

Show Me Freedom

Volume 2 Number 4

Fall 1987

Terry Inman, Editor

Why Students of Ayn Rand Should Support the Libertarian Party

By Lynn Lenger

The non-support of the Libertarian Party by Objectivists and the animosity and misunderstandings that have arisen, have been of great concern to me and are issues that I hope can be resolved. As an "Objectivist" since 1956 (although the philosophy was not as formalized as it later became under Nathaniel Branden's influence) and a supporter of the Libertarian Party "before it had a name" I perhaps have a perspective that is different from those who more recently have become acquainted with the philosophy of Objectivism. I would like to share just a few of my ideas on the problem with the readers of *Show Me Freedom*. In my opinion Objectivists should be enthusiastic supporters of the Libertarian Party as it is the only political party that has the defense of individual liberties as its very foundation.



A comparison of the Libertarian Party statement of principles and the statement on objectivism by Rand illustrate the basic belief in the inviolate rights of the individual. As the protection of the rights of the individual, necessitating a logical defense of freedom in all areas and a denial of the use of force and fraud are at the core of both the Libertarian Party and of the Objectivist philosophy, this is the common principle that should provide unity. As in all groups, there will be as many opinions as to the best means and methods of achieving the desired results as there individuals, but is not that also the very essence of freedom?

It is the similarities that are so great; not the differences! Libertarians, as a rule, understand the importance of utilizing ethical means to achieve their political objectives. They understand that immoral means do not justify an end, no matter how desirable that end. And the Libertarians I have met are certainly smart enough to understand that immoral means have a way of "negating" any good temporarily achieved. So that answers several of the issues that Objectivists have raised in the recent past. Nor do I think that the Libertarian Party can or should be held accountable for every opinion held by every Libertarian, any more than Objectivists can be asked to defend every statement by every Objectivist, even Ayn Rand.

In the early sixties those few of us who were admirers of Ayn Rand's writings and the philosophy it exemplified, were concerned as to the lack of political rationale we could accept to any degree. There were critical issues that prevented our support of any of the existing political parties. In the middle to late sixties, the first glimmers of a political movement (as yet at that time unnamed) began to be discussed in the few magazines then devoted to individualism, reason and freedom. Believe

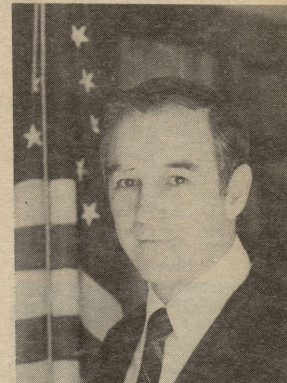
me, there was never any question in most of the minds of those of us who were NBI (Nathaniel Branden Institute) Representatives and proponents of the philosophy of Objectivism, but that Ayn Rand would give this new political entity her endorsement. The early "Objectivists" at that time who were writing for publication and all with whom I had personal contact, were very enthusiastic about the possibility of a political party that would more closely parallel their economic thoughts while upholding the rights of the individual.

Perhaps part of the problem now, lies in the unrealistic expectations of Objectivists. One should not expect a political party to function in an identical manner as a philosophical movement. Of necessity, a political party must limit its scope of activities. Broad principles should be upheld that those within the party think are the essentials; these are a foundation. To attempt to serve as a philosophical movement would be the "tail wagging the dog". It is the proper function of the Objectivist philosophical movement to define the philosophy and explore the many ramifications of Objectivism upon our lives. It is enough that a political party holds as its standard the rights of the individual as supreme and consistently extends that principle. The Libertarian Party is the only political entity that struggles to decide how best to defend the rights of the individual in all areas. (I have yet, however, in a number of years of very close observation, been able to figure out just exactly what the Republican and Democrat Parties really hold as a "Principle" except to just get elected to office any way that they can.) Of course neither the Libertarian Party (nor the Objectivists with whom I am acquainted, myself included) exemplify "complete perfection." We are all learning and growing. Many new issues have arisen that must be resolved. The same principles will apply, but new specifics will be developed.

In the film, *The Incredible Bread Machine* based on the excellent little book by Richard Grant, the photographer says to the actors, who are playing themselves, "All you people ever do is argue, don't you agree on anything?" How true. Put together a group of long time Objectivists and/or Libertarians and they will find plenty of room for discussion and, yes, most certainly some friendly arguments. I am often reminded of this when we have a group at our home. The conversations create a dull roar and such diverse personalities are explaining, arguing, defending. But this type of situation represents growth...true forward movement that is so critical; for if we lack this dialog, and cease communicating we will all stagnate.

The important issue between Libertarians and Objectivists is--whether we care enough to argue. My now adult sons are the "second generation" Objectivist/Libertarians, therefore I believe deeply that we all must keep talking with each other. I cannot imagine the probing, questioning, ethical, knowledgeable, creative, discussions I have had the privilege to hear among Libertarians, taking place among a group of Republicans or Democrats. And, perhaps that is really the question Objectivists should ask themselves before they reject the Libertarian Party.

Ron Paul
Nominated
for President
See Page 2

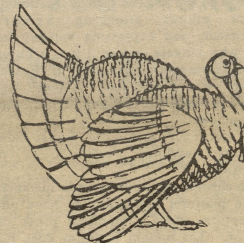


The Great Thanksgiving Hoax

by Richard J. Maybury

Each year at this time, schoolchildren all over America are taught the official Thanksgiving story, and newspapers, radio, TV, and magazines devote vast amounts of time and space to it. It is all very colorful and fascinating.

It is also very deceiving. This official story in nothing like what really happened. It is a fairy tale, a whitewashed and sanitized collection of half-truths which divert attention away from Thanksgiving's real meaning.



The official story has the Pilgrims boarding the Mayflower, coming to America, and establishing the Plymouth colony in the winter of 1620-21. This first winter is hard, and half the colonists die. But the survivors are hard working and tenacious, and they learn new farming techniques from the Indians. The harvest of 1621 is bountiful. The Pilgrims hold a celebration, and give thanks to God. They are grateful for the wonderful new abundant land He has given them.

The official story then has the Pilgrims living more or less happily ever after, each year repeating the first Thanksgiving. Other early colonies also have had hard times at first, but they soon prosper and adopt the annual tradition of

giving thanks for this prosperous new land called America.

The problem with this official story is that the harvest of 1621 was not bountiful, nor were the colonists hard working or tenacious. 1621 was a famine year and many of the colonists were lazy thieves.

In his *History of Plymouth Plantation*, the governor of the colony, William Bradford, reported that the colonists went hungry for years because they refused to work in the field. They preferred instead to steal food. He says the colony was riddled with "corruption," and with "confusion and discontent." The crops were small because "much was stolen both by night and day, before it became scarce eatable."

In the harvest feasts of 1621 and 1622, "all had their hungry bellies filled," but only briefly. The prevailing condition during those years was not the abundance the official story claims, it was famine and death. The first "Thanksgiving" was not so much a celebration as it was the last meal of condemned men.

But in subsequent years something changes. The harvest of 1623 was different. Suddenly, "instead of famine now God gave them plenty," Bradford wrote, "and the face of things was changed, to the rejoicing of the hearts of many, for which they blessed God." Thereafter, he wrote, "any general want or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day." In fact, in 1624, so much food was produced that the colonists were able to begin exporting corn.

What happened? After the poor harvest of 1622, writes Bradford, "they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could and obtain a better crop." They began to question their form of economic organization.

This had required that "all profits &

Continued on back page

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Inside:

Libertarians Nominate Ron Paul, Andre Marrou.....	page 2
Missouri's Child Abuse Industry.....	page 3
What's Wrong With the Schools.....	page 3
A Slave to Welfare, by Kim Taylor.....	page 4
Bork vs. Constitution, by Franklin Nugent.....	page 4
Threat to the Constitution, by Dan Hellinger.....	page 4
Puritanism Right & Left, by Bradley Miller.....	page 5
Privatize the Roads! by Walter Block.....	page 5
IRAQ/IRANAMOK, by Murray Rothbard.....	page 6
Libertarians Gain in Denmark.....	page 6
Libertarianism in Poland.....	page 7
South Africa's Solution.....	page 7

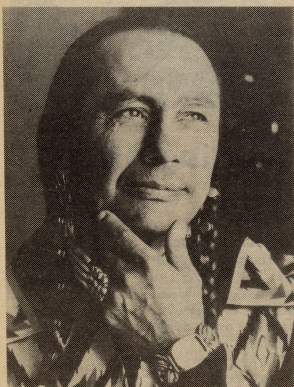
Libertarians nominate Ron Paul, Andre Marrou

A Personal Odyssey of the Convention by Mike Rosfeld

Aids Plank Adopted Soviet Colonialism Attacked Insider Trading Defended

The Libertarian Party's 1987 Presidential convention started off with great expectations and a heavy workload. Thursday September 3 was the first business day for most delegates.

The agenda consisted of proposed changes to the party by-laws. First was a reform of the rules concerning Natcom representation. In 1985 the convention voted to abolish the old regions,



Russell Means was chosen honorary vice chair of the Andre Marrou campaign.

substituting in their place a new system based on numbers of members. Any state with 250 members got a Natcom rep, plus one for each additional 250 members. States with less than 250 members had to band together with other states until the 250 threshold was achieved. Thus, Missouri got together with Oklahoma and Kansas to form a region. It occurred to the by-laws committee that a system based on numbers of members might produce an unwieldy national committee if the Libertarian Party experiences the sort of growth that some anticipate over the next two years. Therefore it was decided that from now on Natcom representation would be determined by a percentage of total national membership. In this way the size of Natcom is fixed. The percentage worked out to about 275 members. A change like this resulted in another "Natcom shuffle" as state chairs scurried around to group with other states in order to put a region together. Missouri is in a "Super Region" consisting of Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky.

In the midst of the by-laws debates the convention decided to hold a "quickie" candidate forum both to benefit the delegates and the local media. KING-TV devoted about 20 minutes of its 6:30pm newscast to the convention. The best that can be said about this coverage is that they spelled the Libertarian Party's name right. The candidate forum consisted of Ron Paul, Russell Means, Jim Lewis, and Harry Glenn, a tax resister/country singer from Indiana. Glenn, self-proclaimed as "the country boy for this country," got

most of the coverage from the media.

Delegate selection came under scrutiny as there were rumors that one of the campaigns had attempted to fill vacancies in some states' delegations with people from other states, as Earl Ravenal's campaign did in 1983. The persons filling these vacancies were of course already committed to the sponsoring campaign. As a result there is now a residency requirement for all of a state's delegation, not just a majority as before. Also, consideration was given to states with small national memberships. Each state is guaranteed at least two delegates and fewer members are needed to get additional delegates.

Sparks really flew Friday in debates on platform changes. The most controversial of the new planks concerned AIDS. The convention delegates ultimately adopted a plank which read: "We recognize that AIDS is a dread disease of epidemic proportions. But governmental proposals to combat it present an unprecedented threat to individual liberty and often encourage the spread of the disease. We oppose all government-mandated AIDS testing. We are opposed to FDA restrictions which make it difficult for individuals to secure treatment for this disease. We also call for the decriminalization of hypodermic syringes, especially since sharing needles is now a major means of transmission of the disease. We oppose government-mandated contact tracing and state intervention into the private medical records of individuals. We are opposed to efforts by the government, especially the postal service, to restrict the dissemination of AIDS education material. We support the rights of all individuals to freedom of association including the right not to associate."

Other proposals adopted included language in the defense and international-affairs planks attacking Soviet colonialism and expressing support for those who actively oppose it (i.e., take up arms). Government persecution of "insider trading" was denounced. A plank was adopted in support of freedom in electronic communications and data storage. This plank specifically mentioned digital-audio tape as needing protection from regulation.

An attempt was made by some members of the platform committee to have the convention adopt a modified plank on abortion. The present platform does not recognize that there is no consensus among libertarians as to the morality of abortion. The modification to the wording would have changed that. Because of lack of time, however, it was not brought up for a vote.

Bruce Evoy, dressed as Patrick Henry, delivered Henry's Speech before the Virginia House of Burgesses, known best for its phrase, "Give me liberty or give me death!" to the assembled delegates.

Friday wound up with the "real" candidate forum. Vice President-elect hopeful Andre Marrou joined the four Presidential candidates to answer questions. While the questions ran the gamut of topics, the most interesting responses were to the question asking what the candidates would do for the libertarian movement if they were not nominated. Ron Paul said that he would work to ensure that at our next convention the room we were in would be much too small for all of us—"perhaps could be used for state caucuses." Russell Means said

that he would work to build free societies on Indian reservations. Andre Marrou got a big round of applause when he said that he and his wife would increase the number of Libertarians by having children.

Saturday was the day everyone was waiting for. Karl Hess started the day off with a talk about "Freedom by Example." Then it was on to the floor to quickly dispose of the "Party Program" by not adopting it. The "Program" was originated in Phoenix as a way to focus on ten current issues and describe how a Libertarian would deal with them.

Having swiftly dealt with loose ends from Friday, the delegates were free to begin the nomination process. The order of nominations was chosen randomly. Ed Clark nominated Ron Paul, and Paul Jacob was one of the seconders. Jacob's speech was more moving and convincing than the others. Larry Dodge gave the nominating speech for Russell Means but Dean Ahmad's seconding speech far outshone it. Ron Paul's time concluded with an eight-minute TV spot that is quite effective at getting our message across.

Having heard the speeches, it was now time to vote. There was some confusion as to what constituted a majority. If every

eligible delegate had cast a vote it would have taken 195 votes to win. Because of abstentions, however, a majority of the votes was 192. Starting with Connecticut and proceeding in alphabetical order, the votes were read. Missouri cast three votes for Ron Paul and two for Russell Means. When the balloting was over, Ron Paul had 193 votes, enough to win on the first ballot. Russell Means had 120 votes, Jim Lewis had 49 votes, None of the Above had 14, Harry Glenn had three, as did Andre Marrou.

The red, white, and blue balloons were released, the band struck up "Yellow Rose of Texas," Paul supporters waved their signs, Means supporters shed tears and Ron Paul gave his acceptance speech. By the time the hoopla had ended, it was about noon and someone from the floor made a motion to adjourn for lunch until 2pm. Toni Nathan, noting that 2pm would be 5pm on the East Coast, suggested we finish the Vice-Presidential part of the ticket in order to accommodate C-SPAN and CNN. The convention voted to proceed.

Andre Marrou's name was placed in nomination for the Vice-Presidential spot

Continued on back page

Convention Analysis

Children were everywhere at the convention, many more than in Phoenix in 1985. Many of the children were under two years old, so this was their first convention. Hopefully this trend will continue, as it is the one sure-fire way of making new libertarians.

I'd like to share with you my idea for a new bumper sticker. It combines the philosophies of Harry Glenn and Robert Anton Wilson (and they said it couldn't be done!). "SEX, DRUGS, AND ROCK-N-ROLL MADE AMERICA GREAT--LET'S KEEP ALL THREE!" Whatever else this might do for the LP's image, it will insure we are not mistaken for Republicans.

Several ideas for Libertarian TV commercials come to mind. The first is to "borrow" the "just say no" campaign that is currently being used against drugs. There is a TV spot, several years old, that shows a succession of children and teenagers being offered various drugs by an off-screen voice while another off-screen voice tells the audience to "Just say no." The young actors do say, "No," some quite forcefully. Ideally, this spot could be used virtually as is, with the sound track, except for the "No's," replaced by offers of draft registration cards, income tax and Social Security numbers. Another voice would encourage the audience to "Just say, 'No!' to government." While it might not be possible to modify the original message because of copyright laws, it should be mimicked as closely as possible. This will serve two purposes. First, if enough people see LP "Just say no" ads, they will come to associate any "just say no" messages with "Just say, 'No!' to government." If this happens enough, the state will be forced to change the style of its anti-drug campaign, thereby achieving purpose number two.

Many of you no doubt have seen the "frying egg" commercial. I suggest the following changes:

(image of frying pan with grease splattering)

"This is a government school." (egg lands on frying pan)

"This is your mind after 12 years in a government school."

(pause)

"Any questions?"

My final suggestion can be made candidate-specific. Imagine a Crocodile Dundee look-a-like and his female companion walking along a city street. Suddenly, a gang of youths come out of an alley waving a poster of a rather dull-looking man with an anonymity bar across his eyes and a universal product code ("bar code") across the bottom. They ask for the couple's vote.

The young lady says to her companion, "Give them your vote, Mick."

"Why?" he asks.

"Because they have a candidate," she answers.

"That's not a candidate! This is a candidate!", he says, unfurling a picture of Ron Paul and waving it at the gang, who run off in defeat.

By now the thrust of my suggestions should be apparent -- I think that humor and satire should be the bulk of our advertising. I also think that our target market (yes, market) is the Baby-Boom generation and those who followed them. Rather than spending our time with single-issue groups who are unlikely to support us unless we follow their agenda to the letter, our time and money would be better spent on general audiences who are likely to agree with us on a broad spectrum of issues, although not necessarily on every issue.

Mike Rosfeld



David Horn '87

Missouri's Child Abuse Industry

By Laura Rogers

Orphaned children, confiscation of property, middle-of-the-night raids on homes, drugging and mental wards to manipulate dissenters. Sound like Nazi Germany? the Soviet Union? Communist China? A right-wing dictatorship in Latin America? Nope, this is Missouri.

For the past five years I have been researching the child-abuse industry and its network of bureaus and agencies, taking me to 17 offices of the Missouri Division of Family Services (DFS) this past summer. From the child-abuse investigator through the chain-of-command to the director of the county office of the DFS they spilled their guts. "Coercion, we use coercion," said one county director of the DFS, as he described the way he forced the poor and helpless to take the "welfare" checks they didn't want. And when asked just how that was done, if parents refused to cooperate, "After 30 days in treatment they start to come around," said a child-abuse investigator. He named the three mental "hospitals" he deposited them in: Laughlin Pavilion, Mid-Missouri Mental Health and Crittendon.

Pretty rough way to treat "dissenters" in the good of USA isn't it? But how can we call little children, as young as four, "dissenters?" That's right. It isn't the parents who are incarcerated in mental wards and drugged to control them. It is the children. Little children as young as four. Perhaps younger but documentation is hard to come by and the popular age of four keeps recurring as I have been gathering case histories over the years. And yet if a parent keeps inaccurate immunization records and the State finds out, the charge of child abuse will bring on a myriad of bureaus and agencies that will interrogate, intimidate, violate and confiscate. All in the name of child-abuse prevention.

Since the passage of the infamous Mondale Act, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (about 1974), the U.S. government has become Big Mother to thousands of thousands of children. Residential facilities which incarcerate them are filled, overfilled and still expanding. What happens to these children far exceeds anything that we can imagine happening in the most vile of prison camps. Beatings, sexual molestation, drugging, and the too often successful severing of the child's attachment to his or her parents.

Of course, child abuse is so bad there is a national social consciousness against it. But the hysteria against normal families, imperfect though they may be, in favor of state supervision and control is unprecedented in this country. The newest proposal reported in a Kansas City newspaper is that a federally-funded agency called Citizens for Missouri's Children is initiating still further outrage on families in Missouri and their children. State watchers will be placed in homes to observe child-rearing practices and report directly to the state on a daily, hour-by-hour basis. And the program does not rule out the probability that the informer will be living full time in the home. Maid service, free babysitting, food stamps and clothing allowances for those who are willing to open their homes to such intrusions are the lure to the unsuspecting who think that they can get something for nothing from the state. But learning the truth about the "welfare" state by those who are sucked into the quagmire of state services usually comes too late.

I remember the night when a man and woman came to my home to tell me their

Continued on back page

Of Clients & Quotas, Carriages & Kings

It is no secret among the people who deliver the unwanted services how to get more unwilling subjects. In Warrenton, Missouri an uncooperative state employee was fired because he would not "substantiate" enough cases. It's very simple: no clients -- no social workers, no clients -- no jobs, no clients -- no money. The recommended caseload is 25 per social worker. In some offices that I visited there were so many unhurried employees having leisurely luncheon parties that it was easy to see why they were eager to staff their empty desks.

The media has often helped the child-abuse industry promote the quotas required to keep the system supplied with clients. "One in four" children have been abused, you'll hear them say. So I dug in for some more research and sure enough, they turn out just what they promise. The mental-health system cranks out from 25-50 percent of the little children who are routinely evaluated for other state programs, such as the gifted program, and declares them "abused," in order to bring them into the child-abuse industry. In sworn testimony Candace Conley-Trombka of Mid-Missouri Mental Health gave those statistics while explaining her years of service to the State. The

procedure used to validate her questionable findings was embarrassing. She just asked a colleague to put a child through an interrogation process similar to her own. But the results of this technique prove to be very profitable to the industry. If an adult is thus singled out there won't be any prosecution and sometimes the not-so-hotline won't even be called. So long as the accused takes counseling from Mid-Missouri Mental Health or someone they designate.

It seems not to matter to Mid-Missouri Mental Health very much if the child has been sexually abused or not, or if the accused is guilty or not. The main thrust is to get the whole cast of characters into state "counseling" so that someone can be made to admit to their sins. It is even more helpful if during the "counseling" everyone admits to lots of things because that helps the state find more reasons to give more "help" to all of its clients. So the social workers' caseloads become their carriages to kingship. And the clients and quotas are the wheels on which they roll.

Like the kings of old, social workers have the power...and there is no way out.

Laura Rogers

What's Wrong With the Schools

A Review of Joe David's *Glad You Asked*

By Richard A. Cooper

Many people have asked, "What is wrong with education?" This question has preoccupied author and ex-teacher Joe David. It seems natural then that his second book, *Glad You Asked*, takes the form of questions-and-answers. Previously, Joe David tried to communicate his views on education in a novel, *The Fire Within*, set in a contemporary urban high school. While undergoing interviews and talk shows, he discovered that some people could not grasp the potential for exploring serious points in fiction. Therefore, he resolved to return to the themes of *The Fire Within*, but this time as nonfiction.

David's new book addresses the questions raised by frequently hostile interviewers. All of the questions take a different tack from David's views. These views should prove controversial. David examines both traditional and progressive education -- and finds them wanting in respect for individual autonomy and reason.

Traditional education, both public and private, aims to shape students in an authoritarian mold. Regimentation, not education, is the goal of traditional education. This doctrine enshrines discipline rather than self-development as the central goal of education. Based on his experiences, David observes that the result is often surly, disobedient children who have not been educated. David's dissection of traditional education is pointed and should bring a smile or a grimace of recognition to many readers.

"Traditional education since the time of the Egyptians has generally meant placing children in a group and, in the center of this group, having a teacher lecture on standard subjects (reading, writing, and arithmetic) at specific class periods. Usually through passive absorption students are given material which at specific intervals they must give back accurately on tests. To assure a certain amount of confusion, subjects are usually presented without context integration or philosophic consistency; and to assure a certain amount of standardized learning, achievement goals are set for the class rather than for the individual."

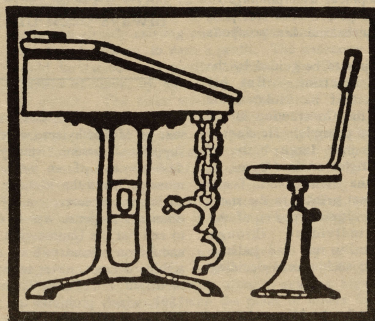
Progressive education is condemned by David for relativism in both morality and knowledge. In his view, behaviorist psychology and pragmatism lead progressive educators to deny the rational faculties of humanity in favor of a stress on the emotions and senses. David charges that the result of these ideas is a progressive barbarization of the students subjected to this form of mis-education.

Progressive education bears a political commitment. David quotes John Dewey, a leading philosopher of progressive education, as saying, "The only true education comes through the stimulation of the child's powers by the demands of the social situation in which he finds himself. Through these demands he is stimulated to act as a member of a unity, to emerge from his original narrowness of action and feeling, and to conceive of himself from the standpoint of the welfare of the group to which he belongs." In short, the purpose of Deweyan progressive education is the promotion of

collectivism, nowadays sanitized as "social adjustment."

Joe David finds the distinction between traditional and progressive education to be essentially bogus. Both doctrines are anti-rational and oppose the autonomy of the individual. In his view, traditional education is seen as authoritarian while progressive education is nihilistic. The implications of both schools of education are hostile to individual rights and individualism.

Make no mistake, Joe David champions individual rights, free markets and limited government. He taught in the Chicago public schools and more recently in Washington-area business schools. Joe David favors the complete privatization of education. He is concerned about the dominance of these two mistaken doctrines of education -- the traditional and the progressive -- in the public schools. This dominance does not surprise him, however.



"You must remember government schools are excellent places to indoctrinate an entire generation of children to the view of the government establishment; also, they are an excellent place to mass-produce ignorance, both of which are occurring daily in our schools. The reason: the government -- and ambitious politicians -- find the indoctrinated ignorant citizen easier to control."

As an example of the progressive form of indoctrination, David cites the current movement called "values clarification." This approach, strongly identified with the National Education Association, undermines the values inculcated by parents without offering students the opportunity to systematically and logically assess values. David charges that "The premise for values clarification is that there is nothing intrinsically right or wrong." The instances of indoctrination in traditional education seem fairly obvious, and need not be discussed here.

David advocates the complete separation of state from

education. He believes that government should neither run nor finance schools, let alone control them. Education should be strictly voluntary, in all its aspects. Compulsory attendance laws stand condemned by David as infringements of individual freedom.

The conflicts in the public schools over staff, subjects and reading matter could be prevented by privatization in David's view. He notes that government schools become politicized with resulting tensions between minority and majority factions in communities. Government solutions in general tend to favor monolithic, all-or-nothing settlements of questions. David is tolerant, pluralist, and libertarian in his approach. "Let each person support voluntarily those schools which he believes in, secular or non-secular, private or public. If this is done, there will be more choices and less tension in education."

Voucher plans, whereby money is given by the state for parents to educate their children, offer an approach to privatization for David. I oppose voucher plans because I do not think they will lead to less government involvement in education, but more. You may recall how strenuously it was denied that federal aid to education would lead to federal control over education. The regulatory and paperwork burden imposed by the federal establishment on local schools should be apparent to all. Second, the nature of democratic politics is to buy votes with other people's money. Therefore, I expect the vouchers to become another welfare program to be perpetually expanded.

The most interesting feature of *Glad You Asked* in my opinion is David's personal educational philosophy. This philosophy is positive, rational, humane and heroic. He does not counsel defeatism. "There is no question that socioeconomic conditions influence, that television and movies glorify criminals and that some parents abuse and neglect their children. Nevertheless, all these obstacles can be overcome by creating schools which are a lighthouse of wisdom, where minds are focused on great ideas and intellectual pursuits instead of stunted and made useless and helpless by frivolous intellectual...exercises."

Heroism marks David's ideal teachers. His fictional heroine Anne Harte in *The Fire Within* speaks for him. "I believe [an educator's] responsibility is to educate students, to teach them to integrate ideas and prove them logically, to think about ideas and understand them conceptually." Such views represent a challenge to the reigning political and educational ideas in the world. In places, I thought David set up straw men and made overreaching claims about the intent of opponents. However, these flaws are minor. Joe David once again offers a refreshing view of humanity and education which is noble, heroic, rational and libertarian. Joe David proves himself an effective teacher in *Glad You Asked*!

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A Slave to Welfare

By Kim Taylor

Most American citizens don't stop to think of where the government gets the money it spends. Really, the government has no money. It can only spend and give away what it takes from others. Most of us don't realize that at least half of our earnings go to the government in the form of various taxes, and if that weren't enough, taxes keep being increased. That means that my husband will be working most of the day for the government with the least part of the day spent working to support his family and his own way of life.

I've written a little comparison of our lifestyle and the lifestyle of the people down the street who are provided for by welfare which is funded by the productive people of America. The household consists of two women and their children.

My neighbors on welfare spend the day talking, smoking, reading, watching TV, playing the guitar and singing. The one who had a job quit it. My husband works eight hours a day and overtime or odd jobs to keep up with bills and taxes. I do odd jobs when they're available.

My neighbors on welfare just got back from Magic Mountain. We'll be staying around home this year because of talk of layoff and strike; we must save all the money we can.

My neighbors on welfare don't think of saving or preparing for the future. Their checks, medical cards, and food stamps seem as though they'll always keep coming. We grow fruit and nuts and store food for hard times. And when hard times hit, where do you think those neighbors will turn for fruit and nuts and stored food? It's

a little scary.

My neighbors on welfare just bought a new microwave oven. We just bought a used wheat grinder. My neighbors on welfare wave on their way to the deli. We grind our own wheat, make our own bread and cereals and use powdered milk to cut the cost of our grocery bill.

My husband cut himself today and needed a few stitches. After considering how much a visit to the doctor would "set us back" he taped it up himself. My neighbors on welfare go to the doctor and fill prescriptions as often as they want with no thought of the expense.

My neighbors on welfare hate President Reagan; they think he's selfish and heartless and responsible for our country's problems. It's enough to make you laugh! Or should I say, cry? Many people like them will be voting at the elections, you know. I'm not suggesting that all people on welfare are like my neighbors. Some need help. But I know of still others who have used welfare to support boyfriends, abort babies, and buy drugs! And there are far too many working Americans making sacrifices and kissing their dreams for the future goodbye. This should not be the American way. And I believe that the time is coming for Americans who believe in what's fair and right, to stand together and put their foot down on these injustices.

Kim Taylor is a homemaker in Strathmore, California. This article is reprinted by permission from New Dimensions, c1987 by the Foundation for Human Understanding, \$36 per year, P.O. Box 34036, Los Angeles, CA 90034.

Bork vs. Constitution

By Franklin M. Nugent

Judge Robert Bork's confusion over the Constitution is most puzzling. As even casual students of the Constitution know, the "original intent" of the framers of the Constitution was to preserve those "...Unalienable Rights" among which are "...Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." These words are, of course, from the Declaration of Independence, which also emphasizes that all men are born with these unalienable rights: they come from no government, no state, but rather from nature and from God. So the sole purpose, the original stated intent of the founding fathers was to constitute a government that was limited to those powers specifically granted to it, and none other. If the power was not granted to the government, the government was not to have it. It was retained by each person as part of his large body of unalienable rights. And no majority vote in Congress can override these rights.

The framers said in effect, "do not go to the Constitution to see what rights the people have; go there to see if the power was granted to the government to deal with the subject at all."

So, when judge Bork says the general right to privacy or right to contraceptives does not exist because he cannot find those rights specifically written in the Constitution, he denies everything the Constitution stands for. Where in the Constitution does it say the government has the power to invade our privacy, our bedrooms?

This principle of natural rights and limited government is stated over and over again in the writings of the framers

(Jefferson, Madison, Sam Adams, etc.), and also in the debates at the constitutional convention. It is stated in the Bill of Rights itself, in the Ninth Amendment: the Ninth Amendment says, "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." This is merely a reaffirmation of the underlying principle driving the Constitution itself, and upon which it is based: each man is the sole owner of his life and liberty, and although he grants some limited power to the government, he reserves all remaining authority to himself.

When judge Robert Bork says he does not know what the Ninth Amendment really means, -- which he did say -- he reveals a shocking ignorance of the ethical and philosophical underpinnings of the Constitution he professes to interpret. That is the reality behind his pompous pedantry.

Judge Bork claims to be guided by the "Original Intent" doctrine. But his statements reveal that he violates the original intent of the Constitution in the most profound way possible. He denies the existence of that large body of unnamed (natural) rights retained by us, as spelled out in the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, and not granted to the state. He believes in the ultimate power of the state over the individual, through congressional majority rule and judicial edict. Do you want such a man deciding your destiny?

Franklin Nugent is the Missouri Vice Chair-elect of the Libertarian Party.

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CENTRAL AMERICA And The

Threat to the Constitution

by Dan Hellinger

On July 4, as Independence Day celebrations focused upon the 200th anniversary of the Constitution, chances are that most Americans overlooked news reports that Lt. Col. Oliver North and other members of a secret Reagan administration task force had formulated a plan to suspend the Constitution and declare martial law. Government control was to be transferred to the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and military commanders would have been appointed to run state and local governments. The plan was to be implemented in the event of a crisis, such as nuclear war or violent and widespread internal dissent.

Oliver North and other members of a secret Reagan administration task force formulated a plan to suspend the Constitution and declare martial law.

North also envisioned implementing the plan merely in the event of national opposition to a U.S. military invasion abroad. William French Smith, then Attorney General, squelched the plan, but that should not lull us into believing that the plan was idle speculation. In fact, North and his merry band of National Security Council aides were busily planning an operation designed to involve the United States in just such an invasion.

The contras, then virtually under North's direction, were to swarm into an area of Nicaragua and declare it "liberated." North knew that this would inevitably invite a successful counterattack by Sandinista forces; the United States would have to come to the aid of the contra forces, thereby directly involving U.S. troops in combat. North, who began his cloak and dagger routine in Vietnam, understands that successful prosecution of a land war in Central America would almost surely require suppression of dissent at home, and the historical tendencies since World War II back him up.

"The means of defense against foreign danger have always been the instruments of tyranny at home."

James Madison

The Korean War was fought in the context of McCarthyism, which successfully suppressed dissent virtually precluded the development of an organized anti-war movement, but the Vietnam War generated an enormous movement. Part of the government's response was to use the military to end-run the Constitution. The Johnson and Nixon administrations each issued executive decrees, never tested in Court, that modified the Posse Comitatus Act of 1891, which prohibits the use of military forces for normal civilian law enforcement. Some 1200 military field investigators spied on civilians in radical groups and civil rights organizations and even politicians like Senators William Fulbright and Adlai Stevenson III. While CIA and FBI activities were subsequently regulated, no effective legislation preventing a recurrence of military spying has been implemented.

Even before the first platoon has been deployed in combat, there are signs that a new ground war in Central America will generate the kind of widespread and intense opposition that only more extreme measures, like martial law, would be able to suppress. A Gallup Poll showed that in June 1987, two-thirds of all Americans opposed aid to the contras. In April, more than one hundred thousand opponents, with strong labor and religious representation, marched through Washington's streets in opposition to U.S. policy. Only unconstitutional schemes could meet the widespread movement portended by

these early indications of opposition.

The danger to the Constitution should provide Congress with one more reason to stop the momentum toward war in Central America. It can begin by rejecting the next round of Administration requests for aid to the contras and to U.S. client states. Based on 1985's vote, either 19 additional "no" votes in the House or six in the Senate would be enough to cut off the contras. Last March, opponents of aid to the contras were unable to muster a Senate majority even on a largely symbolic vote in March. A majority was secured in the House, but it may not hold. Missouri Democrat Ike Skelton has already begun to organize approximately 30 Representa-

tives regarded as "key swing" votes and made it clear that his purpose is to save some form of contra aid.

Even if contra aid is defeated, deepening involvement elsewhere in Central America may not be avoided. For example, during the March vote liberal Democrats presented their alternative plan which largely consisted of shifting the money from the contras to El Salvador and Guatemala. By voting to fund the Duarte government leading Democrats signal a commitment to a politically isolated regime that refuses to negotiate with its opponents, the same mistake made by the Kennedy administration and congress in Vietnam with Diem. And just as in Vietnam, the military balance seems to be gradually shifting toward the guerrillas. Would Ronald Reagan or any Republican or Democrat who follows him accept a guerrilla victory without deploying U.S. troops to ground combat?

North has already had a heavy influence on the shape of the Central America debate. Senator John Danforth, who has led

the Senate floor fight for contra aid in the past, is fond of quoting a 1981 speech by Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge in which he proclaimed the Sandinista revolution as one that "goes beyond our borders." Danforth's quote comes from information provided by a white paper, Revolution Beyond Our Borders, prepared by the Office of Public Diplomacy of the State Department. It failed to quote the rest of Borge's remarks, including the explanation, "This does not mean we export our revolution. It is sufficient--and we cannot avoid this--that they take our example." The oversight is understandable. The unofficial coordinator of the Office of Public Diplomacy was, we now learn, Oliver North.

James Madison, the "father" of the Constitution, explained during the debates at the 1787 convention that it was essential to limit the executive's war-making authority because "the means of defense against foreign danger have always been the instruments of tyranny at home." It is time that the Congress take those words seriously. It can begin by ending the undeclared U.S. war in Central America and forcing the Administration to pursue serious diplomatic alternatives.

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Puritanism Right and Left

By Bradley Miller

"The new Puritanism," wrote H.L. Mencken in his 1917 essay "Puritanism as a Literary Force," "is not ascetic, but militant. Its aim is not to lift up saints but to knock down sinners...Puritanism has become bellicose and tyrannical by becoming rich...The American Puritan (after the Civil War) was not content with the rescue of his own soul; he felt an irresistible impulse to hand salvation on, to ram it down reluctant throats...there was a visible effort to erect the individual's offense against himself into an offense against society...There was the dubious principle -- the very determining principle, indeed, of Puritanism -- that it is competent for the community to limit and condition the private acts of its members, and with it the inevitable corollary that there are some members of the community who have a special talent for such legislation, and that their arbitrary fiat are, and of a right ought to be, binding upon all..."

The point here is to get to the root of why everyone doesn't leave everyone else alone. And why are the intruders rarely faced by massive demonstrations of their futility and even counterproductiveness?

Or as Ludwig von Mises put it in *Human Action*: "...once the principle is admitted that it is the duty of government to protect the individual against his own foolishness, no serious objections can be advanced against further encroachments...Why not prevent him from reading bad books and seeing bad plays, from looking at bad paintings and statues, and from hearing bad music? The mischief done by bad ideologies, surely, is much more pernicious, both for the individual and for the whole society, than that done by narcotic drugs."

Such remains the guiding philosophy for the vast portion of the world. Only a small fraction of the world is democratic, and that fraction is increasingly suffocated by government regulation and bureaucracy. As for the nondemocratic world, even to call the above passages its "guiding philosophy" is to candy-coat a bit. A more plausible characterization is Orwell's 1984: today's totalitarians, their rhetoric notwithstanding, pursue power and its brutal exercise as ends in themselves, no more believing their rhetoric about uplifting the masses than an actor believes his lines. It is an open question, indeed, whether Lenin himself believed his rhetoric, for he labeled "useful idiots" those in the West, such as today's "liberation" theologians, who did.

My thesis is that this pervasive hostility to freedom, regardless of whether it comes from the Left or Right, is rooted in the Puritanism described above, and that this Puritanism is rooted in envy and cowardice, and that this envy and cowardice is rooted in consciousness of inescapable inferiority.

Left-wing Puritanism envies wealth above all; Right-wing Puritanism envies joy in general. But the distinction

is more apparent than real. Puritans Right and Left live in what Mencken called "the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy," and both are fevered by what he called "the impulse to punish the man with a superior capacity for happiness -- to bring him down to the miserable level of 'good' men, i.e., of stupid, cowardly and chronically unhappy men."

In some ways life in America has improved enormously since 1917. Plenty today, to be sure, still want to "knock down" sinners more than they want to save their own souls. Witness, for example, the present "war on drugs," which is likely to be about as successful as the prohibitionists' war on booze; and the persisting prohibitions against gambling and sundry other acts that, essentially, hurt only oneself. All this comes at a time when government can't control those who hurt others. Today's Right-wing Puritans, for all of their ragings, pale next to the Puritans of the Left, ironically called liberals. Left-wing Puritans, unlike those of the Right, don't presume to be inspired by God, but by a superior sense of justice. Right-wing Puritans assault pleasure directly; Left-wing Puritans pursue the same quarry indirectly by assailing profit. Envy and cowardice fuel both.

Lenin made explicit that his goal was to make class envy flame into revolutionary hatred. What cowardice prevents individuals from expressing on their own, "class solidarity" emboldens them to express. In barking with the pack, the fearful find both safety and ferocity.

Democratic socialists and welfare statistes seek to drum up only enough soak-the-rich envy for political success, knowing that the time-honored way to build political machines is to bloat government and make increasing portions of the populace dependent on government dispensations. According to the Census Bureau, nearly a third of Americans get direct benefits in public funds. Add all those getting indirect benefits and all the government administrators, and any politicians advocating limited government must hope that half the voters will bite the hand that feeds them.

Are Left-wing Puritans truly animated by compassion and desire for social justice? The evidence is now conclusive that what Mises pointed out long ago is correct: not only do government interventions in the economy not work; they backfire. At this stage, ignorance of the stunning correlations between expansion of state power and diminution of freedom and prosperity can be explained only as moronism or as the kind of willful blindness politicians cultivate to get elected.

Vote-buying can't account for the popularity of Left-wing Puritanism among intellectuals, but it's easy to see envy and cowardice at work here too. Intellectuals', and especially academicians', search for safety in numbers through the herd instinct may be more pervasive than

among any other group, even though intellectuals don't benefit directly from such manifest preposterousities as progressive taxation, reverse-discrimination quotas, protectionism, the ideas of state-dictated wages, and the whole caboodle of counterproductive welfare-state programs "compassionate" politicians have bequeathed us. In this case the popularity of this so-called liberalism, and often enough of socialism, stems from Puritan envy of wealth coupled with ignorance of how wealth is produced. Here the delusion still reigns that A is poor because B is rich, and social science departments still sprout with schemes for redistributing B's wealth.

Tenured positions make it unnecessary to bother learning the demeaning mundanities of how wealth is produced and businesses run. Thus liberated from a competitive environment and ensconced in a world where their brainstorms needn't have consequences, intellectuals inflate their self-images by denigrating "money-grubbers," whose status and displays of wealth they resent. They call them vulgar, uncultured, greed-crazed. Their wealth comes from "exploitation." The unstated assumption is that if there were any justice, scholars and intellectuals would have a far bigger share of wealth and prestige than those vulgar oilmen.

From there it's a small step to proclaiming a moral obligation to redistribute wealth. That redistribution schemes makes both rich and poor poorer is not the point. The point is that they provide outlets for envy.

Before all the evidence was in about how redistribution brainstorms make things worse, one could assume the Puritans of the Left actually were fevered with the desire to uplift the downtrodden. Now one turns to William F. Buckley, Jr.'s definition of a socialist as one who lives in the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, is making a profit.

That the rich are sometimes asses hardly means that hating and raiding them reflect compassion for the poor or passion for justice, any more than the Puritan Right's hatred and pursuit of sinners reflect love of virtue. Neither group of Puritans is to be condemned for envy, which everyone feels. Both are to be condemned for using the power of the state to gratify their envy, and for seeking political advantage by encouraging envy in others. They are shameless in using the freedoms of a free society to diminish others' freedom. They can be stopped only if the true friends of freedom, who tend to be too individualistic to organize, organize to stop them.

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Privatize the Roads!

By Walter Block

If the government demanded the sacrifice of 46,700 citizen's each year, an outraged public would revolt. If a religious sect planned to immolate 523,335 in the next decade, it would be toppled. If a Manson-type cult murdered 790 people to celebrate Memorial Day, the press would demand the greatest manhunt in this country's history.

If we lived of a disease that killed 2,077 children under the age of five each year, or a nursing home that allowed 7,346 elderly people to die each year, no stone would be left unturned to combat the enemy.

If private enterprise were responsible for this butchery, a cataclysmic reaction would ensue: Congressmen would appoint investigative panels, the Justice Department would seek out antitrust violations, corporate executives would be jailed, and there would be growing cries for nationalization.

In fact, the government is indeed responsible for a real-life slaughter of these exact proportions: the toll taken on our nation's roadways. Whether at the local, state, regional, or national level, it is government that builds, runs, manages, administers, repairs, and plans the road network.

While many blame alcohol and excessive speed as causes of highway accidents, they ignore the more fundamental reason of government ownership and control.

If unsafe conditions prevail in a private, multi-story parking lot, or in a shopping mall, the entrepreneur in question is held accountable.

Why then is there apathy to the continuing atrocity of government roads? Why is there no public outcry? Probably because most people do not see any alternative to government ownership. Just as no one "opposes" or "protests" a volcano, which is believed to be beyond the control of man, there are few who oppose governmental roadway control. But it is my contention that to virtually eliminate highway deaths we need to put ownership and control of roads into private hands, and let the entire service be guided by the free market.

The notion of a fully private market in roads, streets, and highways is likely to be rejected out of hand because people feel that government road management is inevitable. Governments have always owned roads, so any other system is unthinkable.

But there is nothing unique about transportation: the economic principles we accept as a matter of course in practically every other arena of human experience apply here too. As always, the advantage enjoyed by the market is the automatic reward and penalty system imposed by profits and losses. When customers are pleased, they continue patronizing those merchants who have served

them well. Businesses that succeed in satisfying consumers earn a profit, while entrepreneurs who fail to satisfy them are soon driven to bankruptcy.

The market process governs the production of the bulk of our consumer goods and capital equipment. This same process that brings us fountain pens, frisbees, and fishsticks can also bring us roads.

Why would a company or individual want to build a road or buy an already existing one? For the same reason as in any other business: to earn a profit. The necessary funds would be raised in a similar manner: by floating and issuance of stock, by borrowing, or from past savings of the owner. The risks would be the same: attracting customers and prospering, or failing to do so and going bankrupt. Just as private enterprise rarely gives burgers away for free, use of road space would require payment. A road enterprise would face virtually all of the same problems shared by other businesses: attracting a labor force, subcontracting, keeping customers satisfied, meeting the price of competitors, innovating, borrowing money, expanding, etc.

The road entrepreneur would have to try to contain congestion, reduce traffic accidents, plan and design new facilities in coordination with already existing highways, as well as in conjunction with the plans of others for new expansion. He would also take over the jobs the government does now like (sometimes) filling potholes, installing road signs and guard rails, maintaining lane markings, repairing traffic signals, and so on for the myriad of "road furniture" that keeps traffic moving.

Under the present system, a road manager has nothing to lose if an accident happens and several people are killed on a government turnpike. A civil servant draws his annual salary regardless of the accident toll piled up on his domain. But if he were a private owner and he had to compete with other road owners, sovereign consumers who care about safety would not patronize his road, and thus the owner would lose money and go bankrupt.

A common objection to private roads is the specter of having to halt every few feet and toss a coin into a tollbox. This simply would not occur on the market. Imagine a commercial golf course operating on a similar procedure: forcing the golfers to wait in line at every hole, or demanding payment every time they took a swipe at the ball. Such an enterprise would very rapidly lose customers and go broke. Private roads would create economies of scale, where it would pay entrepreneurs to buy the toll collection rights from the millions of holders, in order to rationalize the system into one in which fewer toll gates blocked the roads.

One scenario would follow the shopping center model: a single owner or builder would buy a section of territory and build roads and houses. Just as many shopping center builders maintain control over parking lots, malls, and other common areas, the entrepreneur would continue the operation of common areas, such as the roads, sidewalks, etc. Tolls for residents, guests, and deliveries might be pegged at low levels, or be entirely lacking, as in modern shopping centers.

Consider a road on which traffic must continuously be moving. If it's owned by one person or company, who either built it or bought the rights of passage from the previous owners, it would be foolish for him to install dozens of tollgates per mile. There now exists inexpensive electrical devices which can register the car or truck passing by any fixed point on the road. As the vehicle passes the check point, an electrical impulse can be transmitted to a computer that can produce one monthly bill for all road use, and even mail it out automatically. Road payments could be facilitated in as unobtrusive a manner as utility bills are now.

It is impossible to predict the exact shape of an industry that does not exist. I am in no position to set up the blueprint for a future private market in transport. I cannot tell how many road owners there will be, what kind of rules of the road they will set up, how much it will cost per mile, etc. I can say that a competitive market process would lead highway entrepreneurs to seek newer and better ways of providing services to their customers.

Now we come back to the question of safety. Government road managers are doing a terrible job. Consider what transpires when safety is questioned in other forms of transportation to see a corollary. When an airline experiences an accident, passengers think twice before flying that airline and typically it loses customers. Airlines with excellent safety records have discovered that the public is aware of safety and make choices based upon it. An "exploding Pinto" wouldn't stay on a private road long, nor would reckless drivers and potholes.

I don't know all the details of how a future free market road system might work. But I do know that "there has to be a better way." And it is the free market.

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IRAQ/IRANAMOK



Murray N.
Rothbard

Now let's see if we can get this straight. One (or maybe two) Iraqi jets fired one (or two or three) missiles at the U.S. frigate *Stark*, sailing slowly in the war zone of the Persian Gulf. The attack crippled the *Stark* and killed 37 U.S. sailors. How did the Great Communicator and his administration respond? Apart from an endless series of memorial services, by instantly -- before knowing what happened -- rushing to absolve the Iraq government by proclaiming it an "accident." *A priori* it must have been an accident, even though the Iraqi pilot (or pilots) failed to respond to two radio warnings, and even though Iraq to this day refuses to allow the errant pilot to be questioned by U.S. authorities. Indeed, the missile struck the *Stark* because its captain had failed to turn on the Panther defense system. Why? Because he assumed the Iraqi plane to be "friendly." The U.S. rushed to favorable judgment even before Iraq came through with the inevitable apology. And this, even though it now turns out that two years ago an Iraqi jet fired a missile at a U.S. warship, damage only being prevented by a small neutral ship getting in the way and getting itself sunk.

But this is hardly all in the Alice-in-wonderland world inhabited by the Reagan administration. For immediately, everyone, from Ronnie on down, declared *Iran*, not Iraq, was the "real villain of the piece." Iran, which had never yet fired at an American ship, in the Persian Gulf or anywhere else. It is only a loony bin world where an attack by Iraq should lead the Administration to make dire threats against *Iran*.

There could only be three plausible reasons for the Reagan Administration's absurd transvaluation of values. One is aggression in the war. The United States, after all, is committed to the old Wilsonian ideal of collective security against "aggression." So was Iran the aggressor in this six-year long and extremely bloody war, and does the need to punish the aggressor account for the Reagan Administration's evident tilt toward Iraq? No, there is no doubt who was the aggressor in the war, and it was Iraq. Thinking Iran weakened by the then recent Khomeini revolution, Saddam Hussein, the absolute dictator of Iraq, struck suddenly, hoping at least to pick up territory and perhaps even to install his own puppet as ruler in Tehran. After some initial victories, Iraq found its superior firepower slowly but surely moved back by the "human wave" tactics of Iran's far larger population. It is only since Iran began to win the war that the United States has been rushing in, yowling for peace in the region. It is true that Khomeini's insistence on the resignation of Saddam Hussein is a hard-nosed peace aim, but it is surely no more brutal than the Unconditional Surrender policy forced by the United States upon its enemies in World Wars I and II. Surely, the Khomeini government has a point in wishing to punish Hussein for his launching of a blood-thirsty war.

The second plausible argument would

stem from the well-known domestic horrors, the hopped-up Shiite theocracy, of the Khomeini regime. But any intervention resting on Saddam Hussein as some sort of champion of freedom or democracy would be truly ludicrous. For all the statism of the Khomeini regime, Iraqi rule is far worse: a totalitarian dictatorship under the cult of personality of Saddam Hussein, who forces every peasant in the most remote hamlet to feature his photograph. In Iran, there are at least factions and different nuances among them, and whenever there are factions it is possible to maneuver within their interstices. But in Iraq, there are no factions, there is just bloody one-man rule by Hussein. So despotic is Iraq, indeed, that it is one of the few countries that actually compels the registration of all typewriters.

Well, if Iraq was the aggressor and Iraq is the more despotic country, perhaps the overriding argument for siding with Iraq is that Iran is a creature of the Evil Empire, the international Communist conspiracy run from Moscow? Indeed, while warning Iran -- which has shot at no American ships and precious few of any other nation's -- the Reagan Administration added a warning against possible Soviet attempts to absorb the Persian Gulf. But where in the Persian Gulf are the Soviets? Who, in fact, are the Russians backing in this war? It turns out, *mirabile dictu*, that Russia has long been siding with, and shipping arms to, Iraq! So, if any country is in tune with the Evil Empire, it is Iraq, the very country toward which the U.S. is tilting ever more intensely.

Since Khomeini has been treated in the popular U.S. media, almost since the beginning of his rule in 1979, as a Great Satan, it has been naturally assumed that the Great Satan and the Evil Empire must be in cahoots. In fact, Khomeini, as a fundamentalist Shiite, hates the guts of Commies and Marxist-Leninists, and liquidates any he can get a hold of. It was the dim realization of this fact, imparted to the U.S. by Israel (the only consistent backer of Iran in the war) that led to the lunacies of Gippergate, with secret U.S. shipments to Iran coinciding with arrests of private but non-secret shippers of arms to Iran, and the U.S. twisting the arms of other nations to stop such shipments as well.

All this nonsense stems from the view that, let any war break out anywhere, and the U.S. must throw its weight around on one side or the other. Pathetic inability to figure out who the "good guys" are in this war has led to the stunning reversals and inconsistencies of U.S. policy: at one point, the U.S. was supplying arms and intelligence information to both sides,

sprinkled with deliberate "disinformation" just to keep everyone on their toes.

Now that the U.S. has demonstrated the inability of its warships to defend themselves, it proposes to extend that dubious "protection" to Bahreini and Kuwaiti oil tankers, granting them the magic of the American flag. In this way, the Reagan administration proposes to maximize the risks to U.S. sailors and to American citizens getting embroiled in pointless, unending strife in the Middle East. Apparently, the lessons of ignominious failure in Lebanon have been lost on the American war crowd.

The Administration has two arguments to defend the policy of putting the American flag on Kuwaiti tankers. One is that the Russians, the major supporters of Iraq, have offered their protection to Kuwait, and we can't afford to be left behind. But must we mimic every hare-brained policy of the Soviet Union? Perhaps we should do the opposite, and be moved to erase our increasing support for Soviet-backed Iraq, and get the hell out of the area altogether.

To counter this upsurge of iniquitous "isolationism," the war hawks in Washington have a final arrow in their quiver: the overriding importance of the oil emerging in tankers from the Straits of Hormuz, and hence, since we depend on oil, the necessity of keeping the Straits open. Apart from the fact that Iraq, not Iran, has been the overwhelming threat to an open Straits, the entire message is absurd and obsolete, even from the strategic point of view. The U.S. is far less dependent on Middle Eastern oil than in the glory days of the OPEC cartel in the 1970s. Furthermore, in addition to the emergence of non-OPEC oil, much Middle Eastern oil (including all of Iraq's flows to the West in pipelines immune to Iraqi attack. The percent of U.S. oil consumption coming through the Straits of Hormuz is now only 4 percent, a sum that could easily be made up even if the entire Straits were closed off.

Only 11 percent of Western Europe's oil comes through the Straits. The country really dependent on Hormuz oil is Japan, which imports 60 percent of its crude through the Straits. And yet, no hysteria whatever has arisen from Japan, no call for Japanese warships, no planting of the Japanese flag on Kuwaiti ships, et al., and the same amount of healthy indifference has emanated from Western Europe. So why should the U.S. get itself in an uproar?

There is no stronger case in the world today for the United States to get the hell out, to be neutral/neutral with no tilts whatever.

Murray Rothbard cut his libertarian teeth in the Youth for Robert Taft movement of 1947-48. Today he is the S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada and author of *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto*, among many other books on economics and libertarianism. This article is reprinted from *Individual Liberty*, a publication of the Society for Individual Liberty, P.O. Box 338, Warminster, PA 18974.

Libertarians Make Gains In Denmark

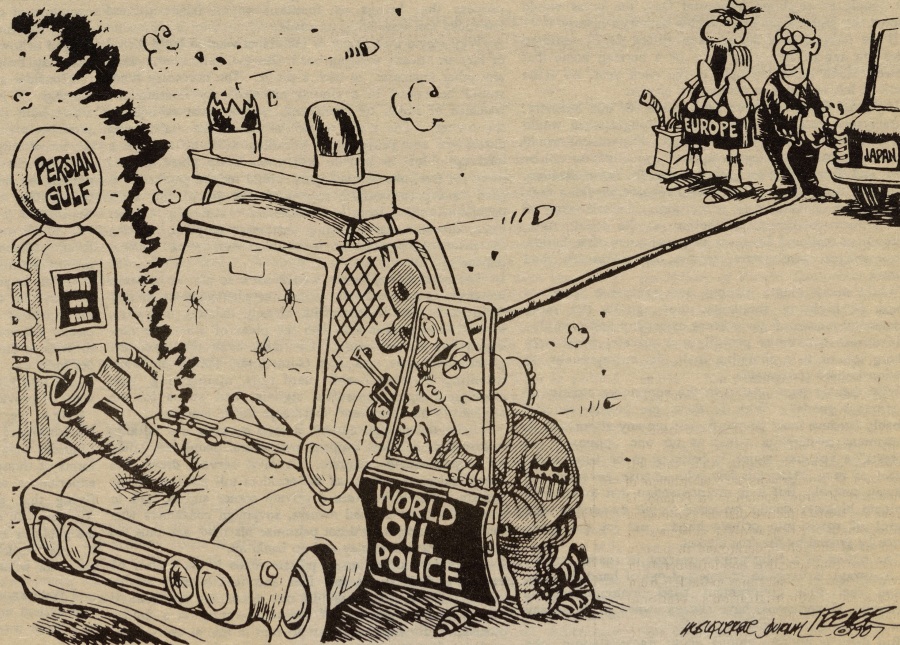
By Terry Inman

The libertarian-oriented Progress Party increased its number of seats in the Danish Folketing from six to nine in the September 8, elections, as many voters defected from the Conservative coalition, which under prime minister Shaker Schluter has increased the federal tax take from 44 percent of GDP in 1982 to 51 percent today.

The Socialist Peoples Party, made up primarily of government bureaucrats, increased its share of the Folketing from 21 to 27 seats, ironically by appealing to young voters with libertarian positions including support for pulling out of NATO, maintaining neutrality with foreign governments and opposing warfare. There is a lot of support for these positions within the Progress Party as well. Presumably the Progress Party could pull young voters away from the ruling caste's Socialist Peoples Party by emphasizing these issues.

Common Cause, a new Marxist party, acquired four seats by appealing to resentment against Asian refugees who have been coming to Denmark. Ironically, the Progressives are not completely happy with the new immigrants either. Hatred of immigrants runs higher in the advanced "welfare" states of Europe where immigrants automatically get a good income from the government, even if they choose to not seek employment, than in America where immigrants come in search of employment. West European college graduates, likewise, increasingly choose to not enter the workforce at all.

These turns of events should give pause to libertarians who follow Milton Friedman in advocating a guaranteed income or "negative income tax" as a means to eliminate the bureaucracy. On the other hand, the Progress Party is destined to grow as Denmark becomes increasingly divided between a working class and a leisure class.



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Libertarianism in Poland

By Bill Evers

Janusz Korwin-Mikke, a libertarian underground publisher from Warsaw, has visited libertarian and conservative groups and institutions across the United States including Stanford Libertarians, The Center for Libertarian Studies, the Independent Institute, the Pacific Institute, the Cato Institute, and the Hoover Institution. Korwin-Mikke makes his living as an illegal publisher; officially he is considered a "social parasite" with no visible means of support. LP NEWS interviewed him when he was in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Korwin-Mikke was able to come to the United States only because limits on his freedom that were imposed in October 1985 were recently removed. In 1985, he was caught with a car-full of unbound portions of underground books. Back in the 1960s, he spent time in jail -- several weeks or months at a stretch -- for political activities.

In his authoritative *KOR: A History of the Workers' Defense Committee in Poland*, Jan Jozef Lipski says of the pamphlet series *Alternatywy*, published by Korwin-Mikke's publishing house, that it had a "truly pure (classical) liberal laissez-faire orientation." Lipski describes it as having been "original" and "edited with flair." Indeed, Lipski reveals his own political stance by declaring that the "sharp attack" in one of these libertarian pamphlets on all varieties of social welfare programs was a "paradox."

Korwin-Mikke is currently the publisher of a political journal *Stanczyk*, named after a Polish court jester who is a "symbol of political skepticism." He is himself the author of a dozen underground pamphlets. He is as well the author of an underground book of essays on historiography and political definitions. He is also the author of two as yet unpublished books -- one on taxes, the other on politics and morality. Korwin-Mikke has also written a few articles for the official press. One was on the sensitive and controversial subject of Polish-Soviet trade.

choosing officials from this group by lottery (as was done in ancient Athens).

Korwin-Mikke was the principal adviser to the Artisans' and Craftsmen's Solidarity during 1980-1981. The Craftsmen's Solidarity and the farmers' Rural Solidarity favored establishment of a free market and private property in Poland. The more famous Workers' Solidarity favored a moderate form of socialism.)

Korwin-Mikke is quite optimistic about the prospects for substantial liberalization of Poland's economy and society in the immediate years ahead. He contends that Poland's authorities have two choices: establishment of market institutions (whether openly or disguised, perhaps as "shareholder socialism") or total collapse of the economy. He says that the military has enough common sense to recognize that neither the present course nor more thorough-going socialism will work. The military may in the future turn against the civilian bureaucracy, much of which supports the present system. Korwin-Mikke does not think that a popular revolution is likely during the economic bad times that lie ahead for Poland.

Much of what Korwin-Mikke said about Poland is difficult to fit in with Western stereotypes of full-scale Stalinist totalitarianism. What exists in Poland is still dangerous, but often toothless, totalitarianism. Reformers and rebels must pick their way skillfully amidst the permissiveness of a weak, unpopular government that still cracks down arbitrarily and unpredictably on dissidents. The government is so weak that it is anxious to cooperate with the moderate opposition, but this is dangerous for the dissidents because such cooperation would limit what they could say and would damn any cooperative dissidents in the eyes of the thoroughly anti-regime Polish people.

Korwin-Mikke says that substantial popular sentiment exists for pro-market reforms. But he admits that the left underground, which favors the establishment of some sort of "true" socialism in Poland, is larger and more effective than the pro-market underground. Korwin-Mikke attributes the strength of the left underground in part to donations from socialists and left-liberals in the West as well as subsidies to the left from the Reagan Administration's National Endowment for Democracy.

According to Korwin-Mikke, there are 15 (16 if you count liberal democrats) underground pro-market publishing houses in Poland that are known to him. The pro-market movement is increasingly influential. One of the top advisers to Poland's Catholic primate is sympathetic to libertarian thought. Two official, legal weeklies are heavily influenced

by the movement in favor of the market and personal and political liberty. Korwin-Mikke recently gave a lecture to a meeting of the officially sponsored Patriot Movement for National Reconstruction. In this lecture, he said that "socialism is dead" and came out for privatization of schooling. He was pleased that shortly thereafter an article appeared in one

Korwin-Mikke's political ideal is "the ultra-minimal state" roughly of the sort proposed by Robert Nozick, and he says that in American terms he would be somewhere between the libertarian and conservative positions on the political spectrum. For example, Korwin-Mikke prefers a voluntary military, but would be willing in an emergency to have conscription with the option of purchasing an exemption from military service. He also believes that the libertarian position requires opposing abortion except in cases of rape. But he believes that the police are "the cause" of the drug problem and that a Reagan-style war on drugs is antithetical to liberty. He would support an ultraminimal state with a low, flat head tax.

Korwin-Mikke does not favor having the police in his proposed ultraminimal state chosen by democratic means. He says there are numerous other possibilities. One he mentioned was training a substantial portion of the population for governmental jobs (as was

done in the Chinese Mandarin system) and then of the officially-communist popular weeklies likewise advocating privatization of schooling.

Polish libertarians, according to Korwin-Mikke, favor giving factory workers transferable shares in business enterprises in order to privatize Polish industries. Korwin-Mikke points out that in Poland, unlike in other Soviet-type societies, farmland is already almost entirely in the hands of private owners. He adds that the existence of so much private land and private economic activity provides an alternative career for communist officials who lost out in power struggles -- they can retire to become prosperous family-farmers. This private-enterprise safety net makes political struggles less heated than in other communist countries.

Korwin-Mikke likens the Polish communists to the Normans who conquered England in 1066. After several generations on the land, as Korwin-Mikke points out, the Normans were assimilated. They adopted much of the English culture and "thought of themselves as English patriots," not as conquerors. He contends that the same thing is happening to the Polish communists. Customary bribery, the black market, and private property are turning the communists, whose predecessors were a conquering "Red horde" brought to power by Soviet bayonets in

the late 1940s, more and more into ordinary members of Polish society.

Korwin-Mikke says that the most important thing is for advocates of the market -- in the West as well as in the East -- not to be constantly "on the defensive." Proponents of the market should never treat socialism as a noble but unworkable ideal. "Socialism is bad because it is immoral, not because it is inefficient," Korwin-Mikke says.

Friends of the various pro-free market publications in Poland are establishing a foundation to purchase printing equipment and other publishing materials that must be purchased with hard currency in order to be imported into Poland. (Private ownership of computers and printers is legal in Poland; ownership of photo-copiers or photo-offset equipment is not.) Libertarians wishing to aid the pro-market movement in Poland should give money to the Leopold Tyrmand Foundation, which is still in the formative stages. Checks made out to the foundation should be sent to the foundation's American representative: Peter Swistak, 1450 E. 55th Plance #923, Chicago, IL 60637

Bill Evers is an associate editor of *Libertarian Party News*, P.O. Box 173, Kearneysville, WV 25430, from which this article is reprinted.

South Africa's Solution

By Kerry Welsh

Johannesburg, South Africa -- In the waning days of 1986 *The Johannesburg Star*, the largest daily newspaper in this troubled country, produced a prominent "People of the year" feature story.

Although the article and photos were quite large, the list of VIPs was very small. Included was the cream of South Africa's business community, as well as its internationally known political players, including Zulu Chief Buthelezi, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, opposition leader Helen Suzman, and ANC activist Winnie Mandela.

Two relative unknowns, a husband and wife, managed to crack the prestigious annual list. According to *The Star*, the newcomers earned the honor by "having convinced large numbers of South Africans that despite all the indications of impending doom there is in fact a realistic chance of a peaceful, prosperous future."

The "newcomers" were South African libertarians Frances Kendall and her husband Leon Louw, well-known to many American libertarians for years, and co-authors of that country's number one non-fiction bestseller, *South Africa - The Solution*.

When it comes to dreaming and idealism, libertarians wrote the book. But no one, not even the most utopian, would have predicted the recent incredible course of events in South Africa in the last 10 months after this book was published.

Libertarianism has arrived in South Africa in a big way, and this beautiful country of 26 million first, second, and third world people will never be the same.

Self-published by the authors in April of 1986 with little money and less publicity, *South Africa - The Solution* quickly became a word-of-mouth phenomenon. By the middle of May it was at the top of the South African (non-fiction bestseller's list. Ten months later (at the time of this writing) it still sits at the top, with sales actually increasing each month.

As South Africans and the rest of the world grope for an answer to this country's complex apartheid problems, the 234-page paperback remains the only concrete proposal before the public eye.

Indeed, in public speeches and media interview, the Louws boldly and confidently state, "There is no other possible answer. *The Solution* is the only solution."

Remarkably, there has been little argument from across the political spectrum, from radical left to radical right.

In their book the Louws propose a libertarian variation of the Swiss cantonal system of government, which for some 600 years has featured devolution of decision-making powers to the community, or canton, level.

The analogy between Switzerland and South Africa sounds naive and even ridiculous to an outsider who knows South Africa only through the media. But across this beautiful and richly endowed country, citizens of all colors are rallying behind the book.

That is not to say these supporters are libertarians. Indeed, the book only uses the "L" word once. Supporters of the book are simply everyday people who have found hope in a previously thought-hopeless situation.

Although the free market theory dominates the book, it enters rather subliminally, or as Leon Louw put it, "through the back door."

"We're effectively getting the message across to people who would never in their life consider reading a book about laissez-faire economics."

That free market message is not only getting heard, in one area of Southern Africa it's a reality. Louw is executive director of the Free Market Foundation of Southern Africa, a privately-funded watchdog/think tank/lobbying organization.

In the early 1980s the impoverished apartheid-created black homeland of Ciskei hired Louw to formulate an economic policy to entice business and create jobs.

The libertarian Louw suggested they cut bureaucratic red tape and eliminate corporate taxes. The result is Africa's first and only tax haven. While the rest of Africa wallows in zero and even negative economic growth, more than 75 corporations in the last year alone have established intent to open up shop in Ciskei. Louw can't help but smile when the media calls Ciskei an economic miracle.

The incredible popularity of the book has even spawned an activist movement called "Groundswell". Formed only in November, the organization already has members in most areas of the country. Several multi-national corporations operating in South Africa have offered their support as well, including one well-known American firm that has promised \$500,000. The goal of "Groundswell" is to raise 30 million rand (about \$15 Million) to promote the book as well as the overall benefits of devolution of power to the community and-ultimately-individual level.

South Africa is the first western, technologically advanced society to reach a real libertarian crossroad.

Each and every day the "Groundswell" movement grows, almost as if it has a life of its own. Many have asked us to form a political party, which we politely, quickly, and emphatically decline.

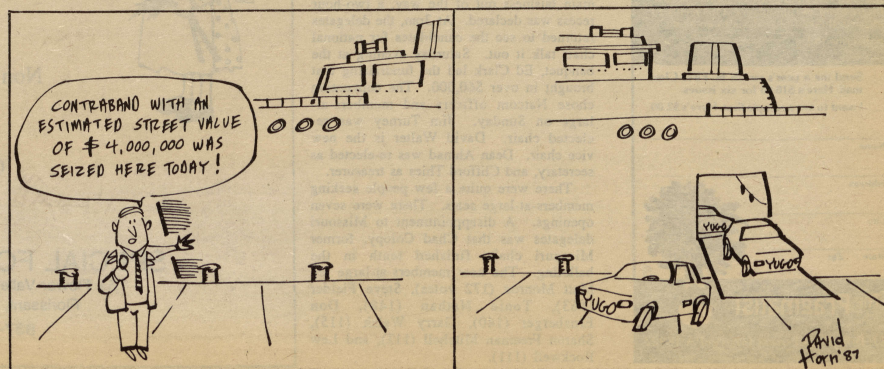
To do so would make us a threat to the established parties, which would then be obligated to reject our views, no matter how sound our viewpoint.

Victor Hugo once wrote, "There is one thing more powerful than all the armies of the world. And that is an idea whose time has come."

The time has come for South Africa. The momentum is ours.

We invite libertarians and freedom lovers everywhere to help and be part of it.

Kerry Welsh heads Groundswell, Box 70076, Bryanston 2021, Republic of South Africa. This article is reprinted from *Libertarian Party News*, P.O. Box 173, Kearneysville, WV 25430.



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The Great Thanksgiving Hoax

Continued from front page

benefits that are got by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means" were to be placed in the common stock of the colony, and that, "all such persons as are of this colony, are to have their meat, drink, apparel, and all provisions out of the common stock." A person was to put into the common stock all he could, and take only what he needed.

This "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" was an early form of socialism, and it is why the Pilgrims were starving. Bradford writes that "young men that were most able and fit for labor and service" complained about being forced to "spend their time and strength to work for other men's wives and children." Also, "the strong, or man of parts, had no more in division of victuals and clothes, than he that was weak." So the young and strong refused to work and the total amount of food produced was never adequate.

To rectify this situation, in 1623 Bradford abolished socialism. He gave each household a parcel of land and told them they could keep what they produced, or trade it away as they saw fit. In other words, he replaced socialism with a free market, and that was the end of the famines.

Many early groups of colonists set up socialist states, all with the same terrible results. At Jamestown, established in 1607, out of every shipload of settlers that arrived, less than half would survive their first twelve months in America. Most of the work was being done by only one-fifth of the men, the other four-fifths choosing to be parasites. In the winter of 1609-10, called "The Starving Time," the population fell from five-hundred to sixty.

Then the Jamestown colony was converted to a free market, and the results were every bit as dramatic as those at Plymouth. In 1614 Colony Secretary Ralph Hamor wrote that after the switch there was "plenty of food, which every man by his own industry may easily and doth procure." He said that when the socialist system had prevailed, "we reaped not so much corn from the labors of thirty men as three men have done for themselves now."

Before these free markets were established, the colonists had nothing for which to be thankful. They were in the same situation as Ethiopians are today, and for the same reasons. But after free markets were established, the resulting abundance was so dramatic that annual Thanksgiving celebrations became common throughout the colonies, and in 1863 Thanksgiving became a national holiday.

Thus, the real meaning of Thanksgiving, deleted from the official story, is: Socialism does not work; the one and only source of abundance is free markets, and we thank God we live in a country where we can have them.

Richard Maybury is an investment writer. This article is reprinted from *The Free Market*, c1986 by the Ludwig von Mises Institute, 322 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002.

Convention

Continued from page 2

and so was Russell Means'. This was expected as some delegates had been circulating letters urging Paul or Means to accept the VP slot if the other was nominated for President. At this point, Russell Means addressed the convention. In the most moving speech of the day, he said that he could not take the VP nomination from someone who had worked so hard for it. He therefore respectfully declined the nomination. After the applause died down, a motion was made to suspend the rules and conduct a voice vote. This motion passed and a voice vote was substituted for the paper ballot. There were no "nays" during the voice vote. The main business out of the way, a two-hour recess was declared. At 3pm, the delegates returned to see the candidates for national chair talk it out. Saturday evening at the banquet, Ed Clark led the fundraising that brought in over \$60,000. The convention chose Natcom officers and members-at-large on Sunday. Jim Turney was re-elected chair. David Walter is the new vice chair. Dean Ahmad was re-elected as secretary, and Clifford Thies as treasurer.

There were quite a few people seeking members-at-large seats. There were seven openings. A disappointment to Missouri delegates was that Chad Colopy, former Missouri chair, finished tenth in the balloting. The new members-at-large are Matt Monroe (172 votes), Steve Fielder (163), Tonie Nathan (148), Don Ermsberger (140), Garry Walsh (115), Sharon Freeman Mitchell (112), and Lew Rockwell (111).

Child Abuse Industry

Continued from page 3

anguished story. I will call them Bob and Judy. It seems that after rearing a nephew for ten years the child's natural mother wanted to try to do it on her own. Bob and Judy are black and pretty sensitive about adopting a relative who will probably want to know his natural parents.

The natural mother thought she could use some welfare now that her little boy was getting into the refrigerator. So off she went to the welfare office on the East Coast. Big Mother wanted to know just where little Buster had been for ten years. So off to the school they went to interrogate him. Little Buster was scared when the police car drove up and the police officer, juvenile officer and the social worker took him out of class and started to question him. So he told a story. A story about his macho family that was tough, rough, mean and nasty. And the Unholy Trinity believed him.

On the basis of his story, a call was made to St. Louis, Bob was picked up from his job and jailed. His two natural children were taken away from the school by another Unholy Trinity in St. Louis and Judy was called at work by a total stranger who told her to come to the police station when she got off work. Months have passed now. He has lost his job, his home and his children. While in between various court proceedings, a postcard was sent to his home to inform him of a court appearance. It never got there. But the police got the notice and they showed up at his door - at midnight. It was easy to roll him into the police car after they pulled him out of the house, kicked him in the groin and hit him in the back of the head with a nightstick. "He didn't show up for the court and resisted arrest," they said. But I know Bob, and I know he didn't resist arrest. And so does Judy and the neighbors who watched. All of this in the good ol' USA. And where are the kids? God

only knows; kids lost somewhere in the maze of agencies. The night I met them they played a tape for me. One where their little girl told the story about the mistreatment she had endured at the hands of the interrogators. Halfway through I couldn't listen anymore.

Before we were through talking that night, Bob raised his square black jaw, with his red eyes flowing with tears and with a deep rough softness that came from the depths of his soul and he said: "They say I have to take counsel. They say I have to take help. But if I take their money, if I take their counsel, I be a slave...I not gonna be no slave...I not gonna be nobody's slave...I pray and the word of the Lord, He came to me and He say, 'fight...' I gonna fight...I love my children, I done nothin' wrong and I gonna fight...they my children and I gonna fight." In the name of protection the state has destroyed his family, orphaned his children, confiscated his property to pay the fees and used your tax dollars and mine and my future grandchildren's heritage of wealth to do it. All in the name of preventing child abuse.

The most vicious child abuse is committed by those individuals who make up the State apparatus. Those individuals are above the law, because after all, they make the "laws." As Lord Acton said, "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

What has happened to Bob and Judy and their children is happening to thousands of families all over Missouri and around the country. When you see the signs asking, "WHERE ARE THE CHILDREN?" on paper bags and milk cartons, think about Bob and Judy and their children. And think about where your children could end up.

Laura Rogers is a leading home educator in Missouri. Those who want more information on this issue can contact Victims of Child Abuse Laws (VOCAL), 9100 Vaughn, Kansas City, MO 64133 or 3835 St. Anns Lane, St. Louis, MO 63121.

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