense of the attitudes required for decision-making, for hegemony, they still have a lot to learn. The Communists model themselves after technicians and business managers, because they mistakenly think that they are the decision-makers in a capitalist society. They are misguided by the entrepreneur fallacy, the belief that managers make decisions. In a capitalist society it is capitalists, owners of money, who make the decisions by their day-to-day investments, as the current monetary situation in Italy shows clearly. The decisions that a manager makes are far different than the considered judgment of the capital owner. Long study, care, restraint, abstinence from action as the highest form of action by the capitalist, are the real decisions. The Communists are just realizing that, but having trained themselves as technicians and managers, they have few if any real decision-makers, few if any capable of hegemonic leadership. While Communists are all 'business' with long-hours in their offices, the Christian Democrats at their March convention displayed the height of their hegemonic capacity — no lunch shorter than three hours. Important decisions are not made in offices, but in leisure, in study, in conversation. Real decisions take time, and in an atmosphere that reflects time. In Italy, important decisions cannot be taken in offices, only in a home, a club, and especially out of doors (walls have ears) during a leisurely stroll. When Moro and Berlinguer are known to have talked outside of an office, we will know that decisions were being made — and that the Communists are learning hegemonic leadership.

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Foreign Affairs

PALESTINE

By Leonard P. Liggio

Following the official visit to the UN of PLO leader Yasir Arafat, and the historic UN vote on Israel's racism toward the Palestinians, Israel has made a monumental contribution to the victory of the PLO. There have been massive riots, with Israeli troops killing Palestinian students, in the past weeks. The result has been the resignations of the mayors and administrations of nine Palestinian cities in the Israeli-occupied areas in Galilee, Samaria, and Judea. These are traditionalist Palestinian leaders who have tried to cooperate with the Israeli occupiers. The younger generation has expressed its support for the PLO, and indicates the future direction of the politics of the Palestinians. If after 1967 the Israelis had returned the area to the other illegal occupier of Palestinian lands against the decisions of the UN, — the Jordanian monarchy, or set up the area as a Palestinian puppet under the traditional leaders, the PLO would have been very limited in its future. But Israel has planted colonies in the occupied lands and allowed "unofficial" colonies to be founded. The final blow has been the issue of the Haram es Sherif, the Temple Mount. This is the place that tradition says that Abraham offered to sacrifice Isaac. Following the stateless epoch of the Hebrews, they sought the conquest of cities from the Philistines and the establishment of political power about which they were warned in the Book of Samuel. A temple was established on the hill of Jerusalem, which became the political capital. The temple was built by the great trading, building and artistic people, the Phoenicians (the ancestors of the Carthaginians of North Africa). The temple was destroyed in 70 A.D. Since the seventh century it has been the third most important religious site in Islam as the Prophet ascended to heaven from there, in addition to Islam's veneration for Jesus and for Abraham, patriarch of Semites. During the Crusades it was a center of the Latin Kingdom and of the Knights Templar. Jewish rabbis forbade Jews to enter the Haram es Sherif as it was the site of the Holy of Holies which may be entered only by descendants of Aaron; for any other Jew to enter it is a desecration. However, Israeli secular nationalists entered the Haram es Sherif this year to sing pro-government songs. The Palestinian riots were the result.

The attempts to establish Israeli colonies in Arab areas and the issue of the Temple Mount coincided with Israel's attempt to hold local elections in the Arab area. Israel was hoping to manage the election so that a more cooperative local leadership would result. However, the Israeli settlement attempts have unified support around the PLO. In Christian Arab Bethlehem, the university students ran up PLO flags on the university. Heretofore, Christian Arabs have been much less activist than the Moslems. In the March, 1976 UN debate, the PLO delegate was permitted to participate (despite the negative vote of William Scranton) in the role of a "UN member". The PLO delegate compared the anti-Israel riots to "the glorious Warsaw ghetto uprising" against the Nazis in World War II. This reemphasized the fact that the problem of Israel is a creation of European peoples who forced Jews to go to Israel in the World War II period rather than permit them to settle in Europe or America. The previous participation of the PLO delegate in the Security Council was in January to discuss the resolution concerning Palestine. Based on the November 30, 1975 resolution, the UN affirmed: "(a) That the Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise its inalienable national right of self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state in Palestine in accordance with the charter of the United Nations; (b) The plight of the Palestinian refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors and the right of those choosing not to return to receive compensation for property; (c) That Israel should withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967; (d) That appropriate arrangements should be established to guarantee, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence within secure and recognized boundaries of all states in the area."

William Scranton in March UN debates called for the implementation of UN resolutions requiring an International Administration for Jerusalem, and noted that the Israeli colonizations were in violation of the Fourth

Geneva Convention. The debate was characterized by strong emphasis upon specific fulfillment of the United Nations General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947 (which is the legal basis for Israel's existence) creating borders for the Israeli and for the Arab states in Palestine; Israel's three decades' violation of its basis for legal existence has been the basis of its outlaw status. Israel's friends have been trying to end that outlaw status by immediate restoration of the conditions of the November 29, 1947 resolution.

The 1947 UN actions on Palestine were rooted in the conditions which had developed during the British occupation. George Antonius, in *The Arab Awakening* (1946) noted: "Zionist colonisation involved the actual wiping out of villages and the eviction of their peasantry; that the money which the Zionists brought and the resulting prosperity - if real prosperity there were - did not make up in Arab eyes for the loss of all that a peasant holds dear and sacred in his village surroundings; that the peasants were defenceless against the process of dispossession and the legalized but relentless pressure that went with it; that the sense of helplessness against the inexorable advance of Zionist colonisation had led to obviously unpremeditated outbreaks on the part of a population who are by nature peaceful and hospitable to strangers, and was bound, if allowed to continue, to cause unpredictable losses in lives and property. They learnt from actual experience that the policy they were carrying through by sheer force was, for all the optimism in ministerial speeches and official reports, a policy which was in effect laying in stores of dynamite."

Antonius commented on the partition plan: "It runs counter to the lessons of history, the requirements of geography, the natural play of economic forces, and the ordinary laws of human behavior. It reproduces some of the most discredited and dangerous features of the Treaty of Versailles. It pays scant regard to the doctrine of consent. In drawing it up, the Commissioners appear to have overlooked that it is no more feasible to drive a peasantry from its soil than to impose an alien government upon an unwilling population, except by constant resort to force; and that the use of superior force to hold down a nationally-conscious people, while it may for a time achieve its immediate purpose, is bound sooner or later to defeat its own ends."

"One of the most prevalent misconceptions is that the trouble in Palestine is the result of an engineered agitation. It is variously attributed to the intrigues of the effendi class, to the political ambitions of the Grand Mufti, to the agents and subsidies of Italy and Germany, to Communist machinations; and the opinion is commonly expressed — and sometimes quite genuinely — that, had the Arab masses been left unmisguided to reap the full harvest of benefits brought to them by the mandate, there would have been no trouble. The blindness of that view is clear today. Former outbreaks have similarly been explained; but, after inquiry by one or other of the commissions appointed by the mandatory Power, the underlying causes had always been found to have lain in the profound attachment of the Arabs to their soil and their culture. The rebellion today is, to a greater extent than ever before, a revolt of villagers, and its immediate cause is the proposed scheme of Partition and, more particularly, that aspect of it which envisages that eventual displacement of a large Arab peasantry to make room for the immigrant citizens of the proposed Jewish state. The moving spirits in the revolt are not the nationalist leaders, most of whom are now in exile, but men of the working and agricultural classes who are risking their lives in what they believe to be the only way left to them of saving their homes and their villages. It is a delusion to regard it as the work of agitators, Arab or foreign. Political incitement can do much to fan the flames of discontent, but it can not keep a revolt active, month after month, in conditions of such violence and hardship."

"Far from its being engineered by the leaders, the revolt is in a very marked way a challenge to their authority and an indictment of their

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The Education Grab

The public school establishment has fallen on hard times lately. First it was struck a body blow by the criticisms of its role as an instrument of racism, class stratification, capitalism, and bourgeois values; then it was hit from the opposite direction by Jencks and others claiming that schooling was ineffective in doing more than reinforcing existing socio-cultural values. Public education's traditional purpose as an instrument of social, economic and cultural manipulation was documented by revisionist historians like Joel Spring, Michael Katz and even by more moderate scholars like Timothy Smith; while the radical libertarian Ivan Illich urged the "deschooling" of modern society. Then struck the greatest threat of all; the end of the gravy train. Inflation, recession, increasing resistance to ever expanding school taxes, the collapse of cheap credit through public bond issues, all of these were quite suddenly dovetailed with the ultimate result of the zero population craze — an absolute decline in the number of children of school age. The child-oriented industries faced an inelastic market in decline, and for the first time since World War II, teachers at all levels of schooling began to feel the grim shadow of structural unemployment, a certainty for increasing numbers in the next decade.

The situation in New York State is likely to be a model for the rest of the nation. As each year passes, the enrollments have been declining in the lower levels; the decline is now rippling upward through the system, and will reach collegiate levels in the early 1980's when the Regents of the State University predict a drop of perhaps 25% in college enrollments before 1984-85. Add to the natural decrease in births, the steady losses through emigration from the old Northeastern states, people seeking lower taxes, more jobs, better climate and more livable environment in the "sunbelt" region, and one can foresee an irreversible decline in the schooling industry in the Northeastern region. The near bankruptcy of New York City, and of the State as well, has already compelled unprecedented cuts in school budgets, mass cutbacks in personnel, and sudden decreases in the numbers of students training to enter the teaching field. For teachers, potential teachers, administrators, and college faculties in pedagogy, the crisis has one obvious and chilling meaning: actual or potential redundancy in mid-career.

While no one ought to rejoice over another's troubles, libertarians will certainly feel little sympathy for the teaching profession's response to the evolving crisis in New York. They have responded to their economic decline in much the same fashion as so many other industries — they have turned to the States to bail them out in every way conceivable, short of increasing the birth rate by act of the legislature.

The most subtle and devious proposal, because it seems to cost so little in immediate expenditures, has just been unveiled by the Task Force on Teacher Education and Certification. The Task Force was the brainchild of the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT), the state-wide teacher's union affiliated with the AFL-CIO and a tributary of the powerful and ambitious Albert Shanker, chief of the New York City United Federation of Teachers, the largest teachers' local in the labor movement. NYSUT's president, Thomas Hobart, reported to his constituents that fear that the State Regents might adopt the views of the national movement for "competency-based teacher education," and apply them to teacher education in New York, caused NYSUT to intervene in opposition to such developments. Hobart summarized NYSUT's successful intervention thus:

"One of the tenets of the original plan (for competency based teacher education) was to have life experience instead of a baccalaureate degree (as a qualification for certification). We were able to remove that. Another one was that a proficiency exam should be substituted for a baccalaureate degree. We were able to eliminate that. The evaluation of teacher competency was to be based on student performance, and we were able to eliminate that."

Following this victory, NYSUT and other special interest groups persuaded State Commissioner of Education Ewald Nyquist to appoint the Task Force on Teacher Education and Certification composed of 21 persons, all members of the education establishment except the

chairman, an attorney, Arnold Gardner, who was recommended for the position by NYSUT and was formerly president of the Buffalo School Board. Without the presence of anyone outside their own bailiwick, these educationists have now produced a preliminary report which has national implications.

If its recommendations are accepted by the New York State Regents and legislature, they will provide the needed model for similar action by educationists in other states.

What has been proposed? Nothing less than the creation of a system of licensing for teachers modelled on those of the other professions, law, medicine and accountancy. At the present time, the State department of education merely certifies teachers upon the recommendation of their various colleges and universities, based upon successful completion of specified courses of study and the granting of the baccalaureate degree. Though it still restricts hiring to those with the requisite degree, it is not particularly onerous as no further investigation is made into the potential

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Foreign Affairs — (Continued From Page 5)

methods. The rebel chiefs lay the blame for the present plight of the peasantry on those Arab landowners who have sold their land, and they accuse the leaders of culpable neglect for failing to prevent the sales. The peasants have had no say in the great majority of the land transactions which have led to their eviction. The landowner who has the legal title disposes of the land at his discretion, and one of the provisions of the deed of sale is that the land is to be surrendered to the purchaser free from all occupants or rights of tenancy. The revolt is largely manned by the peasantry, that is to say by the people whose life and livelihood are on the soil but who have had no say whatever in its disposal; and their anger and violence are as much directed against the Arab landowners and brokers who have facilitated the sales as against the policy of the mandatory Power under whose aegis the transactions have taken place. The fact that some of these landowners have served on national Arab bodies makes them only more odious to the insurgent peasantry and has rendered it less amenable to the influence of the political leaders as a whole.

"In the first place, while it is true that Jewish capital and initiative have greatly contributed to the economic development of the country, to the enrichment of a number of Arab landowners and to a rise in the wages of Arab labour, it is also true that they have created new needs and new burdens. The public services called into being by the policy of the mandate — special services of public security, duplication rendered necessary by the imposition of Hebrew as an official language, swelling of the wages bill in public contracts solely in order to give employment to Jewish labour — have necessitated the setting up of an abnormally large and costly bureaucracy for such a small country, and the ear-marking of a considerable portion of the budget to unproductive expenditure. The establishment of Jewish industries, especially those which are artificial in the sense that they depend on raw materials imported from the outside, led to the imposition of protective tariffs and a consequent raise in the price of commodities. The rapid influx of population resulted in an abnormal rise in the cost of living everywhere, in the villages as well as in the towns. In the absence of full statistical data, it is impossible to tell to what extent the economic benefits have been offset by the corresponding burdens; but it is an undeniable fact, and one that is generally overlooked, that, save for the enrichment of a number of landowners and middlemen, the economic position of the Arab population as a whole, and more particularly that of the villages, is scarcely better or worse than it has been for generations."

"In the second place, the economic aspect is overshadowed by the moral and political issues. To the Arabs the problem is now essentially one of self-preservation . . . The disturbances have since assumed the character of a rebellion in which the leading part is played by peasants and labourers who, in despair, have resorted to violence as the only means left to them of resisting Partition." (George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, New York, Capricorn, 1965.)

Kuhn's Paradigms

By Leonard P. Liggio

For more than a dozen years, Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962, 1970) has been calling forth discussions and analyses. Initial response among a few libertarian scholars who saw the significance of Kuhn's threats, such as the late F. A. Harper, were very positive. Kuhn's work seemed to Dr. Harper to expand upon the analysis made by other 20th century thinkers; for example, he would quote the earlier writings of Albert Schweitzer, *The Decay and the Restoration of Civilization*: "But civilization can only revive when there shall come into being in a number of individuals a new tone of mind independent of the one prevalent among the crowd and in opposition to it, a tone of mind which will gradually win influence over the collective one, and in the end determine its character. It is only an ethical movement which can rescue us from the slough of barbarism, and the ethical comes into existence only in individuals . . . A new public opinion must be created privately and unobtrusively. The existing one is maintained by the press, by propaganda, by organization, and by financial and other influences which are at its disposal." Dr. Harper recognized that in the crisis emerging in America and the world, libertarian theory was a prime candidate to replace the dominant political and economic thought. However, the tasks necessary to build the foundations for a center (the Institute for Humane Studies) to explore such matters did not permit him to pursue in a more developed manner the implications of scientific revolutions for libertarian theory. The growth of libertarianism and the explosion of the contemporary crisis make the topic one that libertarians should address.

For that purpose, I thought that a non-original article presenting a summary view of Kuhn's thesis might stimulate further articles and create an ongoing consideration of the topic and its relevance. I suspect that many libertarians could provide some implications of this thesis for their own areas or from their own consideration of the issues. Although I am not yet clear on the suitable analogy between scientific revolutions and libertarian theory, I imagine that philosophers and scientists have had the most opportunity to consider the Kuhn thesis and I hope that they will write to the broader intellectual audience rather than the specialist. My own philosophical training with John J. Toohey (he was almost ninety years old when I studied with him) emphasized common sense and ordinary language so that the general educated person could understand it.

Kuhn emphasized the role of the **Paradigm** which provides a model from which springs a particular coherent tradition of scientific research. A dominant paradigm will provide a consensus, because with the same model, research will not lead to open disagreement over fundamental questions. Paradigms define legitimate problems and methods of research because to become dominant it must be able to attract a lasting group of adherents from competing systems of thought or a previous paradigm, and it must be open-ended so that scholars may undertake to solve new problems. Although once the paradigm becomes established it is taken for granted, its necessary open-endedness leaves numbers of problems for solution. However, these problem solving activities create a more precise paradigm. Thus, the problems which the researchers face are: determination of significant fact, matching facts with theory, and explanation of the more precise theory.

However, a paradigm isolates those involved in research in a field from important problems not conceptualized by the paradigm. As problems increasingly become evident which cannot be solved by the paradigm, a crisis emerges which can force scholars to search for a new explanation. At times, the breakdown of the previous paradigm forces recognition on the people involved; or the crisis may merely blur the paradigm. Scholars may be able to ignore the crisis or set it aside for the future. But, the crisis in itself will not lead to replacement of an established paradigm with a new one; the new paradigm must be there, must be articulated, so that it can be available to be selected after comparison with the old paradigm and any other competing candidates. The acceptance of a new paradigm occurs after conflict. The conflict of the old paradigm with the new ones and of the competing ones against each other is an important part of the development of new scientific thought. During the period of crisis there is an appearance of undefined and random searching, and the breakdown may be magnified, and the crisis

made more striking. In the crisis, individuals become estranged from the established system and behave more and more eccentrically in terms of the established system, or else they leave the system entirely. Those who leave the system highlight the crisis and evidence its intensity. Those who opt to fight within the system face polarization and conflict, as persuasion and punishment are applied to maintain the existing system.

Kuhn seems to believe that the role of logical positivism has been to short-circuit the intellectual mechanism which signals the existence of crisis in the scientific world. It appears to involve too little theory and limits research on the precedents of past practice. The meaning of science is limited in the extreme to the single experiment. Thus, there is no pushing against scientific frontiers and no development. Without surprises or crisis there is no mechanism to tell scholars that fundamental change is occurring. This may help us explain the nature of the current crisis: it seems evident to everyone except the specialists in each field because, denying that they are operating on the basis of a theory, they deny the existence of the dominant paradigm, and they do not conceive of the crisis as anything more than a lack of information. It is possible that the contemporary crisis may become much more intense and the ordinary transference of allegiances within a profession from an old paradigm to a new one may be blocked by the refusal of scientists to acknowledge that they are working on the basis (if only implicitly) of a theory.

But one or more persons deeply immersed in the crisis itself will come up with a new way of viewing the data; the legitimacy of the established paradigm is challenged and new meanings are given to the established concepts. Kuhn notes that this usually occurs to someone when he first encounters the field as a profession or to someone who does not become caught up in the accepted ways of defining problems, i.e. the system of professional game playing with the professional rewards and punishments involved. During a crisis, scholars begin doing research as though the previous dominant theory or paradigm was not controlling. Individual scholars begin to change their world view; they adopt new ways of looking at things which they had previously looked at with the old ways. They begin to examine new things. As the change of world view expands, the scholar who is developing the new paradigm must re-educate himself. The new world view is very much at odds with the previous world view and with the intellectual world he previously inhabited.

In view of what seems to me a very important insight about contemporary science — the effect of logical positivism short-circuiting the mechanism signalling the existence of a crisis (which means that to many scholars the current crisis is invisible) — Kuhn's chapter on "The Invisibility of Revolutions" (pp. 136-43) is especially significant. If contemporary science is less equipped than previous scientific epochs (Kuhn does not even raise the question of the role of government control of scholarship as a locking-in mechanism) to recognize crises of theoretical frameworks, this intensifies a problem which Kuhn highlights — the tendency of scholars not to view revolutions in scholarship or science as revolutions at all but as mere additions to knowledge. Kuhn explained why "revolutions have proved to be so nearly invisible." Scientists and laymen take their conception of science from an "authoritative source that systematically disguises — partly for important functional reasons — the existence and significance of scientific revolutions. Only when the nature of that authority is recognized and analyzed can one hope to make historical examples fully effective." Kuhn makes the very grave point that science operates on the model of theology: textbooks act as a source of authority. Textbooks "record the stable outcome of past revolutions and thus display the basis of the current normal-scientific tradition."

Textbooks "have to be rewritten in the aftermath of each scientific revolution, and, once rewritten, they inevitably disguise not only the role but the very existence of the revolutions that produce them. Unless he has personally experienced a revolution in his own lifetime, the historical sense either of the working scientist or of the lay reader of textbook literature extends only to the outcome of the most recent revolutions in the field." (Textbooks thus begin by truncating the scientist's sense of his discipline's history and then proceed to supply a substitute for what they have eliminated.) (Scientists are not, of course, the only group that tends to see its discipline's past as developing linearly toward its present vantage. The temptation to write history backward is both omnipresent

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Kuhn's — (Continued From Page 4)

and perennial. But scientists are more affected by the temptation to rewrite history, partly because the results of scientific research show no obvious dependence upon the historical context of the inquiry, and partly because, except during crisis and revolution, the scientist's contemporary position seems so secure. More historical detail, whether of a science's present or of its past, or more responsibility to the historical details that are presented, could only give artificial stature to human idiosyncrasy, error, and confusion. Why dignify what science's best and most persistent efforts have made it possible to discard? The depreciation of historical fact is deeply, and probably functionally, ingrained in the ideology of the scientific profession, the same profession that places the highest of all values upon factual details of other sorts."

This aspect of Kuhn's discussion was especially striking to me as it paralleled my discussion of it regarding history. In an article in the *New Individualist Review* (volume 1, no. 3, November, 1961) on Herbert Butterfield, the Cambridge historian, I sought to introduce to a conservative audience an isolationist approach to international relations. Butterfield was strongly critical of "official history," which would be a paradigm which had strong artificial supports so that its displacement would be a more complex scientific revolution. Contributing to the 1984 atmosphere of resistance to non-official ideas in history, Butterfield noted generalization and abridgement in the writing of history texts. I believe that the common source for Kuhn's discussion and for my own was indeed the writings of Herbert Butterfield—as Kuhn refers to Butterfield's *Origins of Modern Science* (1949). To quote from my earlier article: "Unlike mathematics which begins with the simplest things and proceeds in turn to the more complex, history starts with the most complex things, of broad generalizations, with the result that the mere reading of history, the mere process of accumulating more information in this field, does not necessarily give training to a mind that was initially diffuse. Rather, it initiates all kinds of generalizations, formulas, nicknames, and analogies which answer to men's wishful thinking; and these come into currency without having to be submitted to any very methodical kind of test. These broad generalizations are the result of the abridgment of history . . . Butterfield does not think that it is a coincidence that this abridgment has worked to the advantage of official history, since the total result of this method is to impose a certain form upon the whole historical story, and to produce, a scheme of general history which is bound to converge beautifully upon the present — all demonstrating throughout the ages the working of an obvious principle of progress. Abridgment tends to make our present political system or our country an absolute and imparts an impression of inevitability of the existing system or of a war, since it neglects the alternatives which exist at each point and which indicate the relativity of the existing political system or the foreign policy of our country."

Not only does abridgment eliminate important parts of the historical reality (so far as known to the historian) but an implicit unilinear model of progression is introduced. Butterfield dealt with this issue first in his early work, *The Whig Interpretation of History*. That work showed how historians had written history as a kind of necessary progression toward increased freedom through the English parliamentary system. One of the consequences of that historical writing's dominance was that classical liberals believed that, having discovered the truth about economics, it was only a matter of time through the process of education and democracy before society would create the free society: it was an historical necessity. Of course, the abridgment of history involved in the writing of such books meant that the reality of the conflicts which brought additions to freedom and the lost opportunities for even more freedom, among other things, was completely neglected. Worse, the revolutions which are important in history are neglected or misunderstood. The political revolutions with their violence force themselves upon the history textbook. But, the complexities of intellectual and industrial revolutions, the really important changes for mankind, remain undescribed, and for the most part, unexplored. The greatness of the potentials and the extent that they yet are lost both for the reader of history texts and for the historical scholar.

For science, according to Kuhn, "the result is a persistent tendency to make the history of science look linear or cumulative, a tendency that even affects scientists looking back at their own research." There is "a reconstruction of history that is regularly completed by post

revolutionary science texts. But in that completion more is involved than a multiplication of the historical misconstructions illustrated above. Those misconstructions render revolutions invisible; the arrangement of the still visible material in science texts implies a process that, if it existed, would deny revolutions a function."


Scientists may create a crisis but not be prepared to resolve it. Kuhn notes that "scientific training is not well designed to produce the man who will easily discover a fresh approach." The question to be posed: Is the rigidity which is described merely existent among the individual members of the scientific community and locked-in? Kuhn quotes Max Planck's *Scientific Autobiography*: "a new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents, and making them see the light, but rather because its opponents eventually die, and a new generation grows up that is familiar with it." There is a resolution of the crisis and of the revolution it causes when a theory is conceived in the mind of one individual or a few individuals. "It is they who learn to see science and the world differently, and their ability to make the transition is facilitated by two circumstances that are not common to most other members of their profession. Invariably their attention had been intensely concentrated upon the crisis-provoking problems; usually, in addition, they are men so young or so new to the crisis-ridden field that practice had committed them less deeply than most of their contemporaries to the world view and rules determined by the old paradigm."

Scientists, use of a single set of standards increase the efficiency of scientists, but it is a set judged only by members of the profession. Ultimately, poets, musicians and artists are more concerned with public approbation than scientists. In music, art and literature, original and classic works are the basis of education. In history, philosophy and social sciences, increased use is made of textbooks but they also use original sources, classics, and conflicting interpretations so that there is a certain awareness of competing solutions to problems. But, in science there is a very heavy reliance on textbooks: "Until the very last stages in the education of a scientist, textbooks are systematically substituted for the creative scientific literature that made them possible."

Scientific education may be such as to drastically distort the perception of the past: it proposes a straight line of progress. While one remains in the field there are no alternative theoretical frameworks permitted. Kuhn emphasized: "Inevitably, those remarks will suggest that the member of a mature scientific community is, like the typical character of Orwell's 1984, the victim of a history rewritten by the powers that be. Furthermore, that suggestion is not altogether inappropriate. There are losses as well as gains in scientific revolutions, and scientists tend to be peculiarly blind to the former."

The important issue of the relationship of scientific revolutions to fields other than the pure sciences raises issues relating to the nature of each discipline. Kuhn's suggestive discussion on this deserves lengthy quotation: "No creative school recognizes a category of work that is, on the one hand, a creative success, but is not, on the other, an addition to the collective achievement of the group. If we doubt, as many do, that non-scientific fields make progress, that cannot be because individual schools make none. RATHER, IT MUST BE BECAUSE THERE ARE ALWAYS COMPETING SCHOOLS, EACH OF WHICH CONSTANTLY QUESTIONS THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF THE OTHERS. The man who argues that philosophy, for example, had made no progress emphasizes that there are still Aristotelians, not that Aristotelianism has failed to progress . . . during periods of revolution when the fundamental tenets of a field are once more at issue, doubts are repeatedly expressed about the very possibility of continued progress if one or another of the opposed paradigms is adopted . . . Scientific progress is not different in kind from progress in other fields, but the absence at most times of competing schools that question each other's aims and standards makes the progress of a normal-scientific community far easier to see." (pp. 162-63)

Libertarians must begin to precisely relate Kuhn's insights to the paradigms which they propose to substitute for the dominant theories. It is a difficult task, but it can be done if step-by-step analyses are undertaken.

*This essay does not deal with certain epistemological implications of Kuhn's work. 

Nuclear Issue — (Continued From Page 4)

Childs' protest to the contrary, for the protest also seems contrary to facts of the matter.

An unpaid ad on the inside cover of LR July/Aug. pictures a tombstone inscribed "Nuclear power is a terrible way to go", but Mr. Childs protests that this free ad does not argue anything. The same issue contains cartoons highlighting the danger of nuclear power through captions such as "Hurry dear, your soup is getting contaminated." But, he protests, the cartoons are not anti-nuclear per se; moreover, anyone who questions their implications is dismissed as a humorless griper. When you add to this particular issue of LR an article by Milton Mueller, who calls not for denationalizing but for "stopping" nuclear power, an interview with Wilson Clark, a strong anti-nuclear industry politico who advocates an excess profit tax on oil companies to finance solar energy and an article by Patrick Lilly who by implication, suggests banning nuclear energy because of its high risks, it is difficult to accept Mr. Childs' *ad hominem* protest of being misunderstood by the world. It is difficult to accept his statement: "nowhere did we (LR) oppose nuclear power per se."

Much has been made of this phrase "nuclear power per se". The whole of LR seems bewildered as to what it could possibly mean even though its meaning — particularly in the context of the "gang of nineteen" a/k/a "Rothbard-Evers" a/k/a "Reason-Inquiry clique" letter — is quite clear. It means: nuclear energy at the

present level of technology but without government involvement. Of course, to Milton Mueller who clairvoyantly sees no distinction between denationalizing the industry and simply eliminating it, there is no nuclear energy per se and thus no area of discussion. Those of us who cannot predict the course of the free market, to whom it seems at least conceivable that nuclear energy could be privately used and so wish to investigate that possibility, are "unthinking nuclear reactionaries" and need to be considered no further.

I sympathize with Mr. Childs' stated desire for open, honest debate on this subject, although I am struck by the incongruity of this appeal coming, as it does, at the end of an *ad hominem* editorial response. If Mr. Childs sincerely wants an intelligent exchange (similar to that which Patrick Lilly offered), I would suggest: that he deal with the issues as stated and not with personalities or his analysis of motives; that he acknowledge LR's obvious slant on nuclear power; that he abandon the guise of not understanding objections raised; that he clearly answer the question "If the nuclear industry as it technologically exists today were privatized, would you advocate banning it?"; and that he remain consistent?

Some people are so mentally constructed that they cannot refrain from impugning the motives of others in order to compensate for weakness in their own arguments. I prefer not to believe this of LR and I wait for this letter to be answered with the thoughtfulness of which the staff is capable. #

Quebec: Province or Nation?

by Leonard P. Liggio

For the first half of Canadian history, Quebec was Canada. Quebec was founded in the early 1600's at the same time that the English settled at Jamestown and the Dutch at Manhattan. In 1759-60 Quebec was conquered by England, which granted recognition of the customs of the Quebecois. In their satisfaction, the Quebecois declined to join the American Revolution, and were rewarded for their loyalty by having imposed upon them tens of thousands of the Tories who opposed the American Revolution. Since the more reactionary elements in America tended to be Tories, the potential for an enlightened English-Quebecois relationship was not very great.

During the early nineteenth century, the Quebec leaders were increasingly influenced by nationalism and modernism. From 1815, when he became speaker of the Quebec assembly, Louis Joseph Papineau was the leader of the Patriot party. In 1837 Papineau and his party sought to gain Quebec independence by armed action and were defeated. The Patriot party lacked popular rural support in this endeavor due to the dominant role of the Catholic clergy in the villages. The Catholic clergy stood with the English government and was rewarded by that government with a free hand in the running of local affairs. Meanwhile, Quebec and Ontario were united under a single parliament with the aim of the Anglicization of Quebec. This goal was not achieved because, while the rural people were in the hands of the ordinary clergy, the French-educated class was formed by a strongly international higher education system conducted by the Jesuits. Thus, while the Quebecois masses were the most provincial in Canada, the Quebec leadership was the most sophisticated.

In 1867 Canada became a confederation of provinces, and two national political parties emerged. The conservatives, protectionist, anti-American/oriented to England, were rooted in the English Protestant provinces. The Liberals, free traders, not anti-American or oriented to England, had their strongest base in Catholic Quebec. For 32 years the national Liberal leader was Wilfrid Laurier. Laurier's fifteen years as prime minister occurred in the midst of an important conflict over the rights of French parents to have their children instructed in French in provinces other than

Quebec. Teaching in French had been outlawed in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. In 1890 Manitoba outlawed Catholic schools and the teaching of French, in conflict with its own provincial constitution. Laurier insisted on supporting the provincial autonomy of Manitoba, and set the stage for restrictions in what became Alberta and Saskatchewan (reaffirmed in 1905), in Ontario in 1915 and culminating in a Saskatchewan law in prohibiting the teaching of French outside school hours.

An additional area of English-Quebec conflict concerned the rise of English imperialism. The Quebecois have no interest in England's wars, while the English supported very actively England's conquest of the Boer Republics in South Africa. The Canadian government was pressured by England and the English in Canada to develop a national military establishment. Henri Bourassa, grandson of Papineau, and editor of *Le Devoir*, began a strong anti-imperialist and anti-militarist campaign in Quebec. During World War I, he led a major campaign against conscription which, along with the prohibition of French in the schools, led the Quebec assembly to consider withdrawal from the confederation.

In this context it is easy to understand why the Liberals dominated Quebec politics and why the Conservatives represented an almost nonexistent opposition. However, the Liberals' leading role in national politics undermined their support in Quebec and there emerged in the mid-1930's the *Union nationale*. The *Union nationale*, which dominated the Quebec assembly until 1960, represented the rural population and the village clergy. Although encouraging investment and economic development of Quebec's rich resources, the *Union nationale* pursued a highly regressive policy on cultural matters. While articulating the strong Quebecois opposition to conscription and involvement in World War II, it prohibited and repressed new cultural and intellectual directions. As Pierre Lemieux has noted, it was in the context of this anti-cultural regime that modern Quebec intellectuals have developed, and the only alternative many recognized was the association of intellectual freedom and socialist politics.

Leon Dion, in *Nationalismes et Politiques au Quebec* (1975),
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emphasizes that Quebec has never experienced the intellectual contributions of laissez-faire individualism. Whenever liberalism is mentioned, it has been in the context of apologies for the status quo. Thus, the intellectuals around *Cite libre*—Trudeau, Pelletier, etc.—looked to the “*dirigiste*” philosophy of French bureaucracy, to be accompanied by cultural freedom. This spirit infused the Liberal party at the point that it reemerged in 1960 to assume leadership in Quebec.

However, this local reemergence followed the huge Liberal losses in the 1958 federal elections. In that year, the conservatives outpolled the Liberals and won 50 of the 75 Quebec seats. In the next federal election, 1962, for the first time a third party made important gains in Quebec. The Social Credit party, which dominated some western provinces, emerged in Quebec as the *Ralliement des Creditistes* under Real Caouette. The Creditistes gained over a quarter of the vote and 25 seats in the federal parliament. Except for its ‘funny money’ plank, Social Credit has been a major conservative force in Canada, combining balanced budgets with cultural repression. Viewing private property and private management as crucial, it opposes centralization, bureaucratization and public ownership. Using television, Caouette was able to mobilize former non-voters and introduce this new element into Quebec politics. Maurice Pinard, *The Rise of a Third Party, A Study in Crisis Politics* (1975).

Meanwhile, the Liberals in Quebec, after 1960, embarked on a “Quiet Revolution” in an attempt to modernize and develop the economy. Marcel Rioux, in *Quebec in Question* (1978) calls this a mental liberation.

“What was this quiet revolution? Who but Quebecers could dream up such an idea, or carry on such a thing as a quiet revolution? The concept unites the hot with the cold and makes them work together. Our people, in fact, have a “hot” culture, i.e., a Dionysian culture that has been repressed, historically, by the domination of rigid influences (the French metropolis, the British, the Americans, Jansenism and religious rigidity). How strange, then, after centuries of subjection, that enough “hot” elements have survived to make us refer to a simple reform movement and a climate of change as “revolutionary.” . . . The alternation between hot and cool plays an important part in the collective psychology of Quebecers, not only because of the climate but because of two cultures of which one is renowned for its cool, understated character.

Marshall McLuhan believes that Quebec has jumped from the seventeenth to the twentieth century while the English are still living in the nineteenth century.

The leading figure in the Liberals’ Quebec cabinet was the former TV personality, Rene Levesque. When the Liberals regained power on the federal level, Trudeau and others joined the federal cabinet, while the Liberals in Quebec lost control to the *Union nationale*. Under its auspices, President Charles de Gaulle visited Quebec and called for an independent Quebec. Rene Levesque was ousted by the Liberals from party membership to satisfy Trudeau and the Liberal cabinet. Levesque in 1968 formed a new party, The *parti quebecois*. The *parti quebecois* was fundamentally an ideological party. Its advantage was a nationalism that had deep roots in Quebec and had now come to the fore, and an economic program based on the tradition of the two major parties, planning and state investment. In the 1970 Quebec elections, the PQ received 23% of the vote and seven seats in the assembly to the Liberals 42% and seventy-two seats; *Union nationale* 20% and seventeen seats, and the Creditistes 11% and twelve seats.

The crisis of October, 1970, when a secret nationalist group

kidnapped a cabinet member and businessman, led to the federal government’s imposing martial law. The general reaction of the Quebec population was that such an extreme overreaction and denial of civil liberties would be directed at Quebecois only — because of their being viewed as second class citizens of Canada. The *parti quebecois* was able to gain strong Quebec-wide support for its vigorous condemnation of the government’s repression while emphasizing the electoral road to sovereignty-association: Quebec sovereignty in economic association with the other parts of Canada with common currency and trade policies. (Andre Bernard, *What Does Quebec Want?* (1978)

In answer to the left’s charge that the PQ was only a more modern version of the Liberals, the PQ leaders adopted a traditional political position in Quebec — attack both socialism and capitalism: “It is obvious that doctrinaire socialism and suffocating state hegemony have not managed, any more than grandfather’s capitalism in its various modes, primitive or refurbished as practised up to now, to bring into being a paradise on earth or even decently to eliminate the most unjust abuses and inequalities.” As John Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois, 1967-1976* (1977), shows, the 1973 provincial elections confirmed the PQ as the alternative party in Quebec. While the Liberals swept to almost ninety percent dominance in Assembly seats, the PQ gained more than 30% of the popular vote, while the Creditistes received less than ten and the *Union nationale* less than 5%.

In 1974 the PQ leadership established a daily newspaper in Montreal, *Le Jour*. It gained a circulation of thirty thousand, the same as the influential *Le Devoir*, at the cost of losing about \$45,000 per month.

By 1976, the value of the daily paper became evident, as the Liberal government faced a major crisis over language education in the schools. In 1968, the school board of the heavily Italian suburb of St. Leonard-de-Port-Maurice decided that all classes in first grade be taught in French. The *Union nationale* and the liberal governments attempted to foster French instruction without violating the rights of parents to determine the education of their children. Fuller understanding of the national differences in Canada is possible only by recognizing that the English and the French populations constitute merely two-thirds of the population and that the other one-third is roughly divided between East European descendants in the English provinces (Polish, Ukrainian and Hungarian) similar to their cousins along the U. S. Great Lakes, and the mainly Italian (but including Portuguese and Greek) settlers in Montreal (similar to Atlantic Seaboard cities in the U. S.) The Italian Canadians of Montreal recognize the English language standards imposed by the large corporations and banks in the city and necessarily opt to educate their children in the language of the mobile sector of the economy. Thus, a perceptive cartoon showed a Colonel Blimp and a Union Jack leading the Italian Canadian-based constituency for English against the French who are told that if the French had given them good reason to be with them they would have won the issue.

By 1976, the Liberals attempted to impose French on the Italian Canadians. In protest, the principals of the English language schools in St. Leonard admitted thousands of students that the government had decided must attend French schools. Parents in other areas refused to accept government decisions and thousands of Italian Canadian parents demonstrated against the Liberal Quebec prime minister. Meanwhile, Trudeau’s federal government attempts to impose bilingualism on the rest of Canada received new rebuffs. Non-Quebec liberals revolted and Quebec liberals resigned from the cabinet protesting the temporizing. But these notables’ participation in the November 1976 Liberal reelection only contributed to the disaster. The Liberals lost the support of the Italian-Canadians only receiving 34% and 26 seats. The *Union nationale*, gaining the former Liberal voters, received 18% and eleven seats. The Creditistes lost half their vote, receiving less than

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Second Front —

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within Confederation, the telephone was ringing at 8:15 the morning after. 'I picked it up and someone said, "I feel totally disenfranchised today," ' says administration officer Nancy Sanford. 'Every five minutes since, there has been another call. A quarter of the callers are looking for a separatist party, which we aren't. The rest are saying they feel totally sick and they want to voice their frustration to someone.' "

How serious is this possibility of Alberta separatism taken? Of course, short of shipping oil by pipeline to Montana, land-locked Alberta has the Pacific coastline — and an equally strong separatist pull. Again, from *Maclean's*, "BC IN POLITICAL ISOLATION. And it is Perrault (Liberal senator from BC) who is reminding Trudeau of events such as last week's radio survey that showed six out of every 10 callers in favor of separation from the rest of Canada. "But usually it's just the dissidents who call these shows," he philosophizes."

The quote comes from the lead article in *Maclean's*, along with a cartoon showing Trudeau facing a battery of microphones, with an array of knives, arrows, tomahawks and darts protruding from his backside "... and I am reminded that while we face the threat of separatism in Quebec, we must not turn our backs on the alienation of the West ..." Yes, the threat of Western separatism is taken seriously.

Even though the other two Western Provinces elected only two Liberals total (from urban Manitoba) giving an Alberta - British Columbia "Rocky Mountain Republic" a nice buffer zone, the battle will be fought economically, not on the battlefield. The fact that Alberta is rich and economically free, and the rest of Canada is suffering under austerity budgets and heavy government regulation and taxation is the key. And it's also the problem because there is no firm ideological leadership in the West. Lougheed is simply a conservative who is following the political dynamics of the situation which leads him to the coming confrontation with Ottawa (the federal capital) over oil controls. But he's not fighting for Alberta non-regulation of petroleum vs federal regulation, rather they're arguing how the plunder should be divided. This could kill any principled rally against the central state.

And, finally, the link between Quebec and Western separatists must be established. Again, Lougheed is not the medium, a symbol of a (relatively sophisticated, to be sure) anti-frog mentality, and not likely to win Levesque's support. The old Social Credit Party, strong precisely in Alberta, Quebec (and still the provincial government in British Columbia) would have been the perfect

vehicle — but it's at a new low in strength, most of its old supporters supporting the pequistes in Quebec and the PCs in Alberta.

The potential for libertarian organization is obvious. ‡

*Apologies for name-dropping, but Prime Minister Clark was a PM at the University of Alberta when this writer, in his pre-libertarian days, sat as Social Credit whip in model parliament and remembered his arrogance well toward the SC Party, then the dominant one in Alberta politics.

Province or Nation —

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5% and gaining one seat only — the Creditiste accusations that all their opponenets were godless communists hardly helped. Some of their vote went to the Popular National Party which opposed "statism, syndicalism and separatism" and advocated freeing the individual of heavy taxes, the state of heavy budgets and the economy of strikes. This preaching of economic liberalism had no traditions in Quebec on which to place a foundation.

The PQ received over 41% of the vote and seventy-one seats in the assembly; Levesque became the Quebec premier. He immediately went to New York to indicate to investors that he would pursue financial orthodoxy. His first two budgets were reductions on a significant scale. The PQ has been stronger in resisting subsidies in order to create an improved investment climate. In addition, Quebec, being blessed with many natural resources, is a major economic growth area. This growth will be fueled by Quebec's massive hydroelectric capacity. Quebec is the Saudi Arabia of electricity. By 1985 Quebec will add another 18 million kilowatts with an additional potential of 25 million. Quebec Hydro sells power to the Power Authority of New York State, and since Quebec's peak demands are in winter, it frees electricity for the summer in New York almost 1400 miles from the James Bay complex.

A major contribution to the PQ victory in 1976 was the editorials in *Le Devoir* of Claude Ryan. Ryan had been consistently critical of the failures of the federal and provincial cabinets to address the fundamental realities of Quebecois demands. He noted that each time the nationalists failed to win an election, the older parties put the crucial issues on the shelf. Ryan held the PQ defeat of the Liberals would force the Liberals to review their leadership and their goals. The PQ defeat of the Liberals did force a review and in 1978 Claude Ryan became the leader of the Liberals. It is likely that he will present a clear alternative to the PQ at the next elections, within the context of their common acceptance of the realities of Quebec nationalism. ‡

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