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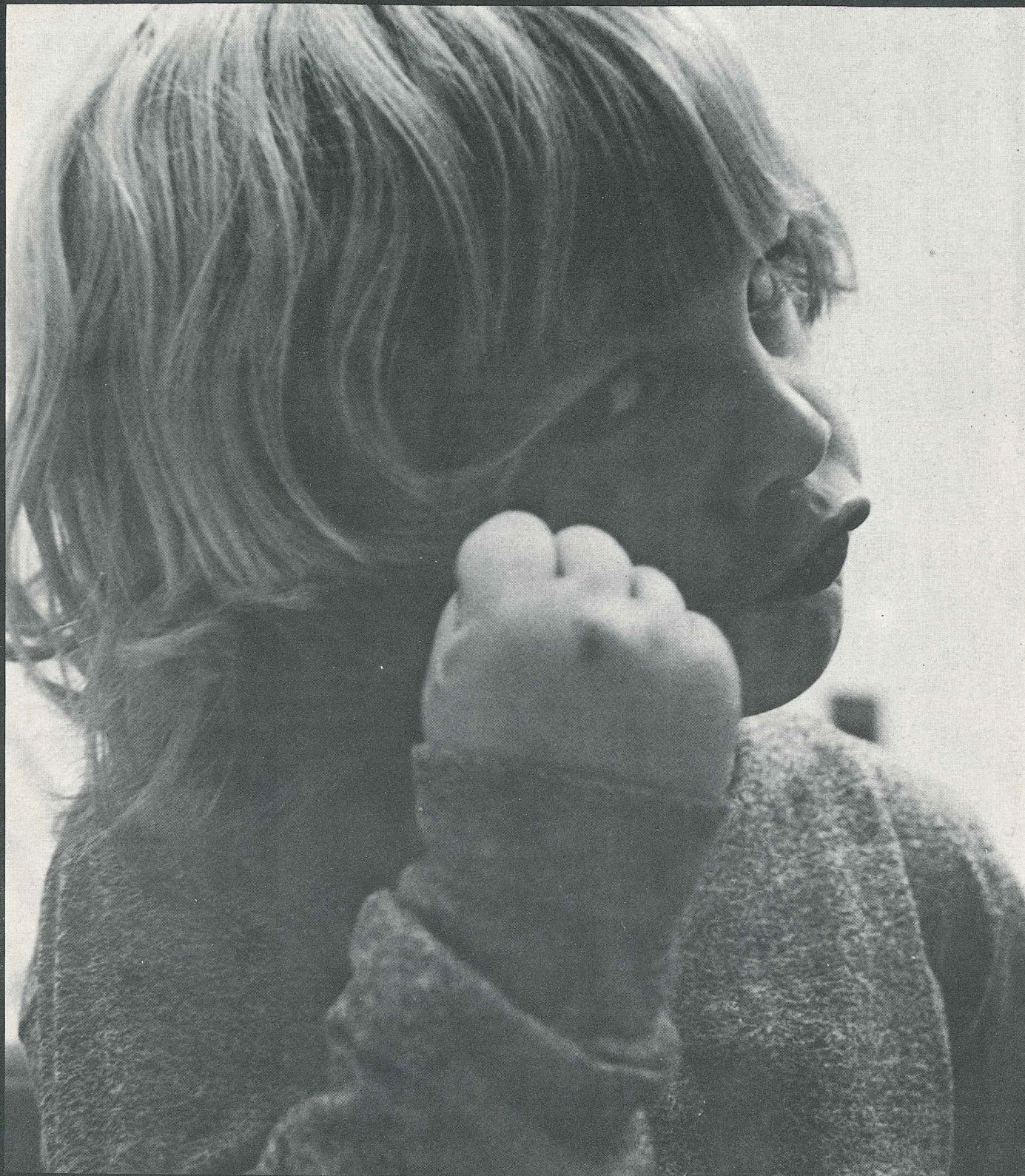
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Contents

Editorial

Walter Block 4

Letters

4

Speaking Out

Joseph R. Peden 6

Peden welcomes the emergence of a citizen's panel to investigate a West Virginia mining disaster in the face of governmental covering up and buck-passing.

News Notes

7

The Polished Razor

Robert Baker 8

Columnist Baker examines the efforts of those who ceaselessly toil to protect our Moral Fibre.

Letter From An Enemy of the State

Karl Hess 9

Our Washington correspondent foresees greater centralization of police power, combined with further infringements on the right to strike, in the second reign of the King from California.

On your mark. Get set. Kill!

Nicholas Raeder 10

The Munich massacre was only the logical outcome of the excessive nationalism which has long pervaded the Olympics, says Raeder.

Now Don't Panic, But

We're Going to War With Japan in Five Years.

Howard Katz 11

An advocate of the gold standard explains why paper money is worthless—except as a fuel for war.

More Choice, Less Fear

Interview with John Holt 12

An exclusive Outlook interview with education critic John Holt, who provides perceptive comments on children, schooling and state intervention in education. The interview was conducted by Walter Block, Emilia Nordtvedt, Frank X. Richter and Lee Schubert.

Reviews

Greenberg, Leiter, Large, Marotta 18

The corrupt hi-jinks of those who presume to rule us are exposed in The Washington Pay-Off, reports Gary Greenberg, who calls it "one of the few how-to-make-a-million books that really makes sense." Cary Leiter examines the film version of Sleuth and finds the acting superb, but the technique excessive. Music critic John Large speculates on future musical history—who will stand the test of time. Mick Marotta evaluates recent work by Led Zeppelin and Alice Cooper.

Classified

22

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EDITOR

Libertarian Faculty Registry

Going to college is galling for most students; it can be hell for the libertarian student. Consider the rubbish that passes for learning in most classrooms. In economics, students are told that Keynes was the greatest economist of the 20th century; in history we are regaled with tales of the moral greatness of welfare-warfare America; in philosophy we learn that existence cannot be proven, but that it can be proven that morality consists of being our brothers' keepers.

The libertarian is all-too-often faced with a choice of speaking out against this nonsense—and risking academic failure—or keeping quiet in the face of continuous and deathly boredom and frustration. In too many cases, libertarian students have gone to schools for four years without even knowing that there were libertarian faculty members on the same campus.

We therefore are constructing a list of libertarian faculty members in all colleges and universities. This will enable students enrolled at a school with libertarians on the faculty to take courses knowing that there will not be an ideological antipathy between them and their instructor. High schools and transfer students will be able to take the list into account when they choose schools.

The Registry will include the name, department and university of as many libertarian scholars we can amass. It will be published twice yearly in **Outlook** and **Reason**, which are cooperating in this venture, before the beginning of each school term. We earnestly invite our readers to add more information to the Registry.

The first listing follows:

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SUNY at Albany
Dale Grinder
University of Missouri
Ronald Hamowy
University of Alberta (Canada)
Leonard Liggio
City College of New York
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Florida Atlantic University
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Peter Bauer
London School of Economics
Walter Block
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Edward Dolan
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Edward Facey
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Walter Grinder
Rutgers (Newark, N.J.)
Israel Kirzner
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University of Witwatersrand (So. Africa)
David Lindsey
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Dwight Murphey
Wichita State University (Kansas)
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Tibor Machan
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Harvard
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Previews

In the February issue, **Outlook** presents an exclusive interview with Doctor Murray N. Rothbard. Rothbard, easily one of the most controversial leaders of the libertarian movement, discusses such varying topics as: how he became a free-market economist; his first debate on economics in the 8th grade; the problems of going to graduate school when liberalism and socialism were the order of the day; and his impressions of such public figures as Milton Friedman, William F. Buckley, Ayn Rand, Nathaniel Branden, Leonard Read, Ludwig Von Mises, Friedrich Hayek, Robert Hessen, Leonard Reisman, Karl Hess, Leonard Liggio, F.A. Harper, Arthur F. Burns, and Frank Chodorov. ☺

LETTERS



From a caged supporter...

This letter comes to you from Chino State Prison in Chino, California. I am being held in prison for the crime of possessing marijuana. I am serving a ten-year term. I have already served four of the ten years.

Though my body remains caged behind tons of steel, my mind remains free. I refuse to admit to my keepers that I am wrong and they are right. I have harmed no person—not even myself.

Your publication deeply interests me. I have no funds to order a subscription, and I would like to ask you for a free subscription. I understand you don't have a business to give subscriptions away—but, as I've said, in my position I could not obtain the money needed.

Any consideration you might be able to give my request would be deeply appreciated.

Keep passing the word, brother.

A caged supporter,
Wayne Lassell B-30514
P.O. Box 441, Palm Hall
Chino State Prison
Chino, California 91710

You were right. We are not in business to give away free subscriptions. But how about the following deal? We'll enter a six-year subscription in your name for \$30.00. You won't have to pay until seven years from now, or until you are out of prison, whichever comes first. In return, you can try to spread Outlook around as much as you can. We'll give any other prisoner accused of committing a victimless crime the same deal.

We would also be interested in receiving an article from you on life in prison, the details of your own case, etc., for which we will pay on publication. —Editor

Wise-ass parody

A few months ago I entered a trial subscription to **Outlook**. As the time approaches to indicate whether or not I shall become a regular subscriber, I find

the question has been decided by the October issue.

If the earlier issues seemed a bit flippant, a little self-consciously irreverent, a good deal smart-alecky, there was (and is) a growing body of serious, informative content emerging. I found some things rubbed me the wrong way, but then again you are presenting a magazine with a relatively broad scope, for a general viewpoint which has heretofore been quite narrow. Even Halbrook's defense of Mao, as ludicrous as it seemed in a libertarian publication, had its place in a forum where it could be subject to rebuttal (and it was refuted). The essence of libertarianism would have it that all serious proponents of a point of view be heard. However, creeping into the magazine has been the wise-ass "parodying" of values which are supposedly the cornerstone of our interpretation of human dignity.

The straw that had to come was the tasteless and worthless treatment of Ayn Rand recently, culminating in the article by Elton Chalmers in the October issue.

Fun's fun, fellas, but this kind of treatment for an individual who has done more, single-handedly, to clarify for Americans the serious implications of personal freedom, and the nature of its enemies and is probably more responsible for creating an aware audience for libertarian thought than all the publications dealing with the theme put together, is a shameful waste of time, space and money. If I wanted to read slurs, direct and indirect, against people I considered worthy of respect, I would read *The New York Post*. But if there's one thing worse than a gang of journalists who are out to own your soul in naked defiance of your standards, it's a gang purporting to respect your life while ridiculing the virtues that respect should be built on. **Outlook** at its best is good. But there's just enough garbage on the plate to ruin the whole meal.

Michael M. Sheller
New York, N.Y.

The author replies: I cannot understand Mr. Sheller's complaint. I do not believe that there is anything in "The Night They Raided Atlas" which can be even remotely construed as an attack on Ms. Rand—although there was a bit of teasing of the "true-believer Randoids," a group vastly in need of some guidance.

What could only be obvious to anyone who even half-attentively read the piece is that

I was attacking Hollywood's inability to deal seriously with such an important work. I presume Ms. Rand is not wholly out of sympathy with this attack, since she insisted (wisely, I think) on having the final cutting rights on the film version of *Atlas Shrugged*—an unheard-of demand which has apparently terminated the production of the film. Those who think my description of the Hollywood treatment was more wishful thinking than an attack rooted in reality are referred to the Hollywood version of James Bond as displayed in the ludicrous film, *Casino Royale*—which included, among other defects, a stuttering James Bond, Woody Allen as the son of James Bond, and a set of subplots that not only failed to take the original book into consideration but seemed to revel in ignoring it for the sake of comedy gags that defied humor.

Mr.

Sheller states that "if there is one thing worse than a gang of journalists who are out to own your soul in naked defiance of your standards, it is a gang purporting to respect your life while ridiculing the virtues that respect should be built on." Firstly, why the latter is worse than the former escapes me, but to each his own. Secondly, I can't think of a single virtue attacked in the piece. Thirdly, I see no problem, flaw, defect or contradiction between respecting a person's right to life and ridiculing those virtues he holds dear, where those virtues are ridiculous to be held dearly. Fourthly, if someone can lose ownership of his soul to a group of journalists who merely write, I find the loser of the soul more repugnant than the journalist.

I think that many who admire Ms. Rand, as I do, confuse criticism of the foibles of her followers with attacks upon her. I have too much respect for Ms. Rand to blur the distinctions.

Elton Chalmers
New York, N.Y.

Go stand in the corner, Murray!

It's bad enough when Dr. Rothbard wrote [in the December issue] that "there has been very little thinking among libertarians about the children question." At the very least, this means that he hasn't done very much research on the subject; at worst, he is saying that Leo Tolstoy, Paul Goodman, A.S. Neil, George Dennison, Francisco Ferrer, Herbert Kohl, John Holt and scores of others who have worked for years to free children are somehow not libertarians. At any rate, when Dr. Rothbard makes statements like that in the future, he should speak only for himself.

But what really gets me angry is Rothbard's characterization of what he calls progressive education. To say that this involves letting children "run roughshod over everyone in the name of 'freedom'" is equivalent to claiming that advocates of free speech just want to shout fire in crowded theaters. What free schools have done is to throw out tests, grades and required courses. Students learn what they want to, when they want to, and at their own pace. And it works. Children are funny people; they learn more by what adults do than by what they say. And the main lesson that regular school teaches them is that they should follow orders all day. Free schools teach them to run their own lives by letting them run their own lives. No, they don't tyrannize over one another; that's something kids in traditional schools do. They copy adults.

I am hoping that Rothbard's statement, "The right to run away clears up most parent-child problems for the libertarian," was made in jest. What do children do before they know how to run—or even walk? Furthermore, this statement neglects known psychological and biological facts. Children are dependent on their parents for some time even after they are able to walk. When caught in a situation where they either have to obey or run away, most of them simply become neurotic. The fact is they can't run away. (I hesitate to say that children need their parents' love because, true love having no price, economists cannot deal with it; from an economist's viewpoint, the only real love is the type sold in the streets).

And those bits about "the moral duty as well as the right of the parents to train the children" and "the child yearning for direction and guidance by his parents." Really, now! Aside from the fact that duties and rights are opposite and mutually exclusive, every tyranny that ever existed has claimed to exist for the benefit of its victims. Feudal nobles talked about their duties toward their peasants, and southern slaveholders about how well they took care of their "darkies," because "they'd be lost without us." Had you observed children directly, you would have noticed that they are the most selfish beasts in creation and they scream quite loudly when their freedom is interfered with.

Freedom is not something that can be done halfway. A.S. Neil, the founder of England's Summerhill School, knew this. He gave the vote to everyone at his school, even the five-year-olds.

SPEAKING OUT

There was no tyranny of the majority. Whenever a student had a penalty voted against him that he regarded as unfair, he fought against it, refusing to comply until it was reduced or eliminated. When he thought the punishment justified, he complied. And when Neil, playing the altruist, decided that it would be a good idea for the rich kids to have their allowances shared with the poor kids, his proposal was voted down as unfair. So, believe it or not, external moral codes are not needed to make sure that people behave like people. And if there ever is a kid's lib movement, its main demand will probably be an ultimatum to adults to "laissez-nous faire!"

Robert J. Marks
New York, N.Y.

Robert J. Marks is director of the New Prospect School, "the only Summerhill high school in Brooklyn."—Editor.

Rothbard? Hah!

Once I maintained a high regard for Dr. Rothbard, but that is deteriorating rapidly in light of his last two articles in **Outlook**: "Halbrook in Wonderland" [July-August, 1972] and "McGovern? Hah!" [October, 1972].

As an anarchocommunist (with a strong strain of individualism) I resent Rothbard's childish insinuations and direct comments to the effect that anarchocommunism would mean the "death of the individual." I, too, disagree with Halbrook, and believe Mao is a butcher, but Rothbard's intention to link all anarchocommunists under one fold is inept.

In his next article, Rothbard launches an attack against McGovern, thereby putting himself in a position remarkably close to that of Judas, as envisioned in the *Jésus Christ-Superstar* role; Judas being the betrayer, and civil liberties Christ. Though a non-voter, I find something absurd in the notion that now we can go back to "our previous task of hating the Nixon administration," while stating that McGovern held the "clear advantage in the areas of peace and civil liberties."

True, Middle America despises the counterculture, but do we need their inane list of why we are evil? We do not need the babble about welfare, which is crude, especially since I do not know one "hippie" who is receiving welfare. Many of Rothbard's other conclusions about the counterculture are invalid and outmoded. And for the grand finale, he arrives at the conclusion that Middle America feels threatened, and is!

What I would like to know is how many average Middle Americans are arrested for victimless crimes—even when they are innocent? How many Middle Americans have been illegally searched, or subjected to interrogation. Have you, Dr. Rothbard?

Perhaps the time has come for Dr. Rothbard to leave his ivory tower and take a good look about him. While it is true that we must try to educate the Middle American, let us face the grim truth that Middle America's perceptions are not as sound as Rothbard would lead us to believe. In my own experience, I've heard Middle Americans say, "So what if my phone is tapped. I've got nothing to hide." Or, "Hitler had the right idea!" And other such sordid ideas, even to the point of advocating the elimination of many points in the Bill of Rights (the most important ones, of course). As for the work ethic, I've seen Middle Americans rationalize the notion of buying stolen goods.

Dr. Rothbard can go back to his pet project of hating the current administration, which he tacitly supported, while I will sit back and wonder how a man could write that Mao is a Stalinist and give his support to a man who is a genocidal murderer. As the war continues, as more legalized murders are perpetrated, as our civil liberties continue to vanish... I find Rothbard's attitude rather hard to fathom.

Enjoy hating the administration, Dr. Rothbard—but I, for one, feel physically threatened by it.

T. Francis Rathgeber
Syosset, N.Y.

Middle America? Rubbish!

I would like to comment on Dr. Rothbard's analysis of the importance of Middle America and traditional culture to the libertarian movement.

First, he contends that we are the ideal group to become the "vanguard" of Middle America. Rubbish! I was born into a white, middle-class family and have associated with such people for years. The traditional culture wants drugs violently suppressed, has deep veins of racism, wants social and sexual experimentation suppressed, and generally takes a traditionalist conservative stand.

Let us recognize that neither the traditional culture nor the counterculture support freedom. Both have libertarian tendencies which we must help and nourish, but this

Last February, 113 West Virginians drowned when a dam made of mine wastes broke, pouring tons of water down a hollow called Buffalo Creek in Logan County. Even before the full number of dead was known, controversy broke out as to who was responsible for failing to inspect and monitor the dam, used by the local Buffalo Mining Company as a dump for mine waste. The company blamed the U.S. Bureau of Mines and the Bureau denied the dam was under its jurisdiction. Soon, no less than four government agencies were "investigating"—Senate and House committees, the Interior Department and a special panel set up by Republican governor Arch Moore.

Moore, then running for re-election against John D. Rockefeller IV, was deeply grieved—not so much by the disaster itself as by the press coverage it received. The Great State of West Virginia, he said, "took a terrible beating which far overshadowed the beating which the individuals that lost their lives took, and I consider this an even greater tragedy than the accident itself." With his priorities so eloquently set forth, Moore then set up his investigatory panel. Its members included the dean of the state's School of Mines, the directors of the State Bureau of Mines, the Department of Natural Resources, the Public Service Commission, representatives from the Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey, an employee of the American Viscose Division of FMC, and the editor of the Logan County *Banner*.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that local miners and other citizens decided that Moore's panel is beholden to the coal industry, and that private citizens would have to establish their own commission of inquiry to determine the causes of and responsibility for the flood which destroyed hundreds of homes and buildings and which took at least 113 lives. Their action reflects once again the growing realization by many Americans that one can expect neither impartiality nor common justice from the instrumentalities of the State; that the State is used by private corporations to protect themselves from the responsibilities they incur when they endanger the lives and properties of others; that the so-called reforms which involve federal inspection and supervision of mine operations are another hoax, a cruel deception, which further frees the mine owners from personal liability for their negligent operations. ☐

—By Joseph R. Peden

NEWS NOTES

We're just wild about Harry

On the morning of December 26, 1972, Harry S. (for nothing—really) Truman joined other famous ex-politicians in that Great Cesspool in the Sky. Although the rest of the nation got caught up in the canonization rush to plaster Truman's name on water works and cowpaths, issue Truman memorial ashtrays and fly swatters, and otherwise guarantee that the Truman memory linger long after his perfidious performance is forgotten, our main regret is that Harry was ever born in the first place.

Not that he didn't have things about him worth remembering. He was, after all, rejected from West Point, at a time, obviously, when the U.S. Army had at least more good taste than it does now (although Calley never killed as many people as Truman did, come to think of it). He also failed as a haberdasher—proving that people display more intelligence in the selection of jock straps and sweat socks than they do in the election of presidents. And he also achieved the truly remarkable distinction of being the most hated president, before or since his time.

But it's mainly the things that aren't to Harry's credit that are forgotten but should be remembered. Like his plumping for Universal Military Conscription, and then having to settle for mere reinstatement of Selective Slavery. Like nationalizing the steel industry. Like imposing wage-price controls when they were only a glimmer in Richard Nixon's beady eyes. Like presiding over witch-hunts that would have made Mitchell Palmer drool. Like having the almost prophetic foresight to involve us in Vietnam. Like making Korea a household word.

But, with instant Truman revisionism, these memories have been replaced with those of a strong yet homespun president who wisely guided the American ship of state during trying times. To that, we give a roaring Bronx cheer and hold the passing of Harry S. with the same reverence we hold for the passing of addled dogs and Bolivian dictators. Toke him away, say we.

Your chance to be heard

In case you have ever had the desire to chat with a Narc, your chance has now come, courtesy of Uncle Sam. The government has established a Heroin Hotline, for the express purpose of making it easier for you to "turn in your local pusher."

The toll-free number is

800-368-5363. Phones are manned around the clock, seven days a week.

Hospers landslide

Libertarian Party presidential candidate John Hospers soundly outpolled several other presidential write-ins in New York's Nassau County, reports *Newsday*, a Long Island newspaper. In an article entitled, "Whoever He Is, Six Wanted Hospers," it was disclosed that Hospers outpolled Barry Goldwater, Edward Kennedy, John Lindsay, Harry S. Truman, Senator J.W. Fulbright, Representative Wilbur Mills, Governor Terry Sanford, Judge Sol Wachtler (of Great Neck), Admiral Hyman Rickover, Groucho Marx and Archie Bunker.

Election officials were mystified at who Hospers was. Laura Davis, the chief clerk for the Nassau Board of Elections, said, "He must be somebody because those votes [he received six write-ins] were scattered about the county." It was also reported that, in some places, he was listed with a running mate named Toni Nathan—which led officials to ask, "Who is Toni Nathan?"

A spokesman for Nassau Republican Chairman Joseph Margiotta, an astute observer of embryonic political parties, suggested that Hospers might have been a "kid" who got friends to vote for him. *Newsday* said that a "White House spokesman, who said she had never heard of Hospers, was impressed by Hospers' showing. The spokesman said, 'He has got a good leg up for 1976!'"

By now, of course, the White House is undoubtedly well aware of who John Hospers is. As widely reported in the national press, one of Virginia's 12 GOP electors broke ranks to cast his ballot for the Hospers/Nathan ticket in the Electoral College.

The elector, Roger MacBride of Charlottesville, who described himself as a life-long Republican, said he had voted for the two Libertarian Party candidates in protest against Presidential leadership inexorably moving "the Federal Government in the direction of ever-greater control over the lives of all of us."

Cop sings the blues

A New York department store, Alexander's, annually opens its Bronx store one Sunday in each holiday season for the benefit of disabled and chronically ill shoppers.

Acting on a complaint from Arthur Wolfson, secretary-treasurer of the New York State Retail Labor Council, who

is apparently concerned about the store's declared intention to challenge the Sabbath "blue laws," city police served a summons on the store manager for violating the closing law.

Patrolman Kenneth Fischer of the 46th Precinct, who was charged with serving the summons, apparently did not enjoy the assignment. As he told *The New York Times*, "I felt like a Communist doing what I did. Those people in the store must have thought I was some kind of a dirt bag. I snuck out of there by a side door. I'm disgusted."

The high cost of killing

The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has released its yearly estimate of world military expenditures. The United States, of course, spends more on death and destruction than any other nation, accounting for one third of the world total.

On a per capita basis, Israel heads the list at \$477 per person annually; America is second with \$397 per person; and the USSR is third at \$270. Red China is rather low on the list with an estimated \$12.50 per person (but then China has the largest population). Overall, the countries in the Middle East and Indochina led the world in spending on weaponry.

The Vietnamese have a word for it

In Viet Nam the pun is taken seriously. Although the Saigon regime uses every trick in the statist repertoire to censor the press, the message does get through, often through satire and the lowly pun. American words are transliterated into similar sounding Vietnamese phrases "to aid pronunciation." Example: Washington becomes Hoa Thinh Don. Henry Kissinger is generally rendered Kit Xinh Che, which literally means "very pretty human excrement," and is often shortened to simply Kit—"manure."

Scalping the public

Barbers in Bridgeport, Connecticut have appealed to Governor Thomas J. Meskill for state subsidies. They say their business is suffering because many men are wearing their hair long.

Neil R. Agresta, president of Barbers Union Local 197, which has more than 300 members, said that he understood that other states had subsidized their barbers' faltering trade, and that he hoped Governor Meskill would support similar help in Connecticut.

The hooker is that they are still filed

New Jersey State Police have launched a

BAKER

The Polished Razor

By Robert P. Baker

drive to thin their cumbersome files. Superintendent David B. Kelly has reported significant progress: "We've gotten rid of the 1921 prostitutes. We've put them in our inactive file."

Hot line to heaven

Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos has stated that his decision to place the Philippines under martial law followed a consultation with God and the receipt of "several signs" from Him to act.

Marcos told the Philippine Historical Association that he signed a martial-law proclamation one week before it was announced, then decided to reconsider the move.

"I wanted a period in which I would commune with myself and commune with God," he said, "and ask Him whether it was correct for me to proclaim martial law. I asked for a sign and he gave me several signs."

"I told myself if this occurs," he said, "I will immediately order martial law. And it did occur. It seems as if I was being led and guided by some strange mind above me."

Mr. Marcos did not say what signs he received. [UPI]

What else is new?

Chinese students entered a 300-pound pig in Hong Kong's civic government elections. Student leader Tse Ping-chiu said: "We consider an intelligent pig will do as good a job, if not better, than the human candidates."

As private as the post office.

When buildings at Columbia University were seized in 1968, 1969, 1970 and 1972, conservatives decried the radical assault on private property. Columbia president, William J. McGill, apparently wishes to allay the rightists' concern. Writing in last month's issue of the alumni newsletter, McGill asserted that, "We are no longer entirely a private university. We are only half a private university. Our budget next year will be \$164,000,000, and of that, about \$80,000,000 will be public funds."

Land of opportunity

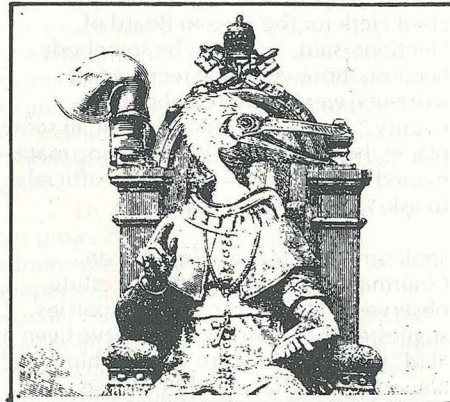
The *Vietnam Bulletin*, published by the Saigon regime's embassy in Washington, reports that a new economics law has been approved to attract increased investment. Law 04/72 provides that foreign enterprises in Vietnam will have various tax exemptions, rights and guarantees. Vietnam is being made safe for American capital. Besides guaranteeing non-nationalization, the law

GO TO 20

Detarnishing the silver screen

Did you upchuck when Sonny Corleone ran into slug trouble at the toll booth? Did *Love Story* make you wonder whether leukemia is all bad? Well, take heart, for the American Baptist Convention has formed Gateway Films, a non-profit corporation dedicated to producing movies with a high moral standard. Hitting the theaters right now is Gateway's *The Late Liz*, a gripping true drama of a young woman who was rotting her brain with alcohol until she switched to Christianity.

Gateway's touchstone is "relevance," and by sticking to modern themes the Baptists do avoid potential troubles. An X-rated Biblical epic might



seem unlikely, but can you imagine what Phillip Roth could do with the screenplay of *Onan's Complaint*?

The Baptists' first effort, *The Cross and the Switchblade*, starring Pat Boone, was released to commercial theaters in late 1971 and has since grossed more than six million dollars. It is the biography of David Wilkerson, a country preacher who evangelized among the drug addicts of New York's slums. Many of them, I am told, became followers of Jesus. It may be a bit early to evaluate the full impact of this, but recent police statistics do indicate that muggers have been slashing their victims less frequently. On the other hand, there have been twelve crucifixions reported this year.

Job-hunting at the Vatican?

While on the religious news, we ought to nail down those rumors to the effect that Pope Paul VI is planning to retire. The reports have it that the Pontiff is under considerable mental strain brought on by the social activism permeating the Church and is particularly upset by the demands among the clergy for the abandonment of clerical celibacy.

However, the possible

embarrassments from a living ex-Pope make retirement unlikely, I think. Catholics would cringe at the thought of a *Times* classified:

SITUATION WANTED

Vicar of Christ. Experienced, infallible, former chief executive of world-wide organization, supervisor of approximately 480,000,000 persons, fluent Latin, skilled in dogmas, anathemas, bulls and excommunications; desires top management position with international firm engaged in salvage operations.

Even if the Pope were to retire, however, I can assure you that there is no truth whatsoever to the rumors that he has been studying the abdication speech of Edward VIII in order to glean pointers for explaining his own personal problems to the faithful.

Lying in a fetal position

The forces of righteousness in Pennsylvania, led by Catholic legislators, are preparing to flay Governor Milton Schapp in the Democratic primary this April. Schapp vetoed a Catholic-sponsored abortion bill last December, thus incurring the wrath of John Cardinal Kroll, Archbishop of Philadelphia, and his conservative supporters. The bill, an alternative to a more liberal measure which was defeated, would have permitted abortion only if a panel of three physicians certified that the pregnant woman's life was in peril; it made no provision for conceptions resulting from rape or incest.

State Senator Henry Cianfrani, prominent Catholic legislator and one of the bill's leading advocates, had an affair with Democratic committeewoman Patricia Arney in 1970. Contraception being contrary to the Senator's moral principles—they are all, all honorable men—he knocked her up. But he was not completely unscrupulous about it: He paid for her trip to Canada, where Ms. Arney had an abortion.

No one seems to have noticed the underlying conflict of interest in the Catholic abortion bill: By disregarding rape and incest pregnancies, are the Pennsylvania lawmakers revealing that they have financial interests in Canadian hospitals, or are they perhaps indicating that they will put restrictions on any expansion of Senator Cianfrani's activities?

In any case, rumor now has it that Ms. Arney is in hiding and will shortly be indicted on a charge of bestiality. ☹

HESS

Letter From An Enemy of the State

By Karl Hess

Ironic tales abound in which a person granted a wish discovers that a literal fulfillment of that wish brings disaster. A person wishes for a forest of golden trees only to be faced with starvation because of the lack of real fruit.

Such a tale is unfolding in Washington today.

Liberals have now been granted their fondest wish: an all-powerful executive, able to sneer at Congress, treat the people as children in need of guidance, and even rebuff the greed of businessmen. Some businessmen, that is—notably those small businessmen whom the liberals have long regarded as little better than well-heeled red-necks.

Conservatives also have been granted a fond wish: a presidency bound and determined that America remain the most powerful military power on earth; or, where challenged seriously, to compensate for the challenge by close cooperation with the only other great military power, the Soviet Union. Some conservatives may consider that last proviso a fly in the ointment, but, so long as the Marines are ever ready to kick the stuffings out of uppity folks in the hinterlands, they'll probably learn to live with it and even enjoy it.

What has happened, of course, is a triumph of scale in the Nixon administration. And for anyone to properly analyze where they stand in relation to it, it is important to understand not where one might have stood in terms of old liberal/conservative rhetoric, but specifically in terms of the reference points of scale.

Under Nixon, locally-based business and industry is giving way to the national and multi-national giants. Locally-based political power is giving way to the international demands of the national security state. Big scale, Big Daddy, Big Progress. Finally, the local base upon which the individual can best stand is being swept away by the needs of a national pedestal upon which great abstractions most comfortably rest and posture.

By enlarging the power of the presidency—and by effectively isolating it from attack and even criticism, which is sort of the ultimate enlargement—Nixon is not saying that it will be a busy-body government the way liberals might wish. Far from it. It seems apparent that on those matters which the now majestic president considers trivial, it is quite all right for even the lowest level government

agency to take over. Nixon seems, for instance, to be perfectly delighted to have welfare, racial and perhaps even health matters referred back to local politicians. Not people, mind you, politicians. All this, it seems to me, simply means that Nixon understands that these areas are messy for a king; that federal intervention in these areas always makes possible national organizing in these areas, and that *that* could get out of hand; and that the best way to get people to quarrelling among themselves, rather than quarrelling with the king, is to take a handful of money, throw it out across the country, and just chuckle as everybody scrambles for what they can get.



Revenue-sharing certainly has an effect of that sort. If any president actually were interested in returning real power to the people it seems only logical that the process would involve letting the people keep the resources they have, rather than redistributing it through Washington's bureaucracy. Some liberals, therefore, may be expected to see some new virtue in the old conservative arguments about actual localism (political power based in the community and kept there, rather than delegated away).

What Nixon may achieve by his programs of "new federalism" is important in the development of monarchical forms. First of all, the majestic president may concentrate on his role as wielder of supreme power, a role often marred by the imagery of ward-heeling, wheeling and dealing.

With the monarch relieved of the maternal chores of providing for the welfare of the children, he may now concentrate on the heavy paternal responsibility of providing Discipline. This emphasis seems highly regarded by conservatives, who usually ignore radical

reminders that the same power which makes citizens "behave" can also be the power that permits government to misbehave.

The areas in which this may most significantly appear are in dealings with the trade unions and in establishing a national police force or national police power. By becoming a disciplinarian in these fields, Nixon may run the least risks of disaffecting liberals and conservatives—and, of course, Middle Americans. This course also should prove effective for Nixon if he wants to be respected, the way a stern father is supposed to be respected (not loved, you understand, for that is viewed as a feminine principle).

The national police force or power should appeal to those who fear disorderly streets so obsessively that they would even accept martial law to quiet them down. The alternative of communities policing themselves, for instance, is not widely discussed, particularly at the national level. There is a tip-off here. With all the talk about "local" control that Nixon engages in, you will note that this is never extended to any control in the realm of real power—and what is more real than the police power, the very life-blood of state power!

Evidence of the national police power that should grow more apparent during this second reign of King Richard the First will be the growing centralization of training, funding and liaison within the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. With John Hoover now dead, and a lackluster bureaucrat in his place, the LEAA may well outbid the FBI as the holder of high cards in the police game during Reign Two.

Also, there may well be a steady development of the use of Federal Grand Juries to harass otherwise inaccessible irritators of the royal sensibility. The use of the Internal Revenue Service as a national police force to punish enemies and reward friends was, of course, one of the first great police props of this presidency. This preceded the development of the Department of Justice as the legal terrorism arm of the White House, as in the Palmer raids, for instance, or in selective anti-trust and fraud prosecutions.

One highly specialized result of this growing centralization of police power could be, again ironically, to centralize crime. The great agents of presidential

GO TO 20

On Your Mark. Get Set. Kill!

By Nicholas Raeder

When we ponder the massacre at My Lai, the Chicago and Hollywood mass murders and the New Yorkers who watch their neighbors being stabbed to death yet do nothing, a question struggles to the front of our thoughts: "What could we have done to prevent it?" While battalions of social workers, psychologists and police specialists leap forward with a wealth of worthless suggestions such as more welfare, better toilet training and longer prison terms, we are still left pondering. We know from past experience that these bailing wire and chewing gum solutions will not work.

Our knowledge was confirmed again last September when the Arab terrorists invaded the Olympic grounds at Munich and initiated a series of events that led to the deaths of the Israeli athletes. But we also know that the Munich atrocity is but the conclusion of a series of events even older than the Palestinian movement, and could have been prevented.

The games are supposed to begin again in four years at Montreal, and some say that the games will never be the same. Some planning calls for a pall of security resembling an army installation or a police state. There has even been speculation from some quarters that the games will no longer be held at all, though this doesn't seem likely. There is little doubt that *some* sort of games will be held in Montreal. Nevertheless, the so-called Olympic atmosphere—that combination of international sportsmanship, friendship and fellowship—will be ground into nonexistence under the watchful eyes and nervous guns of the proposed security forces.

Given that humans can learn from experience, the next Olympics can be a sports forum with all that implies instead of a forum for political grievances; and this can be done without creating a mini police state. It can be done, first, by recognizing the individualistic nature of athletic competition; and second, by rejecting all that which is inconsistent with this individualistic nature.

Athletic contests are tests of individual physical and mental capabilities. They are not contests of ideologies. This is why sports, as opposed to war, is considered non-political, and why sportscasters, athletes and admirers of sports around the world became outraged at the petty display of separatism by some American athletes at the summer Olympics in Mexico. This is why the Rhodesian expulsion from the Munich games—at the

demand of equally racist nations—drew cynical comments and bitter criticism from newscasters who would have heralded the expulsion as an act of enlightenment had the circumstances been different. This is why the world stood stunned by the terrorist attack in Munich, while thousands of humans die elsewhere in different contexts with little notice. A hundred deaths in Vietnam, a thousand deaths in Biafra, or a hundred



thousand deaths in Burundi did not prompt the shock that the deaths of a few athletes caused.

The deaths in Vietnam, Biafra and Burundi were wrapped and saturated with politics and ideology and are therefore considered the more-or-less legitimate harvest of man's political lunacy. Athletics, on the other hand, are not supposed to be wars, elections, revolutions, execution blocks or courts. They are contests of strength, skill and endurance between human and human, devoid of political coloring.

Responsibility for the terrorist atrocity at Munich has been assigned to the West German police, the governments of various Arab states, and Israel itself. The terrorists themselves are, of course, the directly responsible individuals. But a large measure of the responsibility must be shared by the Olympic games as an institution. The games, as they were structured, set the stage for the atrocity and made it possible—perhaps even necessary.

When Baron Pierre de Coubertin revived the Olympic games late in the 19th

century to "... bring together every four years representatives of all nations..." it was hoped that "... these peaceful and courteous contests would supply the best of internationalism." This was, however, a lost cause from the outset. Athletics are non-political, but the Olympic games are not. At present, the Olympic games are world wars of nationalism fought without guns—up until Munich, that is. Nation is set against nation in an atmosphere that, sooner or later, had to result in tragedy. As long as nationalism remains an integral part of the Olympic format and the world continues to grow uglier and more brutal, future tragedies can be expected.

We need only glance at the style of the Olympics to see the error that rendered de Coubertin's hopes for the "best of internationalism" black humor in Munich. To begin with, all of the individual athletes from one nation are called a "team," as in "the American team." The national team includes weight lifters, swimmers, shooters, pole vaulters and basketball players, among others. No awards are handed out to national teams; only individuals and specific teams are given medals. The total medals won by individuals from a particular nation is a fairly meaningless quantity, considering the population differences, funding methods and events entered by each nation. Total medals won by a nation's athletes are not officially scored at the Olympics. Yet each individual who participates in the Olympics from the United States is considered a member of "the American team."

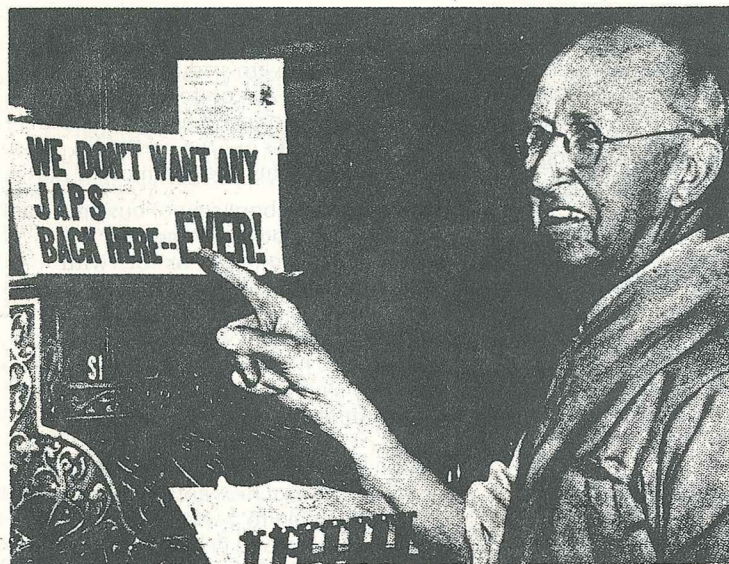
"The American team," like the other "teams," has a distinctive uniform and lives in separate quarters. When results are announced, it is said that the medals were won "for America" or "for Russia," and when the winner gets his or her medal, the national anthem of his country is played. It can then be said that the Russians beat the Americans, or that the Americans beat the Russians. The individual that won is of secondary importance.

Thus, despite the individualistic nature of the actual contests, the way the games are presented, publicized and reported pits nation against nation. It affords the nationalist the chance to say "My nation beats your nation" without the risk of bloodshed—or so was thought. It affords the terrorist the chance to think that he has stricken a blow against an entire nation by kidnapping a few athletes—and this is the way the government of Israel

GO TO 21

Now Don't Panic, But We're Going to War With Japan in Five Years.

By Howard Katz



A principle known to ancient economists, but lost in modern times, is that paper money leads to war and gold money leads to peace. Every major war is accompanied by an inflation and either a suspension of gold or emissions of paper money. War, inflation, and paper money go together. Peace, price stability, and the gold standard go together.

Of course, the fact that things have occurred together in the past does not mean that they will continue to do so in the future. However, in the case of paper money and war, not only are the events linked, but they are logically interconnected. This can be understood by going back in history to the first linking of paper money and war, the formation of the Bank of England in 1694.

Prior to 1650, there was no paper money. People used gold and silver coin. Then, for safekeeping, people started taking their gold to the goldsmith. The goldsmith would issue a paper receipt certifying that they had gold on deposit, and they could claim their gold whenever they wanted, much like checking baggage today.

However, unlike baggage, people found that it was not necessary to claim gold immediately to use it. It was easier to pay for a purchase with a paper receipt than bother to reclaim the gold. Since the receipt could be changed for gold, the storekeeper was willing to accept it in place of gold.

Clearly, paper money used as a receipt for gold which will be given on demand is perfectly legitimate. However, goldsmiths, noting that most people did not reclaim their gold, decided, in effect,

to cheat people—by printing up paper receipts for which no gold existed. This was fraud, but the goldsmiths managed to fool people into thinking it was legitimate by a clever trick. They did not keep the newly printed money for themselves but lent it out to businessmen. They made their profit on the *interest* they got from these loans. Because the people of the time did not understand the economic theory of interest they accepted this process. The goldsmiths thus became bankers, lending money, and making big profits on the interest payments, profits which were made without doing a bit of work. The illegitimacy of this operation stems from the fact that the money the banks lend does not really exist. This should be distinguished from interest on capital, a proper and necessary transaction.

In 1688, a major political revolution occurred in England. King James was replaced by King William, who agreed to submit the monarchy to the power of Parliament. Thus England took a major step toward erecting a republic. William immediately began to fight a series of wars. He was a popular king, and the wars were popular wars. But in 1693, a principle of government began to emerge. Once a democratic form of government had been erected and power had been given to the people through their elected representatives, it was discovered that the people would not pay for war. Parliament refused to vote the King enough funds. When people understood what the war would cost and were asked to pay for it, they preferred not to fight.

Right then and there human history might-

have taken a turn for the better. War might have become obsolete. This, however, was not to be: the King found a way around Parliament's refusal to vote him funds. A former pirate named William Patterson founded the Bank of England.

Patterson started with 72,000 pounds in gold and silver. Like other banker-goldsmiths, he then issued paper receipts. But in this department, Patterson outdid them all. With only 72,000 pounds in gold and silver, he issued paper receipts for 1,200,000 pounds. He then lent all of this money to the government so that the government could continue the war.

Patterson was paid interest at the rate of 8 percent per year, that is 8 percent of 1,200,000. Thus he received interest payments of 100,000 each year, and his original capital had been only 72,000 pounds. This represents an interest rate of almost 140 percent per year on the original capital.

Patterson and his friends made a fortune on the war, while his money was used by the government to bid up prices of goods and cause inflation. Englishmen of the 1690's thus met the same sequence of events with which we are so familiar—war, paper money and inflation.

From this history we can see two reasons why war and paper money go together. The bankers who lend to the government profit from war, and often take the lead in propagandizing for war. During the first World War, bankers associated with J.P. Morgan hired writers to agitate for U.S. entry into the war. The average person, who would not support war if he had to pay for it directly in taxes, is misled into supporting it. Of course, he must pay for it anyway via inflation, but this he does not understand.

A careful study of America's wars reveals that many of them were not necessary. Banks clearly had an interest in war and agitated for it. For example, we are all taught in school that the War of 1812 was fought to prevent the impressment of American seamen. If this had been true, then New England, the portion of the country most dependent on shipping for its economic well-being, would have been a strong supporter of the war. But New England so opposed the war that it threatened to secede from the Union. The hawks in 1812 came from the Western States, which had no seamen. The cry of "Liberate Canada" came from the West, whose wildcat banks issued huge amounts

GO TO 21

More Choice, Less Fear

Interview with John Holt
Conducted by Walter Block,
Emilia Nordtvedt, Frank X. Richter
and Lee Schubert

*John Holt has taught English, French and mathematics at the elementary and junior high school levels in the Boston school system. His experiences drove him to write *How Children Fail* in 1964—a book which The New York Review of Books ranked with the works of Piaget for its author's ability to "get into the mind of the child."*

*How Children Fail was quickly followed by *How Children Learn* and *The Underachieving School*, which discusses the possibility of giving kids the freedom to learn within—and despite—the traditional educational structure.*

What Do I Do Monday? was John's response to teachers who were interested in improving their work. As such, it has generated a new genre of "how to" books: how to make teaching—in Neil Postman's phrase—"a subversive activity."

*John's latest book, *Freedom and Beyond*, steps outside the classroom to examine the validity of the student-teacher, adult-child dichotomy in society at large.*

In addition to writing and lecturing, John has served as consultant with the Fayerweather Street School in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The interview was conducted by Outlook editors Walter Block and Frank X. Richter, along with Lee Schubert and Emilia Nordtvedt. Mr. Schubert is a member of the executive committee of the Free Libertarian Party of New York; Ms. Nordtvedt teaches education at Paterson College in New Jersey.

Outlook: Can you begin by telling us what sort of experiences as a schoolteacher led you to become a proponent of rather radical changes in our educational system.

Holt: Well, before I got into teaching in a classroom in a school, I had a lot of contact with young people. I worked with the World Federalists after the second world war. I did a lot of traveling, staying with members of the organization, and without having planned it that way, I became what you might call an extra uncle in about 50 families. Now, at that time I had no idea of becoming a teacher. I was not in those families to observe children, but I got to know a lot of young people. Even after I started teaching I was very interested in very young children. Friends of mine who had very little children, knowing that I liked them, were glad to have me around. I observed children and adults with each other in public places—airplanes, airports, bus

stations, bookstores—so I've done an awful lot of observing of this outside of schools and classrooms. I suppose these ideas have been slowly generating in my mind.

Outlook: What were the major things that you observed that brought you to your present position?

Holt: For one thing, I began to see that the behavior of an awful lot of young children in the company of adults was strained and forced. I saw little kids of 3 or 4 putting on performances—long before we think of children of having reached an age at which they do things to please or appease adults. I began to sense very early that relationships between adults and their

"A lot of the troubles we've had in our schools are not really school troubles, but arise out of the fact that one of the important functions of schools is to keep children in childhood."

children often are not very good. So I began to wonder why these relationships were so bad.

My work as a teacher and educational reformer has also turned me toward these questions. I've come to feel more and more that a lot of the troubles we've had in our schools are not basically school troubles but arise out of the fact that one of the very important functions of schools is to keep children in childhood.

Outlook: Excuse the digression, but I can't help noticing that you are wearing a large McGovern sign on your hat, and a McGovern button on your lapel. Do you see any relationship between what you are trying to accomplish as an educator and the election of McGovern?

Holt: My principle reason for being for McGovern is the war, although I have been interested in what he has said about income redistribution. A guaranteed income seems to be a necessary precondition not only of doing the kinds of things I'm interested in with respect to children, but also of making much progress in the environmental problem. If most people feel that the only thing that stands between them and personal economic disaster is something called

continued economic growth, it's going to be very difficult to achieve some kind of balance. McGovern's educational proposals are really quite conventional. His position is to spend more money on schools. So that's not the part of his campaign that interests me most.

Outlook: How about school busing? That would seem to be one thing that McGovern is somewhat famous with regard to, and that has something to do with schools.

Holt: Well, what he's said about it mostly is that... he has stressed the fact that it's basically a matter for state governments.

My view is that no young person should either be prevented from going to a school he wants to go to or compelled to go to a school that he doesn't want to, solely because of the color of his skin—or, for that matter, the size of his parents' pocketbook. By that criterion, the Wallace anti-busing people are mistaken, but so are the judges who order city-wide school integration programs. Given the present political climate I don't think these kinds of programs will be carried out, but even if they were, I don't think that they would in fact solve any of what we think of as educational problems.

This leads me to a point that I made at some length in *Freedom and Beyond*, which is that if we want to do away with poverty in this country, which I doubt the people on the whole do, we would have to recognize that poverty is not a school problem, and is not going to be abolished by doing this or that or the other thing in the schools. It's going to take other kinds of social and economic measures, for which we have models in the Scandinavian countries. So, in a very real sense, our pretense—I don't mean to imply that it's deliberately dishonest—our pretense that the problem of poverty can be solved in school is kind of an evasion.

Outlook: While we're on the subject of governmental laws about education, how do you feel about compulsory education laws?

Holt: I'm against compulsory school attendance laws because I would say that it is not the business of the state to decide what we think, and hence it is not the business of the state to tell us what we should know or learn. Not only shouldn't there be compulsory school attendance laws, I don't think the state should have a monopoly on the school business. I don't think the state should be able to set something called educational

"Our pretense that the problem of poverty can be solved in schools is a kind of evasion."

requirements whether these are met in or out of school.

Outlook: You've been known to state that adults have to stop thinking of kids as cute. I'd like to confess that I think both of my kids are very cute, and not only that, but that the word "cute" is one which I apply in complimentary terms to a lot of kids and a lot of men and women. Now I wonder if you could define the word for me in a way that would help me to understand why you think it's degrading when applied to children.

Holt: What most people do when they look at some small child and think of him as cute and get misty eyes and a warm feeling in the stomach is very close to the kind of type-casting or lump labelling that large numbers of men do when they look at a woman who, by our standards, is pretty. They let that definition obscure whatever there may be in her that is unique. I suppose Marilyn Monroe was a kind of classic case of somebody whose unique personal identity was completely submerged and overwhelmed by a surface appearance.

The thing that is very likely to happen with small children who are particularly handsome, good looking by little children standards, is that adults, without even knowing that they're doing it, are likely to use these children to generate warm stomach feelings in themselves. In other words, they're likely to exploit the cuteness of the children to make themselves feel good. The children in turn discover—again at a level below words—that they can use their cuteness to get things out of adults, and a game of mutual exploitation is liable to begin which is very destructive.

The children who are most likely to do this are very pretty little girls, and my observation of a lot of these in and out of school is that they have picked up all kinds of artificial mannerisms which I now recognize quite quickly. Little mincing ways of walking, things they don't do when they're all by themselves, or when they're unobserved. These kinds of mutually exploiting relationships can be very destructive, destructive of the natural growth of the child and destructive of the kinds of relationships that ought to grow between adults and children.

Outlook: You talk about these kind of mutually exploiting relationships as being very destructive of the growth potential of the child.

Holt: A thing just came into my mind. What I say to myself when I look at a 3-

year-old, 4-year-old; who strikes me as being cute. Much of it is perfectly legitimate. There are all kinds of genuinely admirable qualities about these little children, and partly we're responding to them. But part of our reaction is not so admirable; we don't usually feel the same way about little children that are homely as we do about those that are pretty. When I look at a little child doing something and think about how cute he is, I have to say, "He doesn't feel cute." Whatever he's doing right now, he's very serious about it, whether it's making a mud pie or drawing a picture. He's very serious about his business. I owe him the kind of respect, a certain gravity and courtesy, that I would owe someone of any age.

I think of another instance. I'm talking about a young girl 13 years old, whom I know very well, a very bright, articulate person whose mother is one of the very best parents that I've ever known. Anyway, this young person was talking very animatedly and seriously about something that was of great importance to her, and her mother was watching her. Suddenly I could see in the mother's face that she was overcome by a kind of feeling which I shared a little myself: "Look at this phenomenon. I remember when this person was only a year old. I remember when . . . isn't it extraordinary?" A great wave of perfectly understandable motherly tenderness came over her, it showed on her face, and this young person caught it and instantly stopped talking. She was deeply offended, although they're really very fond of each other; it's a very happy family. The young person suddenly realized that she was not being looked at and listened to as she had been a minute earlier, as a human being with thoughts, but now as a kind of cute child, and she clammed up.

Outlook: What do you think are the effects of our present method of treating children?

Holt: To a very large extent, our way of treating children, including the ones we approve of, that is, think of as cute, destroys an enormous amount of their self-respect, their ability to take themselves seriously. Now in the case I just talked about, the mother is generally so respectful of the children that this is not a usual problem in that family. But in other families this is a very serious problem, the feeling on the part of the young people that they are not taken seriously, and therefore cannot take themselves seriously.

I've spoken of

mutually exploitive relationships. The problem is that in many families people get some kind of notion of an ideal, capital-C child, and they're constantly comparing this living human being with that ideal. This goes on at a lot of subtle levels. If it were more conscious, it might be less dangerous because then we could deal with it. We are so likely to conjure up an ideal picture of not only this child but how he will relate to us and we to him, that when he departs from this scenario and begins acting in other ways, we're disappointed. We may not be angry; there may be no threats of punishment. We're disappointed, he senses our disappointment, and he begins to look at us for signals as to how he may live up to our expectations. So a whole cycle of reciprocating events develops, which makes it very difficult for what I would call an authentic human relationship to grow up between parent and child.

Outlook: R.H. Laing, in *Politics of the Family*, talks about the mapping operations of the family, projecting qualities onto people. He suggests that the family tries to dissuade certain behavior by identifying it over and over again. You know, "Johnny is so irresponsible." Or, "Mary, you're so sloppy." Eventually, the child thinks of himself or herself as irresponsible Johnny or sloppy Mary. And, you know, we have a self-fulfilling prophecy. I was wondering to what extent you would agree with that.

Holt: I would agree with that very much. My understanding of Laing is that the really serious thing he's talking about, and certainly a part of what I'm talking about, is the type of situation in which a child is getting messages from a parent at one level which conflict with messages he's getting from another level. Now there's liable to be a big controversy on the matter of dependence and independence. Verbally, "I want you to be independent; I want you to decide for yourself." Whereas in fact, he wants the child to remain dependent, he wants to boss him.

Outlook: "And don't be so obedient!" What about that?

Holt: That's a very good example of a conflicting sort of message. But aside from being conflicting, the messages are so obscure that a child has to work too hard to find out what is expected of him. This is liable to be true in a family where the relationships are pretty good. In a family in which the kids don't get on too well with the parents, in some ways the burden is lighter. The child could care less about whether Mom or Pop is happy about what he does as long as he stays out

of their way and out of trouble. Growing up that way has its disadvantages, but it has its simplicities. In a family where there seem to be pretty strong bonds of affection, unless the parents are extraordinarily and by a great effort of will respectful of the individuality of their child, there is very likely to be at the lower level of consciousness this mutual game of, "You do what I want or I'll be disappointed in you; but you mustn't look as if you're doing it just to please me." "Don't do it just to please me"—this is something that you get between men and women also.

I don't think this can be remedied by heightening the consciousness of the families themselves. I think the alternative, the cure, has got to be for a young person to have a considerable number of other relationships with other adults which are not so highly charged, in which not so much is at stake. I know how important in my growing up an uncle was to me; it wasn't that big a deal, so we could talk, we could fight. We argued like cat and dog on all sorts of stuff. There weren't those terrible penalties hanging in the air. No, "If I say the wrong thing, he'll be angry at me" There should be such relationships available to a young person. The nuclear family is too possessive, too intense; too much depends on everything, too much is at stake all the time.

Outlook: Some educators take the view that one of the advantages of compulsory education is that you can pull the kids together and get them to relate to one another, get them relating to their peers. I was wondering to what extent you feel that the traditional classroom helps kids relate to each other.

Holt: It interferes with it in a terrible way, because the traditional classroom is a racetrack, and it isn't even a racetrack in as objective a sense as a genuine racetrack. It's a place where the children are competing against each other for the approval, the favor, of the teacher. Nobody can win except at everybody else's expense. The chance that good human relationships develop in that kind of a cutthroat situation is extraordinarily slight.

No, I think young people definitely need many places, not just schools, but many places which are safe, interesting, where they can congregate with people more or less of their own age—I don't mean this as restrictive as it is in school. There ought to be a whole lot of places in any community where young people, children, may safely go and find things to

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do. But this doesn't happen in the ordinary school which is both in what I call the jail business and the racetrack business, both of which defeat its real humane purposes.

Outlook: Children are born knowing very little, or nothing. They have a lot to learn to function at the adult level. What institutions, structures, methods, do you think are best for getting them from the first state to the final state?

Holt: How do you find out how a society works? By being in it as much as possible. I should say, by the way, that young children are enormously curious about their society and how it works. What we've done is to take them out of that society, remove them from contact with a whole bunch of realities—work, life, death, religion and ceremony—and we put them in these grim boxes we call schools. And then we think we can make up for this by having a "relevant" curriculum. It can't be done that way. The point is to lower the barriers between young people and their society. Most of the children who ever lived on the earth grew up in the middle of their society. They were surrounded by all the realities of it: religion, ceremony, aging, disease, birth, death, sex, war. Whatever went on went on all around them. And now, as I say, we've isolated children from this society, and it's very difficult for them to find out about it—particularly since when they ask us questions we usually don't tell the truth. We have sort of institutional kinds of answers. We're not really on the level with them.

Outlook: Could you give us an example of what you mean?

Holt: Well . . . most children are not encouraged to find out in school, let us say, how much corruption or crime there is in their particular community. It takes

you a lot longer in life to find out, to find out how to find out which walnut shell the pea is under.

Outlook: There are some people who would say that we're protecting children from harsh realities; and that to the extent the kids are imaginative and seemingly free and happy, it's precisely because they are ignorant. How do you feel about that?

Holt: I think the people who say it are pretty sincere, on the whole, and I probably once would have said it myself. But I don't agree with it. Mind you, under certain circumstances and in a certain time it might have been true. A lot of children's literature came out of the upper middle country classes in Great Britain; the classics of children's literature depict children living in a very isolated, idyllic environment. Christopher Robin out there in the countryside, and all. If it were true that we could shelter children from a lot of these realities, a case might be made for a certain length of time for doing it. Indeed, I've always agreed with Paul Goodman when he said a lot of city kids, anxious, terrified city kids, need some space, quiet, repose in their lives. It's not quite the same thing as shelter. Today we can't shield children from the realities of what goes on. Even if we forbade them to look at the television set, they'd learn a lot of it simply by walking around on the streets.

Outlook: They also learn, don't they, that there are awful terrible things that have to be hidden. Maybe that's how we all become fearful.

Holt: Yes, I don't think ignorance is bliss, I've never believed that. The advantages of knowing the score, of having some sense of what really goes on, is that, if you can't do something about what the future is bringing, at least you can get ready for it. No, ignorance is the opposite of bliss.

Outlook: You seem to be stressing what I would call a romantic view of childhood. Do you think of children as beings possessed of beautiful attributes and exciting potentialities which become for the most part corrupted and frustrated by contact with adults?

Holt: I'm not romantic about children. I don't take some sort of Rousseauian or Wordsworthian position about the innocence or purity of children. I think that in general children have a lot of qualities, some of which are drawbacks and disadvantages. I think their ignorance is a handicap; as is their inexperience, their self-centeredness, their initial lack of empathy, their inability to put themselves

"I think it is absolutely not the business of the state to say what people shall learn."

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in the other person's shoes, their lack of any time sense, their vulnerability to their own passions. All of these are qualities for which I feel compassionate, but which I would want to help them grow out of. On the other hand, there are a large number of human qualities which I think children possess in large degree: energy, vitality, enthusiasm, hopefulness, trustfulness, curiosity, resourcefulness, veracity, expressiveness—I could probably think of a bunch of others—which are altogether admirable qualities in a person of any age. And, on the whole, I think a great many of these qualities are indeed repressed, diminished, stamped out by their contact with adult society and its institutions. I think a great many of them are lost precisely because we define them as childish and therefore cute and therefore something that we ought to grow out of. We in that sense invalidate them.

Outlook: You stated earlier that you don't want the state to have a monopoly on education. Do you want the state to have any say in education at all? For instance, to make an analogy with Madalyn Murray O'Hair's advocacy of absolute separation of church and state, would you advocate a strict separation between education and the state?

Holt: I don't know what you mean by separation. The public library, for example, seems to me to be a legitimate educational institution, and as things stand it's operated by state funds, tax-supported funds.

The question of whether the state ought to tax or not is certainly a question of some importance to libertarians. I don't want to get into it very much here because it's not a matter of primary importance to me, so to speak.

Outlook: Of course libertarians do not oppose libraries *per se*; our objection is to the way in which they are presently financed. But let's look at another aspect of the state's involvement in education. Could it not be said that state education amounts to brainwashing? You know, teaching the pledge of allegiance and how to salute and that you must raise your hand when you want to go to the bathroom—the sort of things that prepare one for faith in state authority in later life. Would you go along with an attack on state education on this basis?

Holt: I think it is absolutely not the business of the state to say what people will learn. Should the state allow tax money to be spent on a school and then not control the curriculum? It's a difficulty.

I don't think that schools are

very helpful for most kinds of learning anyway. I would also say in passing that practically everything that I know of that I don't like in state-run schools is also done in most private schools. So it's difficult to tell how schools should be financed; I don't have passionate feelings either way.

If we say schools are a kind of legitimate learning instrument, but that they should not be financed by the state, we have a very real problem: then people with more money would get all the schools. For me, a kind of remedy would be to provide other kinds of learning arrangements which are much less expensive than schools, or to encourage and legitimize arrangements in which people are not made dependent on professionals.

Outlook: Perhaps even lousy private schools are better, in a sense, than lousy public schools. If you have a lousy private school, at least parents can refuse to patronize it; they can support the schools they like. In the public schools, on the other hand, parents' money goes there no matter how they feel about it. They have no way of withdrawing their sanction.

Holt: I agree.

Outlook: So then you favor a lousy private school over a lousy public school on the ground that we have more control over the private school?

Holt: You do if you have an option. Now, the laws of the state, the compulsory school attendance laws, require that your child be in some school. If the only school that you can afford is a public school, then you really don't have any more choice than you did before. Or if we have a situation in which schools have, as they have now, a monopoly on the legitimizing of learning—if you haven't learned it in a school, it's as if you didn't know it—under this circumstance the freedom of choice for the parent is not very real. The maximum choice is not between this school or that school or some other school but the choice of not having anything that the state would recognize as a school.

Outlook: Well, another case for lousy

private schools' sort of counters something you said, namely, that if we had private schools, then only the rich would get education. It seems to me that the times that I've been in museums or libraries with children in them, I've very rarely seen black or Puerto Rican kids. I've seen an awful lot of white kids. It seems that far from redistributing money from the rich to the poor, the state educational system works the other way.

Holt: I quite agree. However, I don't see how a private system would be very different. Mind you, we have a private system now—the parochial schools—and I don't think anybody will say that parents have very much to say. A case could be made that through the machinery of school management, cumbersome and bad as it is, parents in a community have more to say about what goes on in public schools than the parents do about what goes on in parochial schools.

Outlook: But parents of parochial school children are free to remove their children—as well as their money—while parents of public school children are not.

Holt: People are talking about voucher plans. I think as long as most of the learning opportunities are in school, that money should be put into the hands of learners or families of learners for them to spend on what kinds of schools they like best.

Outlook: How about going one step beyond that? Instead of the state taking money from the people and giving it back to them in the form of vouchers, I would just as soon the state didn't take it from them at all.

Holt: There's a good case to be made for that.

Outlook: Let's imagine that schools and educational institutions had to stay as they were. The bureaucracy had to stay as it was. Construction had to stay as it was. But I have gathered together all of the teachers for you to talk to, and you could make one change in these teachers, their attitudes, or the way then went about teaching. What would you say to them?

Holt: It's a very iffy question . . .

Outlook: We have teachers among our readers. That's why I asked.

Holt: Large numbers of teachers have told me that they cannot make any important changes in the way in which they work. I can say: "Stop threatening your children with grades"—and they would say, "I have to give grades." Or I could say any one of a number of things which I've been saying to meetings of teachers for years, and they would come back and say, "But

if I did that I'd get fired." So I can't take the question out of the here and now tactical situation that a particular teacher finds him or her self in. I once summed up in four words what I was trying to say about schools and classrooms: more choice, less fear.

Now, how a particular teacher puts that into practice, I don't know. But we have to recognize that a great many teachers are full of fear themselves, and one of their greatest fears is that if they don't make the children obey, they will run wild. One of the things I found in my own work as a teacher was that I was trying to ride a horse in opposite directions at the same time. What I was giving with one hand I was taking away with the other. On the one hand I was trying to make my students less fearful because I could see that fear was preventing them from learning. But on the other hand I was part of the machinery which ran on fear. Why would they do this stuff at all? I wanted them to be less afraid so they'd learn these fractions. This stuff isn't worthwhile. There's no reason to learn. I say to teachers when I talk to them, and I say it in my books: Within whatever constraints you're in, try to maximize choice, try to cut down competition; try to make it possible for the children to work together and help each other and so forth. A lot could be done in any classroom if the people want to. I think, in general, if teachers have less freedom than they would like, they almost all have much more freedom than they think, or than they use.

Outlook: I would agree with that.

Holt: You see, we run into this: why are a lot of people teaching? What is there about the business aside from security, upward mobility, the white collar, the long summer vacations? What is there—leaving all that minor stuff aside—that attracts people? Well, to a very large extent people come into this as they do in a lot of the other helping professions because they want to play god. In some cases it may be a tyrant, and in some cases it may be a kindly, benevolent god. But they want to play god. This in itself is the source of an awful lot of harm that is done in classrooms. Maybe I'd say: "Drop the god-playing role!"

I never did more harm to myself as a teacher than when I was trying to do the most good. I finally realized that I wasn't going to be able to do very much good and I made my goals much more modest. I stopped thinking of myself as Pygmalion making miraculous

"Why are a lot of people teaching? Well, to a very large extent, people come into this . . . because they want to play God."

"There are people who believe the world is flat, and they vote; and there are people who believe in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and they vote; there is Arthur Jensen at Harvard, he votes; there are people like B.F. Skinner who believe that all human beings are machines, and they vote. There's no piece of madness or folly that disqualifies a person from voting."

statues here out of this putty and began to think of myself more like a gardener—put a little water on these plants, you know, pull up a weed here and there and hope that they're going to grow. It's not really in your hands.

Outlook: You mentioned expectations; I have found that a lot of my students have gone into early childhood education because they realize that, if we're going to make significant changes in the way human beings are, we have to start with the children. That is because of one's expectations of the children one teaches. But they get plenty of disappointments and recriminations.

Holt: These are almost certain to go along with rather elaborate notions about how children of a particular age should behave. You expect that a child will behave like your unconscious notion of what a good child is, and he will get signals, feedback signals, smiles, happiness, peace. To the extent that children don't behave in that way you are going to be anxious, worried, threatened. A friend of mine once put it very well. He said, "The helping hand strikes again." I'm not knocking the notion of help altogether, but the trouble with me defining myself as the helper, let us say, of you, is that I define you as somebody who can't get along without my help. This is

very hard to avoid in schools, and very few teachers do avoid it. They think they're essential whereas at best they might be somewhat useful—but not to everybody. Some of my students found me useful. Others just didn't. For them, I wasn't, and I learned, after a while, to stay out of the way of the people who had no need for me and not to have my feelings hurt. But that took a long time.

Outlook: You once said that six-year-olds should have the right to vote. Now you're not serious about that kind of responsibility, are you?

Holt: I'm dead serious. There are people who believe the world is flat, and they vote; there are people who believe in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and they vote; there is Arthur Jensen at Harvard, and he votes; there are people like B.F. Skinner who believe that all human beings are machines, and they vote. There's no piece of madness or folly that disqualifies a person from voting.

I don't think in fact that many six-year-olds would want to vote. I think quite a few ten-year-olds would, and I have known ten-year-olds who knew more about the world at that age than I did when I got out of college. I think that a random cross section of twelve year old people would show that they understood as much about national and world issues as a random sample of, let's say, fifteen year old people. But any case of asking who has the wisdom gets us back where we were in the South with the literacy tests.

Outlook: What do you think is the most important thing that children learn or ought to learn? Some people would say self-confidence; others would say respect. How do you feel?

Holt: It's the wrong kind of question to ask. The things we learn as we grow up can't be divided into things. I think a sense of self-respect is very important in people. I think people who do not value themselves do not value anyone else either, and I think the racism which we touched on earlier and which is such a plague in this country is at least in part a product of people's sense of their own worthlessness. You have to have somebody who seems even more contemptible than you are or you can't live. But if I say that I think confidence or trustfulness or self-respect or flexibility or something is important, I know that there would be a whole lot of people who would isolate it from all the other things with which it's inextricably bound together, and would then rush off and start thinking, "Well, gee, self-respect?

How do we teach positive self-concept?" concept?"

That's a great big OK word in schools—textbooks are written about "positive self-concept." Workshops are held, you know. A whole industry has grown up about how do we teach children "positive self-concept." But it's not what we *tell* people but how we *treat* them that makes a difference, and if we treat young people as if they were fools and criminals, you know, no "positive self-concept" will come out of that.

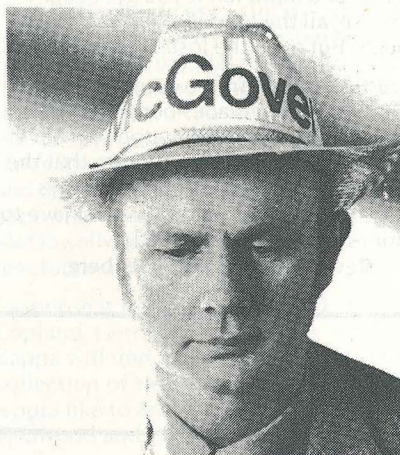
Outlook: In his *Ethics of Psychoanalysis*, Thomas Szasz distinguishes between trained education and learned education, and he uses the word education in the broadest sense possible. He says that the job of the psychoanalyst is to show his client metaeducation—to learn how to learn.

Holt: I think that's a very good way of putting it. To make available to people all kinds of experiences from which they should not only learn things but from which they would learn how to learn from experience. This is exactly of course what schools are magnificently fitted not to do, almost by definition. You can't take people out of the world and teach them about the world. The very act of taking them out of the world says: "We don't trust you to learn from the world. We don't trust you to think about what's important or to ask your own questions. I never quite understood McLuhan's "the medium is the message" in the way that he meant it. The medium is the school, the way in which the institution works and the way it treats the people in it is by far the most powerful thing it teaches.

Outlook: We have dealt in a piecemeal fashion on your ideas on how you would change the institution of childhood, what different attitudes you'd like to have developed. Would you care to elaborate?

Holt: You see, people sometimes say to me, "Don't you mean you don't think there's any difference between a six-year-old and a 26-year-old?" And I say: "No, there are all sorts of differences." I'm a very different person at 49, which is where I am now, then I was at 39 or 29, and my father who is middle aged is very different from me. Human life is a continuum, of experience, of knowledge, of hope, of energy. If you made a curve of human life, you could shape it. It's probably shaped differently for different people, but eventually at the end it comes down toward senility and declining powers and eventually death. That curve is always a whole. Most people on one part of it are different from another, but we've divided

"We talk about adult and child as if somebody, three days before his 21st birthday, were like a three-year-old, and three days after his 21st birthday was some mysterious thing called an adult. That's what I'm trying to get away from."



up that curve into two separate boxes. We talk about adult and child as if somebody, three days before his 21st birthday were like a three-year-old and three days after his 21st birthday was some mysterious thing called an adult. That's what I'm trying to get away from.

Outlook: I remember my personal experiences with grade school, within the context of a parochial school, and it was a very strange experience because in the first grade we were all six years old, and we were told that probably not until some time next year would we be able to read and know the difference between right and wrong.

Holt: That's still better than telling you that you couldn't do it until you were 18. will say that traditional teachings of the Catholic Church, as well as of the Jewish religion, assumed that people were taken as being morally responsible much earlier than contemporary fashion puts it. Some people say you don't really know anything until you get out of graduate school.

We're talking about the right you have to be considered as a human being and not some kind of putty for people to shape.

Outlook: I wonder how many people consider human beings as lumps of putty at any age. You know, it's interesting the way we sometimes talk about matters of

"public policy." We talk about how we're going to encourage this or that attitude or this or that group. You know, when *do* we grow up?

Holt: Of course, this is what makes it somewhat difficult to talk about the kinds of things we're talking about or at least difficult to think about ways of getting any of this into practice: We live in a slave society and in a slave age. We yap about freedom all the time. In fact, very few people in their day-to-day lives have any experience of freedom. Not only don't they believe in it; I think they don't even believe it's possible. In fact, I think the reaction of most people in not having it is to try to take it away from those who seem to have it. We live in a society of giant, remote, invisible institutions. Even our academic language, the way we talk, encourages people to believe that the world's made up of all kinds of invisible forces. Academic language is very abstract. The subjects of curves are never he, you, it, or she; it's all something ending with "ion" or "ity" or something. The picture that people get subliminally from all of this is that they're totally dominated by invisible, implacable, unreachable forces and institutions. Indeed, the philosophical fashion of the time, for science, is the universe as machine; for behaviorism, man is a machine too.

The futureologists write of the future as though it was a train station and we were coming down toward it along the track and had to speculate on what it might look like when we got to it. But the future is something we make. It doesn't exist until we make it. People are trained to feel that they're helpless in the face of events.

Outlook: Does that make them helpless?

Holt: Perhaps. If you feel helpless, you are indeed helpless. I love Shaw saying that "be sure you get what you like or you will have to like what you get." Well, you aren't going to get all of what you like, but if you don't begin by saying, "I'm going to try to get the things that seem to me important," you aren't going to get any of them.

Outlook: Each of us looks at the world in categories of our own devising. The shoemaker looks at shoes, the tailor at clothes. My own background and interests are not so much educational as economic—particularly free-market economics. So I'd like to ask you one last question relevant to the free market, and that would be: what do you think about

GO TO 22

REVIEWS

On Books

Robert N. Winter-Berger, *The Washington Pay-Off* (New York: Dell Books), \$1.75.

"I practically raised that motherfucker, and how he's gonna make me the first president of the United States to spend the last days of his life behind bars."

"It's me they're after. It's me they want. Who the fuck is that shit-heel? But they'll get him up there in front of an open committee and all that crap will come pouring out and it'll be my neck."

"Tell Nat that I want him to get in touch with Bobby Baker as soon as possible—tomorrow, if he can. Tell Nat to tell Bobby that I will give him a million dollars if he takes the rap."

The makings of a cheap political novel? According to Robert Winter-Berger, the above quotes were made in his presence by Lyndon Johnson to House Speaker John McCormack during the breaking of the Bobby Baker scandals. If this is your kind of meat, then this book is a gourmet's treat.

And who is Robert Winter-Berger that he should be privy to such delicate information? He is a former public relations man who decided to take a fling at the lobbying scene. And this book is a disclosure of the events that surrounded him.

Winter-Berger worked very frequently out of the office of John McCormack, the Speaker of the House. There, he became good friends not only with the Speaker, but also with Nathan Voloshen and Martin Sweig, who were the subjects of criminal prosecutions for their operations out of McCormack's office. (Winter-Berger explains how it came to pass that the Speaker wasn't also indicted but was permitted to resign quietly).

The advertising for this book alleged wide-scale attempts to suppress the work, and when you read the wealth of details and names provided, it is not hard to understand why. Winter-Berger exposes large chunks of the underbelly of corruption that envelops Washington. In this work you will find out what judges had to be paid off to get cases squashed or sentences reduced; you'll learn how to buy an ambassadorship for only \$125,000; you'll learn many of the real stories behind the headlines. Winter-Berger lays out the whole Washington social scene

and the rules of operation for ambitious men and women on the political make. This is one of the few how-to-make-a-million books that really makes sense.

After spending considerable time in Speaker McCormack's orbit, the author decided to branch out and purchase an introduction to Minority Leader Gerald Ford. This purchase was well worth the price, for the one rule that is quickly learned in Washington is that who you know is what gets results. The rules also provide for a rapid fall if you get caught. Of course, all the fixes don't always come through. But even the losers make money.

It is difficult to grasp the depths of the corruption that pervades our government, but books like *The Washington Pay-Off* help. Robert Heinlein once wrote that the only honest politician is one who stays bought. I guess that's because you have to be honest to live outside the law.

Reviewed by Gary Greenberg

On Film

Sleuth

When I first saw the play *Sleuth* on Broadway, I was excited and thrilled by the sheer craftsmanlike ease of its excesses and surprises. At long last, after quite a few years, a miracle had appeared on the Broadway boards: a well-made play. And what originally made the play such an exciting and thrilling experience was the perfection of its acting: Anthony Quayle and Keith Baxter were beautiful together; the chemistry between the two was *electric*. I felt at the time that no other actors could ever play those roles and get away with it.

Fortunately, I have been proven wrong. In Joseph L. Mankiewicz' film version of the Anthony Shaffer play, Laurence Olivier and Michael Caine now have those demanding roles, and they deliver their respective lines with just the right amount of mayhem, larceny, and, above all else, aplomb. The chemistry is made even more exciting by the fact of Olivier's return to stardom. In the last few years, he has been weighted down by small character roles in such minor and excruciatingly dull films as Franklin Schaffner's *Nicholas and Alexandra* and Richard Attenborough's *Oh, What a Lovely War!* Now, Joseph L. Mankiewicz (*All About Eve*, *A Letter to Three Wives* and *There Was A Crooked Man*) has had

the good common sense to cast Olivier in the meaty role of Andrew Wyke, and Olivier sinks his teeth into it accordingly. He is certainly the greatest actor of our time. Even in an atrocious mystery thriller as Otto Preminger's *Bunny Lake is Missing*, where you can see he doesn't care very much about the movie (he supposedly did it only for the money), he is still fascinating to watch; he makes Carol Lynley and Keir Dullea look like kindergarten children playing house. Watching him as Andrew Wyke (his eyes glinting with satisfaction, his face muscles twitching with mischievous delight) is to marvel at his powers of concentration. He throws himself into a role, no holds barred.

And Michael Caine is no slouch either. His urbane, dry line readings work just right for the role of Milo Tindle. *Alfie* was certainly his best role for a long time, but I think his acting in *Sleuth* beats it by far. He is the perfect foil for Olivier and they work wonders together.

However, the film itself does not work. The excesses and surprises that so thrilled and excited me on stage leave great gaps and holes on the screen. The objectivity of the stage becomes the subjectivity of the screen. Whereas in the play the distancing effect of the proscenium stage helped tremendously, the screen shows too much; the camera is too close for comfort. Andrew Wyke and Milo Tindle are shown to be what they really are: two small children playing sick, perverted games. The camera is able to probe into characters and situations sometimes much too deeply, and a majority of films suffer for this. Of course the movie is still moored to the stage, and Mankiewicz wisely notes this by bringing down the curtain at the end. He keeps the production moving along nicely, but still he disrupts the action by continually editing in short insert shots of the games and moving figurines situated in strategic areas around Wyke's manor house; after a while, it becomes pat and trite; it then becomes nerve-wracking.

But it is still a delight to watch Olivier and Caine going at one another with, figuratively speaking, sledgehammer and spike. I hope other film directors will have the foresight to cast Olivier in their movies since we now have him back. The plight of the movies being what it is, we need more brightening up.

Reviewed by Cary Leiter

On Music

Looney Tunes & Merry Melodies

It would appear that ancient Greece and 19th century Vienna were eminently successful in weeding out their underachievers so that only a Plato or Beethoven could fill the spotlight of history. Until now, societies have been biodegradable to the extent that only a genius could stand the test of time.

In today's steel and glass land of equal opportunity, Norman Rockwell stands the same chance of being unearthed as Paul Klee. Russ Meyer and Bunuel, Partridge Family and Stockhausen will be preserved side by side. In fact, Plazas may come and go, but Howard Johnson's is forever.

The medium of the Old World was Classicism or Romanticism. The Third World's medium is jazz. The New World seems to be thoroughly engaged in mediocrity. Not only is the bulk of AM middle of the road pop-rock mediocre, it is stifling. As a case in point, I will use Soft Machine (which is to say, Soft Machine was stifled, not mediocre).

Lilian Roxan and her *Rock Encyclopedia* pay tribute to the group by categorizing its music as jazz. The group's long-haired, tie-dyed appearance make it unacceptable to the jazz community, while its avant garde style make it unacceptable to the pop-rock community. And so the band was forced to turn to underground sound-and-light shows. Soft Machine debuted at St. Tropez, filling the first half of Jean Jacques Label's and Alan Zion's Festival Libre, doing background for Picasso's play, *Desire Caught by the Tail*. After traveling the south of France in a panel truck stashed full of electric hardware, they gave their American premiere at the New York Museum of Modern Art on the same bill as Jimi Hendrix. It should be noted that Hendrix stepped into the limelight behind one of the most boorish, adolescent groups in rock history, the Monkees.

Both Soft Machine and Hendrix surfaced around standardized predilections. Jimi's distinction was his instrumental capability. Rumor has it that he once did a Long Island performance on three tabs of orange sunshine, and all went fine until he fell off the stage, landing atop his fully amplified Les Paul. Be that as it may, Hendrix was a fine instrumentalist. But his

compositions like "Red House" and his voice were liberally copped from Muddy Waters. This presents an interesting side issue. Only Paganini and Liszt have come through the ages by merit of their playing abilities. This generation might tape and film such performers as Hendrix, Jagger, Ella Fitzgerald, Heifitz, Rubenstein and Bessie Smith for posterity. Within the next hundred years, the classical performer may stand in contrast to the classical composer.

At any rate, mediocrity still governs the airwaves. And if you don't listen to the radio, or keep your dial tuned to a classical station, you still won't find much satisfaction at the marketplace. Personally, I can relax to good boogie and blues. I enjoy Allmans, Dead, Humble Pie and Savoy Brown. I enjoy the raw acoustic sounds of Jimmy Reed and Fred McDowell. But nothing creative or revolutionary comes of it.

I suppose it's generally agreed that Copland, Gershwin, the Beatles and Zappa will find a place in history. To that collection of New World musicians I would like to add the Stones, Steve Winwood and J.R. Robertson.

"Caucaphonic junk" or "the Beethovens of rock," the Stones represent rock & roll itself. Jagger can relate to each individual in a concert hall while bringing out the "cry of the world" in his voice. With "Satisfaction" and "Jumpin' Jack Flash," Keith Richard has come up with the two all-time rock numbers. If rock is ever to be remembered, the Stones will be remembered.

Steve Winwood has been in the biggest rock bands since he was fifteen. He is English ballads, white soul and jazz melodies. He handles at least six different axes. Along with Garth Hudson, he is rock's finest keyboard man. Winwood is a virtuoso, and I will devote an article to Traffic and him later.

Finally, I think, Robbie Robertson merits some attention as an intellectual relief in a sea of Tom Joneses & Three Dog Nights. In the November 26th issue of *Rolling Stone*, musicologist Ralph J. Gleason reviews The Band's live album as being the best live electric album in history. Better than the Stones, he says, up to par with his favorite jazz performances. The more I listen to it, the more I tend to agree. As a whole, The Band knows more about music than any other group around. As composer, Robertson takes boozy-Bible-music-campfire-sing-along-gospel-rock and turns it into an imaginative, creative gesture.

I won't say that Beatles, Gershwin or Band will rate alongside Mozart of Coltrane. But they're better than AM Hojo Cola.

Reviewed by John Large

Led Zeppelin (Picture of the old hermit carrying wood) (Atlantic)

For a group which began as an imitation of the Jeff Beck Group, Led Zeppelin has come a long way. The raspy Rod Stewart-ishness is no longer dominant in Robert Plant's voice, and John Paul Jones no longer needs to place the fact that his brother is famous above his drumming and Jimmy Page can look back on the Yardbirds as his practice years. Led Zeppelin has finally made it.

Old fans will feel at home with the first cut, "Black Dog," which starts out with Plant's screech, "Hey-ey, momma . . ." This is the Led Zeppelin that made instant success as a bluesy gut-rock group. "Rock and Roll" is even harder rock, but quite different from "Black Dog." "Rock and Roll" is somehow tighter, certainly clearer, definitely more mature. And hard as rock can be. Fast, too.

Just as you've been shaken and rattled and are ready for more, the tension drops. "The Battle of Evermore" is trippy, smooth and silken. It is a spacy tale of the Queen of Light and the Dragon of Darkness. A contest taking place in the dead of night on a level above and beyond that of human action, it is described in sure but caressing notes from all instruments and voices. Although the falsetto back-up will remind you of Grace Slick's weavings, it certainly stands on its own and any similarity is probably a coincidence. For those whose idea of falsetto is Tiny Tim, this will be a warm surprise.

"Going to California" is wistful and sad; everyone, it seems, wants to make it to the coast. But once you're there, so what? Where are your dreams when you are disillusioned? The weariness of coming thousands of miles to find emptiness.

While I found side 1 more enjoyable than side 2, the price of the album is certainly worth the best half of the music.

Reviewed by Mick Marotta

Alice Cooper, School's Out (Warner Bros.)

When Underground music first came out, hot on the tail of the Beatles and Barry Goldwater and the Free Speech Movement, one facet of the Longhair cult was to look at the inane way in which most people live and to show it for what it really is. So groups like the Fugs and the Mothers of Invention took hold of our sense of decency and smashed it against a

wall of music. Alice Cooper carries on this atrocious tradition in one of the best albums Warners has put out.

In case no one told you, Alice, the lead singer, is a guy. Flipping a bird at cultural standards of "masculine" and feminine," Alice Cooper is by far the most outrageously ambisexual happening of our time. But sex isn't the only thing that they've got going for them.

Musically, they are adroit. Even when they second-hand music from *West Side Story* (and even *The Sound of Music* on their *Killer* album), they are unquestionably original. They are a tight group.

The first cut, "School's Out," sums up our entire generation: "We got no class and we got no principal [principle?]." School's out for the summer, all right; it's been blown to pieces. Continuing in this vein, "Street Fight" brings together the Gutter Cats and the Jets. It's hard to prove, but I think their sentiments (if they have any sentiments at all about anything) are with the Gutter Cats. Personally, I find the kittens much more intelligent. The Gutter Cat is flipped out over a little pussy while the Jets just like to beat people up. The music slinks along for the Gutter Cats and jumps hard and cool for the Jets and then they rumble. Shouts. Punches. Alley noises. An occasional meow, and finally the sirens. No sound of the Jets as meows echo back and forth from hiding place to rooftop.

Gaily tripping along in further pleasantries, Alice Cooper's look at the hard times of a grammar school juvenile delinquent ("Public Animal #9") carries with it memories for almost everyone who went to school and got caught at something. "Hey, Mr. Cranston, where are you takin' me?" Or maybe didn't get the grades that others expected of you. "She wanted an Einstein, but she got a Frankenstein... Public animal number nine."

If you have a predisposition towards the outrageous, plug in to Alice.

Reviewed by Mick Marotta



Letters

(Continued from 6)

requires getting to individuals and sub-groups, not trying to guide Middle America or the counterculture.

Secondly, since the majority does *not* want freedom, we cannot attain our ends by promising

them freedom if they support us. How does Rothbard propose to hide the fact that in a free society homosexuals could neck openly, drugs could be used openly; in short, that all those things which are a "knife in the heart" of the Middle America could flourish freely?

Our task, I would have thought, would be to spread rationality and an appreciation of the values of toleration for variety, not to pander to the irrationalities of the rising social group of the moment.

And that brings me to the point that really rubs me the wrong way. Dr. Rothbard would have us become hypocrites and liars. From the tone of his diatribe against the counterculture, he finds it entirely detestable. Yet he was willing to praise the counterculture and work with it when it was a rising force, for the sake of the movement. Or perhaps Dr. Rothbard still favors the counterculture but is willing to lie now in order to appease a rising Middle America. We have here the paradox of a man sacrificing his convictions in order to work for his convictions—whatever Dr. Rothbard's true convictions might be. Surely, though, the ends don't justify the means. If we can lie for freedom, why can't we steal or kill for freedom?

I would not hesitate to recommend Dr. Rothbard's books on economics to anyone. But as a libertarian activist and an individual of integrity, he leaves something to be desired.

John Fay

Watch for the forthcoming Outlook interview with Dr. Rothbard. —Ed. E

News Notes

(Continued from 5)
guarantees "non-competition except for the existing government-owned enterprises...."

Voluntary national service

Reuters reports that the Polish Communist Party called last month for compulsory work for idle young people to combat "demoralization and depravity."

The party's Central Committee also proposed steps to tighten ideological training among young people on the ground of possible subversion by capitalist countries. The danger arises, it said, from greater competition and ideological confrontation with Western countries, which suggest a freer exchange of people and ideas.

The party leaders also called

on the government to take a series of legal, administrative and educational measures to combat idleness, drunkenness and "other negative phenomena."

Two for the road

Two city policemen in Vincennes, Indiana, were punished for drinking beer in a patrol car. They had just attended a training session on how to handle drunk drivers. [AP] E

Hess

(Continued from 9)

police power, such as the FBI and the Department of Justice or the CIA, have so far proven very apt at attacking disorganized or entrepreneurial crime. Independent robbers, dope dealers or crooked small businessmen can expect to have the roof cave in on them at any time from the sheer accumulating weight of Federal policemen on their shelters. The most organized criminals, however, in the Cosa Nostra or Mafia, among overseas dictatorships or in the most plush boardrooms, may find it far more effective to wheel and deal, bribe, cajole or even join forces with a highly centralized power than with scattered little police agencies. A close eye, therefore, should be kept on arrest stories as this reign progresses.

The arrests could be revealing. In fact, they should be. Already, with exercises such as the Pentagon Papers caper *versus* the Watergate caper, we can see a vigorous example of where the presidency stands on zeal for the use of its police power. Both capers appear equally innocent in the actual results of the felonies involved; but in the Papers caper, one gets the distinct feeling that all of civilization has been threatened, while in the Watergate case, it may be hard in a few months to even recall that it happened.

In dealing with unions, Nixon's disciplinarian bent should impel him toward continued efforts to end or at least seriously curb the right to strike. In this he will be aided by a growing popular feeling that there is no such right if "the public" is concerned. Perniciously, much of this feeling is fueled by the consumer protection furor—which, albeit well-meaning, tends to make the citizen's role as consumer his central role. Anything that diminishes the central importance of the person as producer, it seems to me, reduces the importance of the person overall. A person who does nothing but

consume, as a matter of fact, would be described, technically, as a parasite.

The right to strike intimately and importantly involves the role of the person as producer. This is the role that I regard as paramount, for instance, in my own life. I have, even, the feeling that the less I consume, the better; while the more I produce, the better and more joyous.

At any rate, compulsory arbitration legislation is certainly on the horizon. Also looming is a lot of Nixon and, most emphatically, Agnew talk about protecting the people against the workers—a dichotomy that only a pair of real non-workers, non-producers, and purely manipulative types could so enthusiastically endorse.

Union bosses, also, may have a special reason for growling about but nevertheless acceding to this development. Wildcat strikes, in the long run, are as threatening to the labor bosses as to anyone. A wildcat strike is, quite often, a spontaneous assertion of the rights of the local workers against the interests of the national bosses. More power to them! But, because of that, the big labor bosses and bureaucrats—not, thankfully, a bunch that includes all trade union officials by any means—may find a continuing detente with Nixon to be in their own interests despite anti-labor charges which may be made. Big bosses and big bureaucracies, after all, have more in common with one another than with people generally.

So, growing national police power, harsh restrictions on the right to strike all go together to reinforce a hierarchy of power, a scale of power. And it is the stability of that hierarchy, as well as the principle of the hierarchy, the scale of power itself, that might reasonably, from its point of view, occupy the second Reign of the King from California. And the first term of a Monarch from Maryland! Or His Majesty from Massachusetts when, in God's time, it is his turn to rule. What happens in our time, hopefully, could be a different matter. ☹

Raeder

Continued from 10

took it, judging by the retaliatory strikes.

There are rules at the Olympics, of course. But there are also rules of war. Both have been broken. The Munich atrocity was a massacre, but so was My Lai. Battles won and lost are grist for the nationalist propaganda mills, but so are Olympic athletic contests. In an atmosphere such

as this it is impossible to divorce ideology from athletics. The games in Berlin with Adolph Hitler as host showed us this, as have the uses to which the games have subsequently been put by American and Communist propagandists. Why were we so shocked when all that the terrorists did was to make a few changes in the rules? The Palestinian team beat the Israeli team, and the West German police team beat the Palestinian team. In the excitement, however, the medals and national anthems were forgotten.

The Olympics can be a sports forum again, instead of a political battleground, but for this to happen, the national anthems will have to be forgotten permanently. The flags need to be removed and the uniforms burned. The contests need to be conducted consistently on a basis of individual and team competition in order that individuals and not nations will be the winners.

Individuals from around the globe should be able to compete for a place in the games on an individual basis, and if all of the entries for one event come from one country or a hundred countries, it should make no difference because individuals are competing, not nations. Under this arrangement, the Olympics would be useless as a propaganda tool and could again become that forum for sportsmanship, friendship and fellowship of de Coubertin's dream; for it is only on a basis of individual respect for individual accomplishment that the Olympics can ever "supply the best of internationalism." ☹

Katz

Continued from 11

of paper money and lent it to the government to finance the war.

As for the Civil War, one cannot ignore the influence of banker Jay Cooke in passing the National Banking Act of 1863, of which the Rothschilds said: "The few who can understand the system will either be so interested in its profits, or so dependent on its favors, that there will be no opposition from that class, while on the other hand, the great body of people mentally incapable of comprehending the tremendous advantages that capital derives from the system, will bear its burdens without complaint, and perhaps without even suspecting that the system is inimical to their interests."*

Most people do not know that the Bank of England was pro-Nazi during the 1930's; it lent money for rearmament to Hitler and

also maneuvered behind the scenes to cause the British sellout at Munich. They do not know that Japanese militarism, which ultimately led to Pearl Harbor, was caused in part by Western economic pressure which isolated Japan and hurt her foreign trade, which economic pressure derived directly from the abandonment of the gold standard in the 1930's.

But what of the war to come? On August 15, 1971, in addition to the wage-price freeze, President Nixon took a far more dangerous action. He suspended the redemption of gold by foreign countries presenting U.S. greenbacks. The world had been off gold since the early 1930's, but when this led to World War II, an attempt was made to partially restore the gold standard via the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944. In 1971, Nixon severed that tenuous tie to gold which existed in foreign trade.

Like all other moves away from gold, this will lead to war. The President is in a political bind because of inflation and must do something about it. He has established controls, but he continues to issue paper money through the banking system. And no price and wage controls can work in the face of major emissions of paper money. Therefore, it is only a matter of time before the controls start to break down. When this happens, Nixon will be in even worse trouble. At this time (about 1975), the President will have two choices, both politically bad: to end the controls would lead to a resurgence of inflation; to retain them would be political suicide. Unless he has the courage to stand against public opinion (and Richard Nixon is hardly noted for his courage) there is only one way out of this dilemma—war. War will not reduce inflation or make the controls work; but if the American people are misled into thinking that we have been attacked, then they will rally to support the country and put up with the controls for the duration of the emergency.

In weighing the decision to go to war, the President will rely heavily on advisors who represent banking interests, men like Henry Kissinger and Henry Cabot Lodge. He will have been roused to anger against foreign countries by the economic warfare which has been going on since August 15, 1971. He will also be influenced by labor unions such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which is even now conducting a racist, hate campaign against foreigners. Unless all the lessons of history are false, he will take the country to war.

The State Department has formulated a new five-power theory in which Japan is no longer considered an ally of the U.S., but an independent power. The U.S. has insulted Japan by making important diplomatic moves which concern its interests without even informing it in advance; we have imposed quotas which put Japanese out of work; our diplomats (especially Kissinger) are personally rude to Japanese diplomats. In short, we will be at war with Japan in just a few years.

Americans who value peace now face a decision. Within five to ten years, Vietnam may be enacted again on a much larger scale. This war can be prevented, but only by reversing the abandonment of gold. "Thy silver has become dross," said Isaiah, as he warned the people of his time against military entanglements. Our silver has become dross, and our gold has become paper, and unless we rectify this fraud we pay a penalty in blood. ☹

*"National Economy and the Banking System of the United States," Document 23, 76th Congress, 1st Session. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1939.

Interview

Continued from 17
child labor legislation?

Holt: I think that the people who first invented these laws meant well. I think that they really did want to protect children, and at that time there might not have been any other way to do it. But today, I don't think child labor laws protect children—in fact, they exploit children.

There are large numbers of young people, all the way down to 10 or 12, who, partly for hard economic reasons—to help out the family—and partly for reasons of self-esteem, desperately need a chance to work and make some money.

You read all the time about the ever-younger gangs of kids who swipe stuff, snatch purses, mug people in the street. Some of them are addicts, but I think a lot of them are young kids who need the money, or want the money, and can't get it any other way. Rich kids get summer jobs; poor kids can't. Rich kids get allowances; poor kids don't. They've no way to get the money but grab it, and they live in a culture that has taught them very effectively that if you don't have some money in your hand, you're nobody, you're dirt. I think a chance to do some work for pay would be enormously

helpful to a lot of these people, in a lot of ways.

Outlook: Thank you for your time and your well-presented thoughts. I'm sure our readers will find this very interesting.

Holt: It'll give 'em something to chew on, all right. ☹

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