

outlook

The Libertarian Monthly
November 1972
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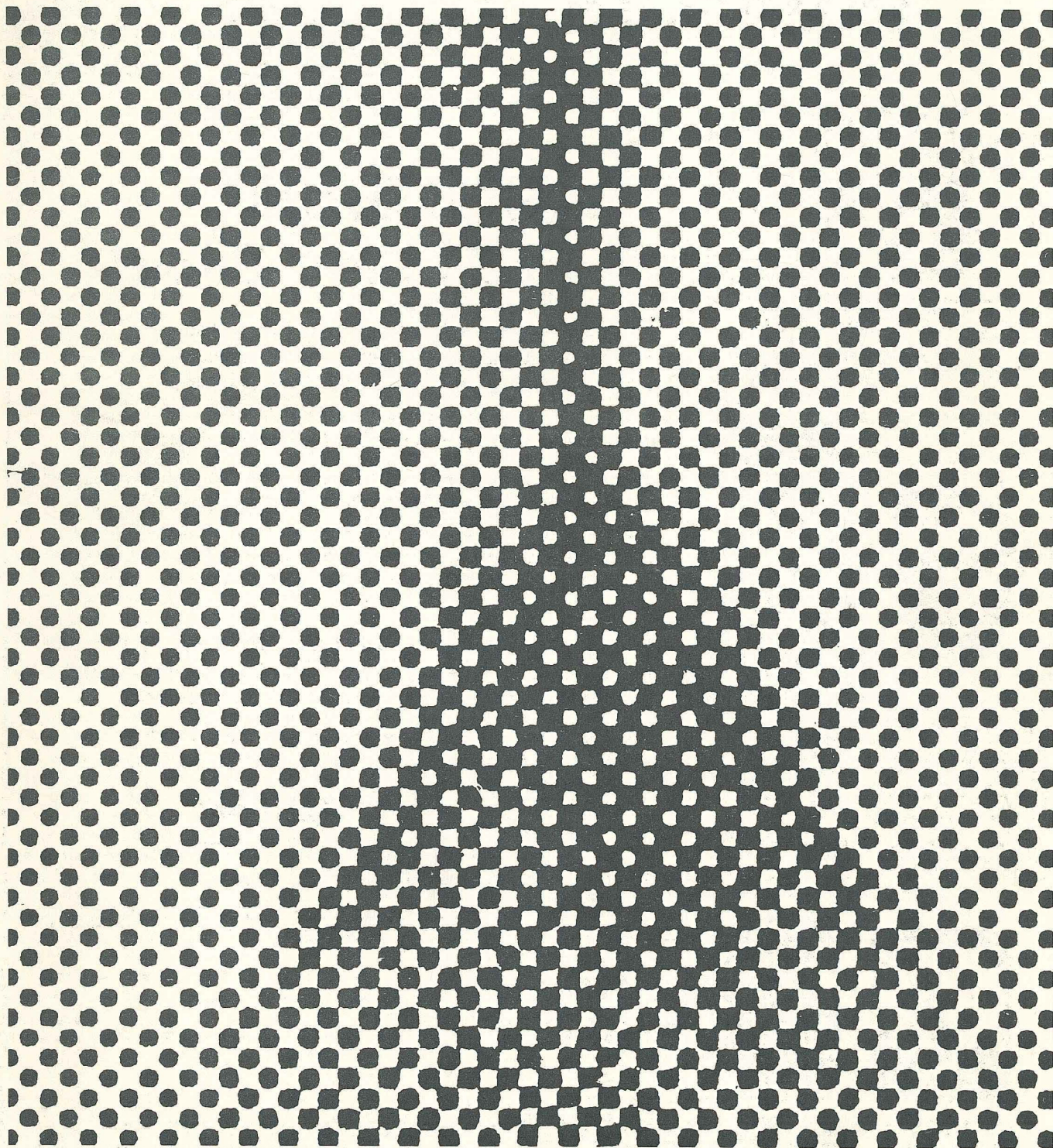
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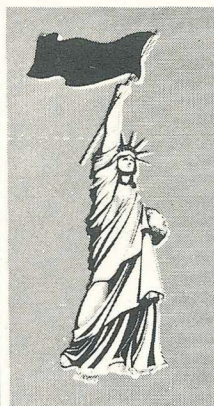


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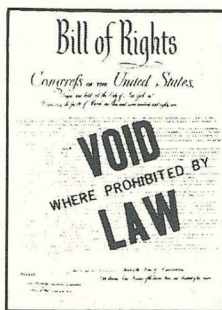


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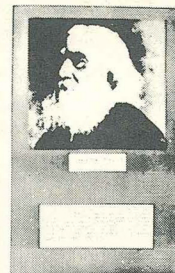
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EDITOR LETTERS

With this issue, **Outlook** introduces a new section, *Speaking Out*, reserved for the thoughts and opinions of our readers which are too long or inappropriate for a letter to the editor, and too short to be used as an article. Manuscripts should be from about 500 to 700 words long and typed double-spaced. Please include a word count and a short autobiographical introduction. Manuscripts should be mailed to our editorial address and should include a stamped, self-addressed envelope. We hope *Speaking Out* will become a regular feature, but this all depends upon you our readers.

In the past month our circulation has increased by almost 1000; so let me take this opportunity to welcome our new subscribers and to invite them (as well as our old ones) to participate in *Speaking Out*.

After much soul searching, our semi-monthly contributor Dr. Murray N. Rothbard has decided to name his column. Although this decision was made without benefit of any special **Outlook** "Name-The-Column-Contest," reports are that Dr. Rothbard made use of the most sophisticated techniques of mathematical economics, including regression analysis, a favorite of his. After having wheezed, belched, bellowed, and blown half a dozen fuses, the computer spewed forth *The Plumb Line*. Our readers need not fear that Dr. Rothbard intends to regale us with advice on plumbing, however. He will rather continue to present us with a free-wheeling and running commentary on the issues of the day as they affect libertarianism; offering, as always, the sharp, incisive views of his that have a way of becoming the libertarian view on any given question.

In the December issue of **Outlook**, Dr. Rothbard will tilt his lance at the unresolved and puzzling question of "kid lib."

In the December issue, we will also be proud to present a no-holds-barred exclusive **Outlook** interview with Vivien Kellems, IRS gadfly and valiant defender of the rights of single people. At 76 years of age, Miss Kellems takes on the minions of the state tax bureaucracy with a spirit that a confirmed statist could only regard as appalling. She discusses the legitimacy of taxation, young people of today, constitutional government, her famous sit-in at a Connecticut voting booth, birth control, William F. Buckley, the withholding tax system, women's liberation, among other things. ☺



Hunter Conference scored

The recent libertarian conference at Hunter College (October 8,9) has done much to intensify my conviction that the "movement" is going nowhere.

The movement—if Hunter's conference is a representative cross section of it—largely consists of two bit would-be intellectuals, vitally concerned with proving the "purity" of their ideology, the forensic power of their arguments, and their ability to produce "converts," that is—more people like themselves.

At a media workshop, the "movement people" attempted—repeatedly—to prove their ideological vigor. No one—as far as I could see—cared to influence the media. All they seemed concerned with is the "philosophical" import of such action.

At a tactical workshop, discussion centered around "proving" that a free society would be well equipped to remain free. I wanted to exchange ideas and programs with others who were working to help free this society. Apparently I was alone in this desire.

The function of ideas is to prepare for action. Social action—e.g., forming free schools, draft counselling, alternative institutions (either communalistic or agoric) are not merely devices for producing "converts." They are the revolution, if there is to be one. All else is narcissistic "movement" building.

Words confound as well as instruct. I am beginning to realize that the "movement"—which produces nothing but armchair activists—may well stand in the way of freeing this society.

If we chafe under Statism, why not get together to discuss what to do about it, given our limited resources. I'm tired of "pie in the sky" anarchism.

To steal a phrase from John Holt—what do I do Monday?

Sam Frich
A NYC activist, not theoretician

Hunter Conference praised

Why is Lowell Ponte so fascinated with lasers? What do America's most famous militant atheist and Barry Goldwater's most famous ex-speechwriter have in common? Can Walter Block really recite eight hundred popular scapegoats without once pausing for breath? If you can't answer these questions, you must have missed the recent libertarian conference at Hunter College. And if you missed that, you missed a very good show.

You also missed what I consider a very gratifying lesson in the relevance of libertarian thought to American life. To me, the most impressive aspect of the Hunter conference was the fact that it included not only such libertarian lecture circuit regulars as Murray Rothbard, Sharon Presley, Robert LeFevre and Jarret Wollstein, but also a lot of people not ordinarily associated with anarcho-capitalism at all.

John Holt, for example, is definitely not a libertarian, and he wore a McGovern button throughout the conference. What John Holt is, however, is an extremely distinguished American educator whose views on the ills of our public school system have already influenced countless people who have probably not even heard the word "libertarian." He is a man whose personal involvement with children and their education has led him to support and advocate the decidedly libertarian idea of "kid lib."

Speaking of which, Neil Rothfeder doesn't seem to think of himself as a libertarian, either. His interest at this point in his fourteen-year-old life is not in expounding political philosophies. It is in organizing a real movement toward kid's lib among kids. A movement which has the potential to become the most dramatic libertarian phenomenon of the seventies.

Madalyn Murray O'Hair apparently is a libertarian, although many of us were quite unaware of the fact until recently. She is known primarily as a one-issue person. But what she did at Hunter was to drive home, in a way that no one in her audience will ever forget, the vital relationship between her issue of freedom from religion and the entire issue of human freedom from the bludgeon of the state.

Karl Hess, Carl Oglesby and Fred Woodworth are libertarians. But their leftist anarchism is a far cry from the capitalist outlook of most of those with whom they shared the platform. Their presence at the conference was a tribute

SPEAKING OUT

to the breadth of libertarian thought, just as their lives are a tribute to the force of a type of individualism which cuts across political categories.

Through all this diversity, there shone the basic unity of libertarian purpose. The libertarian movement is multi-faceted because liberty is multi-faceted. We thirst for liberty from all forms of governmental prohibition. So we laughed enthusiastically at the film, "Reefer Madness." We thirst for liberty which knows no distinction between the sexes. So we rejoice that women were represented at the conference by Madalyn Murray O'Hair; by Vivian Kellems, the slaty Joan of Arc of the anti-tax crusade; by Edith Efron, author of *The New Twisters*; and by representatives of the National Organization of Women. We thirst for liberty on every front, and the strength of the Hunter conference was that it presented such eloquent spokesmen on so many fronts. The appeal of libertarianism must be made as broad as the human craving for liberty. The spectrum represented at Hunter shows that it can be done.

Leland Schubert

[Leland Schubert is a member of the State Committee of the [New York] Free Libertarian Party. — Ed.]

GO TO 19

By Max Goliard

Samuel Taylor Coleridge

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure dome decree:
The zoning board got wind of this,
And socked him with a license fee.

Edna St. Vincent Millay

I burn my candle at both ends
I did the same last night.
Con Ed can pay its dividends,
But can't supply me light.

Robert Frost

Whose woods these are I know, I think.
Boise-Cascade Lumber, Inc.

Matthew Arnold

The sea is calm tonight,
Subdued by an oil slick.
The tide is full, the moon shines bright,
And all of the fish are sick.

Emily Dickinson

I heard a fly buzz when I died
And can pollution's fact give:
I was felled by a pesticide,
And the fly was radioactive.

[Max Goliard is a pseudonym for one of our regular columnists. — Ed.]

"Social Responsibility" and the Free Market

by John Tepper Marlin

People like Karl Hess have already noted the kinship that exists between libertarians and the New Left, resulting largely from the latter's suspicion of government in the military arena. Questioning the government's wisdom in war-making is one of the factors that have led the New Left to question its wisdom in other activities.

Thus, both libertarians and many members of the New Left believe that regulatory agencies are inevitably captured by the businesses they are supposed to regulate. Both favor a negative income tax which would put dollars into the hands of the poor yet encourage them to work, instead of the existing welfare system which is highly restricted, encourages broken families, and offers no incentive to work. Both oppose rent control as a means of aiding tenants, since it leads to harassment of tenants when linked to vacancy increases or vacancy decontrol, and leads to housing shortages or deterioration under any conditions.

It is because of support from both groups that Ralph Nader's investigations of the Federal regulatory agencies have received such widespread interest, I believe. Some commentators have rightly pointed out that if the agencies are bound to be corrupted, there is little point in setting up new ones (such as a revamped ICC or a Consumer Protection Agency); and others have noted that investigations of the regulatory agencies are sideshows which do not tackle the main questions.

Ralph Nader himself is the epitome of a libertarian, in the sense that he has struck out individually against the ills of the world. Nader might be upsetting to those who believe that people are essentially economically motivated, since he is a man of personal austerity and non-economic dedication. The essential thing about Nader, though, is that he is operating outside the government, appealing directly to the public opinion which is an extension of the free market. When I made some of these points in a speech to the Philadelphia Society in April 1970 ("Ralph Nader and the Free Market"), Milton Friedman and Henry Manne objected to Nader being brought into libertarian orthodoxy, and countered that Nader must be anti-market because he is against businessmen. Nonsense!

The essential problem for a libertarian is: what do we do about businessmen that conspire against us (to fix prices, set up tariff walls, restrict entry, or block tougher pollution controls? They have full access to the government (unlike charitable foundations, they are free to lobby) and are not bashful about using their power. American tariff history, farm subsidies, resistance to pollution controls and now the Penn Central and Lockheed cases have amply demonstrated their use of power. One way for libertarians or the New Left to attack the problem is to set up counter-lobbies in Washington. But the business lobbies are much too effective and well-funded for these to have much impact. A much more promising approach is to point out business irresponsibility in businesses' own constituencies—their shareholders, employees, consumers, communities in which they operate. Businessmen are much more vulnerable when they are approached through working relationships rather than through their Washington lobbyists.

The problem for most people is evaluating non-financial corporate performance. Fortunately, there is a group of researchers receiving volunteer level wages for gathering data of this kind—the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP). The CEP is a non-profit organization dedicated to obtaining and disseminating truth about businesses—their records in the area of pollution control, hiring of minority groups, lobbying, military contracting and foreign investment. Some libertarians may not be critical of business in all of these areas; however, the Council on Economic Priorities is not an activist organization. It merely gathers information, like a Dun and Bradstreet of the corporate conscience. The subscriber makes up his own mind about the use of the information. In this light, the "social responsibility" of a company becomes just one more competitive factor in business. Libertarians who would like to see business competition extended into non-financial areas will find CEP much to their liking. ☺

[Interested readers can contact the CEP at: 456 Greenwich Street, New York, N.Y. 10013. — Ed.]

Dr. Marlin is Assistant Professor of Economics and Finance, Baruch College, City University of New York. He would like to acknowledge, in the interest of full disclosure, that his wife is Executive Director of the Council of Economic Priorities.

NEWS NOTES

Garbage Study Stalled

Lindsay Administration efforts to find out if private carters can pick up garbage cheaper than city sanitationmen have been stalled for five months by staff problems and, according to some sources, politics.

One of the casualties of this tangle so far has been a much-publicized plan to clean up Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant slums by establishing an experimental, private, community-oriented sanitation department there.

In May, Mayor Lindsay established a seven-man committee to try to resolve the controversy over whether public or private sanitationmen could collect city garbage cheaper.

But that committee has only had "a couple of organizational meetings" and hasn't begun work at all, according to its chairman, Hunter College's dean of graduate studies, Walter Eisenberg.

Eisenberg said the Mayor's office was having trouble finding an executive director and enough staff people to study the problem. "We only need a handful of staff members," he said, "but we'd like to produce a report six months after we begin work, and it's hard to get qualified people to come work with us for just six months."

Meanwhile the Bed-Stuy plan, proposed by the five-year-old Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, has been waiting for an evaluation from the Mayor's committee.

Environmental Protection Administrator Jerome Kretchmer and his Sanitation Commissioner, Herbert Elish, have both said they liked the plan.

But they estimate that it could cost \$700,000 to \$1 million, and no one in the Lindsay Administration is willing to approve an experiment that costly before the Mayor's Committee reviews it.

Several sources close to the controversy said the Mayor's office was not working very hard on getting a committee staff because its report could be political dynamite for the Mayor. They argued that if the committee found private cartmen preferable, the Mayor could lose John DeLury's powerful Sanitationmen's Union as a political ally in any future campaign.

If, on the other hand, the Committee decided the city's garbage men were already doing a fine job, Lindsay's committee could be

accused of being self-serving and rejecting a sanitation service that was cheaper and could save taxpayers money.

Ponies vs. Post Office

James Boren, founder of the National Association of Professional Bureaucrats, is confident of beating the U.S. Mail on a Pony Express between Philadelphia and Washington. Says Boren, "It will also bring back fond memories of the days when the postal system used to work. It's



not just the speed of the mails that concerns me—it's the orderly flow of paper. Bureaucrats do not have an adequate supply of paper with which to busy themselves with maximized shuffling."

In 1968, impressed by the "creative nonresponsiveness" of the federal bureaucracy, he founded the Association, of which he is presently chief finger-twiddler. The Association's crest features a ruffled duck strangling in red tape, a sheaf of memos, the motto, "when in doubt, mumble," and the words "status quo." Its perfect gift for bureaucrats is a pencil with erasers at both ends.

Boren's team consists of six riders and eight horses. The make-up of the Post Office team was not available as of press time.

Seeing the Light?

New York Post editorial: A prudent distaste for anarchy has made us reluctant to applaud the commuters who physically barred the path of a Penn Central express and forced themselves aboard. They were rebelling against the collapse of their

wayward local and, perhaps more profoundly, against all the cumulative indignities they have endured on that route.

But even while we refrain from urging others to emulate their mutiny, the episode must be recognized as an historic portent. Is the day approaching when hundreds of drivers stalled in insufferable traffic jams will simultaneously abandon their cars and let officialdom worry about removing them? We hesitate to cite the options available to frustrated subway riders. If those who dwell on the affluent side of the railroad tracks have been driven to the tactics of guerilla warfare, who will dare to say that the nation is overcome by apathy?

Is there a closet anarchist on the editorial staff of the venerable New York Post?

Showcase of Democracy

More than 9,000 South Korean youths were picked up and shorn of long hair at police barber shops across the country in two days in a nationwide police crackdown against what authorities call "immoral and decadent" elements. [AP]

By the Balls

Although the Supreme Court has upheld organized baseball's anti-trust exemption, the Justice Department is investigating possible Sherman Act violations by the Amateur Softball Association of America.

International Friendship

Science writers on a 10-day Russian trip arranged by the State Department had to pay double the cost of their travel and lodgings to subsidize a return visit by Soviet journalists.

Budget Logic

Concerned about a rising country assessment, the Mansfield, Massachusetts Board of Selectmen wrote the Bristol County Commission for an explanation.

The commission chairman, William F. Long, Jr., wrote back the following:

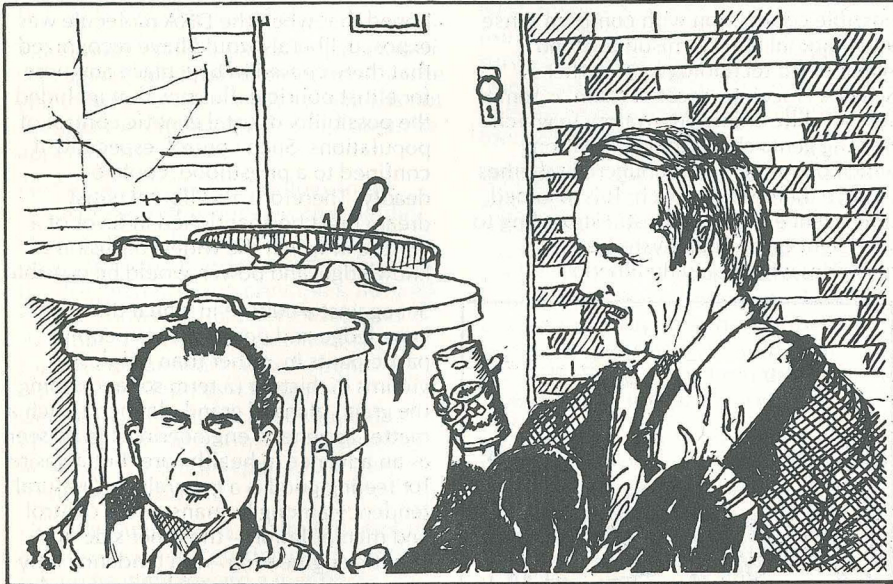
"Our budget is not put together in such a way that we can provide you with a detailed budget breakdown.

"There were extensive cuts made in the 1971 county budget, and the 1972 budget was, therefore, increased to make up for the cuts that were made in 1971." ☺

BAKER

The Polished Razor

by Robert P. Baker



Vox populi, vox ennui

Commenting upon the recent national plebiscite is a bit like encountering an immense dung heap in some trackless desert; I can hardly ignore it, but what of significance can I possibly say? If you believed the candidates, the November nonsense offered us "the fundamental choice of the century." With a choice like that, I'd rather have had an echo. The populo-fascist McGovern bleats plaintively that he's not all that radical—and he isn't—while the state-socialist Nixon coos enticingly that he's not all that conventional—and he isn't. And those of us who scourge ourselves by analyzing this sort of farce struggle desperately to perceive some plausible difference between them. I confess my inadequacy for the task.

In the six presidential elections held since the end of World War II, the proportion of those Americans eligible to register and vote who actually bothered to do so has been declining steadily since 1960 despite ever more massive get-out-the-vote campaigns. This time, voter apathy is palpable, and, except for the usual cackle of the professional political skills, there is an ominous silence. Wouldn't it be wonderful—to borrow a phrase—if they held an election and nobody came?

Nixon avoided campaigning for any local candidates, hoping to snatch off some normally Democrat votes by playing it *pianissimo*

in regard to his party, while the local hopefuls, especially Democrats, pushed for the national ticket with all the vigor of the Ancient Mariner plugging albatross. Wallace remained aloof, and held McGovern in the contempt that a rebel reserves for a traitor, while on the sidelines, sitting on his hands, was a very blue Meany. These manifestations of underwhelming enthusiasm only mirrored the attitude of the general public. In short, an ever-decreasing number of Americans give a damn who heads up the conspiracy against them. The only discernible difference between the politicians of either party and the functionaries of organized crime lies in the fact that when you deal with the Mafia's extortionists, you usually do get the protection you pay for.

Yet how could things be otherwise? It is not the surface distinctions between McGovern and Nixon that strike me as insignificant, but their basic similarity, their similarity as men rather than as politicians. Neither man, apart from his public office, has any quality of competence or integrity that would make him stand out from the mass. To praise them for their skill in politics is to elevate an art for which decent men have no use. Theirs is the competence of the successful swindler. McGovern is a failed pedagogue out of a hick college, while Nixon is a former two-bit pettifogger who couldn't make a go of a small town law practice. Of course they gravitated to politics. Do maggots infest


carrion? In a free society, it is doubtful that either of these leaders of men would be able to make an honest living above the level of janitor, and both might very well wind up as objects of charity. Why has no environmentalist suggested recycling politicians back into the garbage from whence they come?

Medical News

One interesting item has washed up in the wake of the recent presidential visit to Peking: Several states have now authorized physicians to practice acupuncture, an ancient oriental method of fighting disease by inserting long needles into the body. No doubt this sort of thing will be followed up by A.M.A.-endorsed copper bracelets and uranium sitzbaths. It's a result of our masters' new friendliness towards the Communists, I expect, and a more ludicrous combination of medical and political quackery is hard to imagine. The Chinese give us the needle, while Nixon gives us the shaft.

Number, Please

I suppose it had to come eventually: American Telephone & Telegraph, the biggest of the state-maintained monopolies, has worked out an employment quota policy with the connivance of the federal government's General Services Administration. A.T. & T. has set aside specific numbers of jobs which will be given to women and members of ethnic minorities without regard to ability. The definition of minority, of course, is a bit restricted: only Orientals, Negroes, American Indians and those with Hispanic surnames qualify. Wladimir Pilsudski is going to find the going a bit rough if he wants to become a telephone Pole. So too, it's going to hurt Joe Brownguy, who, having perhaps struggled up out of some slum and having become an expert on wiring, finds that the quota for his genetic group is filled. Sorry, Joe, you should have learned how to *pull* the right wires. And if Suzy Girl does manage to get a job as an electronics engineer, the male chauvinists will have support for their insinuations that tits are a substitute for talent. She would have been hired to fill the female quota regardless of her technical skills.

There is no question that the A.T. & T. policy violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but your masters in Washington are above the law. What's next—cutting down on Jews in the professions, a *la* Nuremberg, 1935? 

Letter From An Enemy of the State

By Karl Hess

Speaking with people around the country, I've found that "technology" serves an almost universal function in justifying the state or in explaining why resistance to the state is futile.

Liberals use "technology" in their explanation of the world as complex and interdependent in a way that requires massive institutions, such as the state, to correctly or efficiently (liberals use the terms interchangeably) deploy capital, resources, and manpower (liberals, along with conservatives, consider all those factors as roughly similar, objects merely to be manipulated).

Conservatives often use "technology" in their explanation of why the corporation should be permitted to supplant the state in the management of most important affairs. It is their notion that the bureaucrats of the corporations handle technology more effectively than the bureaucrats of the state—except, of course, in the matter of mass killing, a function which conservatives joyously support as the highest function of the state, in fact, virtually its only function.

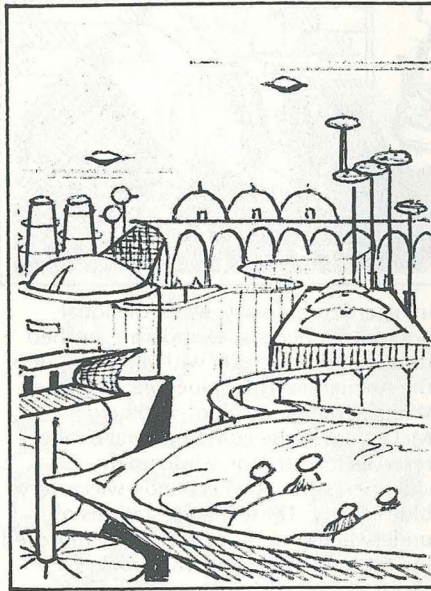
It has seemed more and more significant to me that one bond that links most of the liberals and conservatives with whom I have had contact lately is that they, personally, have little or nothing to do with technology; they understand it at best in a passing way and have devoted their own lives mainly to matters administrative rather than matters material and technological. This hardly means that no scientists or technicians or craftsmen are not liberal or conservative. It means simply that the loudest noises you hear on campuses or on streetcorners are likely to come from people whose skill is theory, whose ambition is to manage, and whose lust is for status (as sharply differentiated from stature).

Of further significance is the distressing fact that, indeed, most matters of science and technology in this country, as in nation states everywhere, are matters viewed mostly in the context of control and coercion of the population rather than as matter of creativity, possibility, alleviation, or, in short, ways to make the human condition more practical and more enjoyable generally.

Since I have a purpose far more ulterior than theoretical in bringing this up, a couple of comments only on the specific matters mentioned:

Liberals, as usual, evidencing the least

possible connection with common sense and material reality, misunderstand science and technology altogether. Science is seen by most of them as some sort of white-smocked mystery in which balding gents chalk up the equations which permit liberal managerial schemes to have their widest reach. It is assumed that science is somehow still struggling to shed light on eternal mysteries—mysteries which only the liberal's



advanced breeding, sensitivity, and education make bearable for the rest of unschooled and red-necked humanity.

The interesting fact about science is that it has so opened the old mysteries and so thoroughly enlightened the immediate material world that many scientists today must push forward into altogether non-material realms (such as non-Euclidean geometry) just to keep busy. In significant respects, science has passed well beyond the age of exploration (in mundane terms) and into the realms of pure speculation. One implication of this passage for the earthbound is that at this level of scientific discovery, we have edged into what may be called a design phase. Basic principles being well known, the task at hand becomes one of applying those principles to whatever it is that the person *wants* to do; to design the world, if wanted, rather than still try simply to understand it.

Example: Genetic engineering is not merely imaginable, it is actually manipulable at a rudimentary level, roughly at a level analogous to the airplane at Kitty Hawk. It might have been

hoped that when the DNA molecule was exposed, liberals would have recognized that there ceased to be a place anymore for elitist political illusions that included the possibility of total genetic control of populations. Such control, especially if confined to a priesthood, could be deadly. Therefore, this liberal elitist dream must be abandoned in favor of a culture in which the widest diffusion of knowledge, and power, would be possible.

Set against a culture in which diffused knowledge and power makes people participants in, rather than helpless victims of, history (a term so far defining the grand plans of grand planners), such a matter as genetic engineering can be seen as an advance in health care. But a desire for feeling good is a general and "natural" tendency among humans, while control and manipulation—the other side of genetic engineering—is a tendency only of certain humans, notably humans who have power. Only a liberal would want to confuse these tendencies.

Conservatives, on the other hand, often take the view that law and order will handle science and technology quite nicely. That is, if the patents are held by the right people (and they almost always have been), then all is right with the world. In short, just keep science and technology out of the hands of the rabble (people generally, as opposed to Rockefellers, Mellons, etc., particularly) and it's cool.

That system, incidentally, also effectively keeps science and technology out of the hands of the people who create it. By and large, the beloved patent system of the conservatives rides roughshod over human creativity. Instead, it enshrines human avidity, or, in the words of some conservatives, "selfishness." Under the patent system, of course, the great creators and innovators are always shunted aside in favor of the great manipulators. The person who simply *wants* the most emerges as the most valuable, while the person who simply *creates* the most is lost in the executive-office shuffle.

And, since most of the actually innovative scientific and technical people are consumed not by greed but by curiosity, this is, alas, an endlessly repeated situation, with the parasitic manager and manipulator leeching off the creator. (How many of your conservative friends, for instance, tell you that Carnegie created the modern steel industry? What ever happened, you might ask wistfully, to that fellow Bessemer?)

But, on to the specific point.

The subject of technology has become of very special and immediate interest to me and to some of my friends. (Science is not stressed for reasons which will, I hope, be apparent.)

First of all, we view technology in the sense of tools. It is our view that neither science nor technology have an intrinsic power to shape humans—rather, humans, the discoverers of the principles, have an intrinsic power to shape the tools and their use. The technology which appears frightful because of its use by some humans (the laser as a Defense Department horror weapon) appears altogether different when used by other humans (as a retina repair tool in the operating room).

Use of solar energy is another example of a tool with several cutting edges. Today, we are heading toward a nightmare of monopolization by three major corporations (including our old friend Honeywell) who are snapping up patents willy-nilly. It is their hope, apparently, that all solar power converters will one day be owned by them and leased to people generally, thus keeping people tied tightly into a specific social structure. The technological truth of the solar cell, however, is that the science and engineering involved is widely diffused, and cannot be pinned down to corporate efforts at all. Therefore, if treated as the widely-diffused technology which it actually is, solar energy offers an imaginative way for people to detach from huge social systems, exercise maximum volitional direction, create community, and so forth.

Conservatives will shout with joy that the bureaucrats at Honeywell have once again socked it to the scientists and the craftsmen. Liberals will launch new campaigns to replace those bureaucrats with state bureaucrats of *their* choosing. The people will remain dependant and regimented, while the creators will remain looted, left in the lurch, and working on for the crumbs from the administrative table.

Our interest in this matter reflects several positions. First, scientific discovery and the creation of tools (technology) cannot be eradicated, as some wistful advocates of a return to natural innocence might wish. These things are products of the human mind, of human minds generally, and would, we assume, be re-created even if all the books were burned and all the tools banned.

Next, there is a belief on our part that the use of tools by humans is indispensable to survival (short of the full development of psionic which could replace most tools, perhaps, with the single, self-contained tool of the mind itself).

We, incidentally, are a group of friends who are working together on the "Tools" volume of an extraordinary undertaking by the Institute for Policy Studies—an encyclopedia of "Reconstructive knowledge." Our purpose is to develop, in a systematic way, the possibilities of human progress when viewed from perspectives different from the conventional, institutional wisdom.

It is exciting to me to realize that the majority of those working on the volumes share with those of us working on the Tools volume an attitude which you will appreciate: that the scale of human organization is crucial, with freedom and the most humane life possible in small-scale, and least possible in large-scale organizations; that top-down, hierarchical organization must be destructive of freedom; and that whatever its virtues in "social efficiency," hierarchical organization exhibits overpowering tendencies toward coercion, alienation, and corruption.

There is, as a result of this attitude, a spirited debate as to the role of law versus culture as a civilizing device. When it comes to science and technology, I take the side that says that positive law, when associated with technology, with tools, is very dangerous. More dangerous than volitional, or cultural social arrangements. Because, to be effective, positive law must have access to the tools of violence—how else can the law give, and be obeyed? This access, experience indicates, leads to monopoly (the police, for instance) of the most pernicious kind.

At any rate, our tools are not to be taken lightly. And, indeed, we do not. Nor do any of those working on the other dozen or so volumes of this immensely promising and exciting project—although various notions regarding the use of tools remain to be fully debated.

All this is preliminary, in this instance, to a plea for help. I am quite aware that among the readers of this journal there are some who have long concerned themselves with the promises and problems of creativity and freedom, of tools and volition, of competence and non-exploitative community.

Without restriction, then, I would welcome beginning a discussion with you regarding tools and technology in their most liberating sense. Particularly, in terms of their immediate role in opposing the state, advancing freedom, and, indeed, in advancing the space in which the creative and co-operative urges of the human mind will have the greatest chance for expanding. (And let me stress that we are working with the widest possible definition of tools and technology; certainly wide enough to include knowledge itself, which I count as a tool, the premier one, in fact.)

Areas of specific interests, at this point, include the questions of ownership and laws pertaining to tools, patents, licenses, etc. The patent system, in particular, seems absolutely pernicious and without redeeming value (a position valiantly taken well in advance of most of us by Murray Rothbard). How may we attack it? What could the world be like without it? What does ownership mean with regard to ideas? How social is knowledge, and so forth?

There must be ingenious thoughts abroad already as to the use of tools and technology in both urban and rural contemporary settings—as liberating steps!

How may we best de-mystify science and technology? Einstein once said that science is simply the refinement of everyday thinking. One problem today surely is that not enough people have confidence in their own ability to solve problems, not enough confidence in their everyday thinking—and how can there be freedom without people confident in their ability to be free?

How might those who believe in freedom and who oppose the state best organize among scientists, technicians, and craftsmen? Perhaps one way would be to de-mystify the notion that these people require the vast power of the state or of corporate bureaucracies to do their work.

What might actually free, volitional human communities look like if available technology was used to enhance life generally, rather than to advance ideological blueprints in particular?

Is the distribution of tools, of technology, perhaps a gauge of freedom?

What, if any, notions of human cost accounting need to be added to the deployment of tools in order to determine, sensibly, not ideologically,

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Beyond the Volunteer Army

By Citizoid 112-24-6757

*By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.*

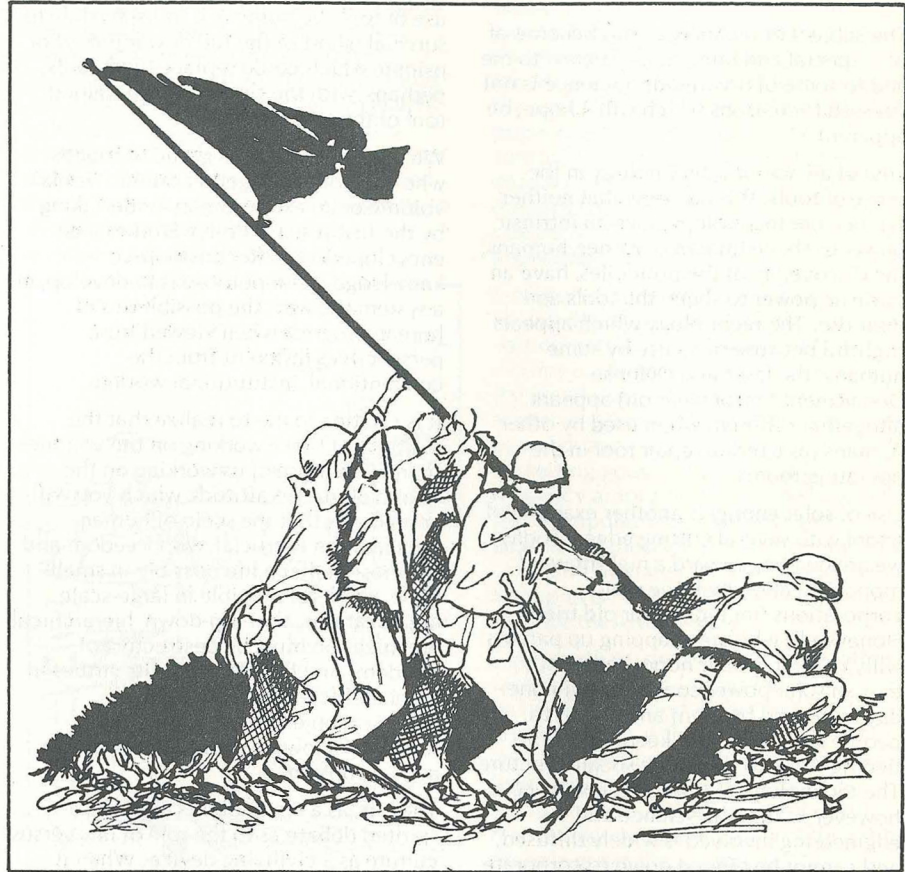
The above hackneyed lines state the situation with economy and exactness. The United States was born in an act of violence. The embattled farmers were an armed peasantry making its appearance upon the formalized stage of 18th century warfare. Upon that stage marched the imperial armies of the King, a soldiery conscripted almost entirely from the lowest strata of society and officered almost exclusively by the topmost strata. At the moment hastily assembled militiamen stood up to the disciplined professionals of George III, an age was coming to an end.

Since that day at Concord Bridge the American people have entertained a volunteer consciousness towards national defense. As the federal bureaucracy became more top-heavy and repressive, however, conscription returned to plague us all with the "legal" slavery of involuntary servitude. But the forces of liberty are once more on the move. Even the Nixon administration is now ruminating in some half-forgotten attic of our national heritage to come up with a popular defensive concept in this election year. The all-volunteer army, however, in the present context, is doomed to failure.

Every military establishment has reflected the parent society. A slave society produces and maintains a slave military. A free society, anti-imperialist and non-interventionist, would relieve us of the burden of a standing army. Without an empire to defend, our military requirements would naturally assume a purely defensive function and posture. Come then, and let us hallucinate awhile together. Perhaps we can come up with our own mirror image for the defense.

Let us assume the establishment of a new nation based upon individual liberty. Some libertarians will prefer a new world. However, let us assume that man, with his instinctive affinity for the tribal property line, will hew closely to that line for at least another few million years of recorded social studies. Instinctively territorial, our tribal property lines are a

[Citizoid 112-24-6757, a/k/a Michael P. Donohue, is active in the Free Libertarian Party and the labor movement. He is a firm believer in the "theory through struggle" philosophy of bringing about alternative lifestyles now.—Ed.]



legitimate evolutionary development from the hunting and breeding territories of our lesser kin in the animal kingdom. As the hunting pride of lions has for its arch-enemy the next adjacent hunting pride of lions, even to marking its borders with a distinctive scent trail of urine, so has man divided himself against social groups of his own species. Man generally marks his borders with a distinctive line of fortifications. Abhor war, declare universal peace, brotherhood and good will, we must ever still beware the bad guy.

Our new UnState (let's call it the Glorious Peoples' Republic of Anarchia) would very shortly become a juicy plum ripening for plunder. A return to the gold standard with an accompanying myriad of other exotic economic happenings would undoubtedly whet the appetite of many a foreign "liberator." The story of mankind has been liberally strewn with enough Attilas, Alexanders and Adolphs to keep the pot boiling. This is man's moment upon the stage of history and we must deal with him as he is.

To defend our free society, we would

probably rely upon the local volunteer regiment and air or naval squadron as our basic tactical unit. Allow me to suggest a possible structure: from the top down, four levels of command.

Level One: The national military establishment would be abolished as we now know it, to be replaced by a National Militia Cadre, or skeleton crew. The only full-time career personnel in the entire Militia, this cadre would comprise and be responsible for operating and maintaining a general staff, admiralty, inspector general, logistics, weapons standardization, contingency planning, and such educational and training facilities as West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy, the National War College and the branch training schools in Artillery, Armor, Submarine Warfare, Intelligence Services, etc. The National Cadre would be forbidden to withhold logistical and other supportive services from any local unit of the militia or of the peoples' guerilla.

Level Two: The Regional Command would bear the responsibility for basic training, defense planning for the

geographical region, annual unit training facilities, selection of officer candidates to the national academies and perhaps a coordinating agency for natural disasters and air-sea rescue operations. Regional commanders would be selected on a competitive basis from the local units.

Level Three: In our new UnState, the regiments and squadrons would undoubtedly reflect ethnic, regional, class, political, religious or any other conceivable tribalism. For the pacifist one can easily hypothesize a unit called, perhaps, the 42nd Quaker Field Hospital Company. Volunteer units have sprung from every group and level of our parents' society. The Regiment is an entity unto itself. The traditional soul of the regiment resides in its ethic, which is defense of the tribal unit, and in the lists of its honored dead.

During the war between the states, the volunteer fire companies of New York raised a regiment and called themselves the New York Fire Zouaves. Outlandishly uniformed in red persian pantaloons, and bright blue vests topped off with a tassled red fez, our smokeaters provided grand targets for North Carolina sharpshooters. Cornelius Vanderbuilt bought himself a battery of artillery and packed them off to the front. The Italian community raised the Garibaldi Legion. My own favorite regiment is the 69th New York Infantry. Originally raising itself as a "hate England" group, the members formed a company of infantry to do battle for the rebel cause. Acquitting themselves by a rather respectable showing under Washington, they returned to New York City at war's end and remained loosely organized as a political and fraternal society. The Regiment came to prominence both famous and infamous in the Civil War. Whilst earning a grudging respect and the nick-name Fighting 69th from one Robert Lee of the opposing side, the Home Guard of the regiment was earning anarchy in the streets during the New York Draft Riots of song and story. Historical rumor-mongers maintain that the legendary Irish Cop was born when the Home Guard defeated the Police and were asked by the civil government, in turn, to form the new Police Department. The Regimental Crest is still formed in the shape of a policeman's shield. The 69th still leads the line of march up Fifth Avenue every Saint Patrick's Day. The spirit still lives on in such organizations as the 69th Veterans Corps and the Sergeants Mess, a watering spot on the second floor of the old Armory where the faithful still sing the Irish songs, tell war stories and

get drunk. The Regiment serves chiefly today as a haven for draft dodgers and war resisters who prefer six years in the National Guard to exile in Canada.

Level Four: The greater mass of the citizenry, with its right to keep and bear arms, would constitute the People's Guerilla. When invasion by a foreign "liberator" comes, as I fear it must, a given region or regions may well be overrun by the enemy. Members of the local regiments and squadrons in "temporarily occupied Anarchia" could simply fade into the crowd to become the cell leaders of the resistance movement, proceeding to raise hell with the enemy personnel, their supplies and communications, while the Regional Commands and local units in "free Anarchia" mobilized for the counter-attack. Defense planners will have to take all conceivable eventualities into account.

The question naturally arises as to what we could do if faced by an aggressor with nuclear capability. I believe that unilateral nuclear disarmament would be not merely a humanitarian gesture, but a policy to our strategic advantage. Our defensive posture would then be basically pentomic, that is, widely dispersed so as to nullify the advantages to be gained by a "first strike." The aggressor would have to literally vaporize all forms of life within our tribal property lines in order to "conquer" us. He would certainly be unable to occupy our territory for a few centuries while the resulting radioactivity dissipated. He would then occupy ashes; hardly a reasonable return on his investment.

I might add that it would be next to impossible to entice our local units into some harebrained foreign adventure such as a war of conquest in, shall we say, Indochina. The great majority of our militia stalwarts would quite sensibly refrain from going and getting themselves killed in some stinking jungle thousands of miles from home. However, getting ourselves killed in some stinking neighborhood in the Bronx is an entirely different matter. And that brings up the unlimited liability clause in the unwritten contract.

The essential basis of the military life is the ordered application of force under an unlimited liability. It is the unlimited liability which sets the person who embraces this life somewhat apart. There are heavy numbers within all this concerning chivalry, honor and integrity. I maintain that these elements constitute far superior guarantees against soldierly

moral inefficiency (cowardice) than the wages and plunder paid to a purely mercenary force. There are occupations in which what is demanded of the practitioners cannot be entirely regulated by monetary contracts. They include those of the priest, the healer, the craftsman, the teacher, the scholar, the seaman and the farmer. There are many ways of looking at a soldier. He can be regarded, rather emotionally and too simply, as a hired assassin. Only those who have not known many soldiers can maintain this view with confidence. A military operation can be regarded as no more than just another engineering project. This is a mistake. It can lead to unfortunate results when the unlimited liability clause is invoked as the operation unfolds.

The soldier has been the target of some of the best invective, Voltaire, for example, or Shaw's. I would particularly recommend the preface to "John Bull's Other Island" as sane and refreshing reading for the regular officers of our future Militia. To see how far wrong Shaw is today is as important as to see how far he is still right. Shaw is as angry as Voltaire and for the same reason: man obstinately remains what he is and declines to become what the radical reformer thinks he ought to be. The rancor this arouses in the radical breast against the military minded is easily understood.

But there are certain satisfactions in military life. Dawn, dusk, moonrise and moonset, what the wind does, the shape and size of woodland, currents and tides, the flow of rivers and the form of clouds, whether the leaf is on the tree or the branches are bare, the seasons, the weather and the stars—these are matters of compelling importance to soldiers, sailors and airmen. There is a certain satisfaction in the active life; in the mastery of complex skills; and in professional association with men of a high average level of integrity. There is satisfaction in service; but it has to be service to that which is worthwhile, not the least of which is service in the defense of life and liberty. It is upon these points that a young volunteer who is considering armed service in our imagined Militia might satisfy himself.

The profession of arms remains an essential social institution. True, it is set a little apart, but not without elegance. It will remain with us for as long as man continues to be what he is, too clever and not too good. This looks like a long time yet. ☹

Bilderberg: Knights of the Round Table

By Eugene Pasymowski & Carl Gilbert

In spite of the historical rivalries and conflicts of Western European nations and the entrenched tradition in the United States of isolation from Europe, the North Atlantic countries have experienced unprecedented cooperation within the past two decades. The dream of a completely unified Western Europe has not yet been achieved, the conflicts have been kept within manageable limits. The Common Market and NATO have been successful. The development of Western Europe as a "Third Force" and a trade rival of the United States is a result of the success of American foreign policy.

This unprecedented period of cooperation is more than a product of simple "nation state" diplomacy. One of the key institutions that has fostered unity and cooperation within the Atlantic Community beyond the old concepts of the "nation state" has been the Bilderberg Group.

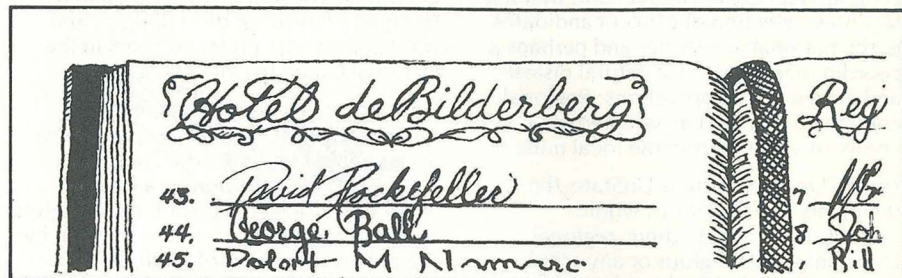
Was Ist Ein Bilderberg?

Oosterbeek is a small town in Eastern Holland. Three days in May, 1954 transformed that town into a meeting place for the power elite of Europe and the United States. The facilities of the town's Hotel de Bilderberg were ideal for a very private conference.

Heading the list of dignitaries were David Rockefeller and Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands. Also in attendance were prime ministers, diplomats, socialists, intelligence agency representatives, international bankers and industrialists from all of the NATO countries. The conference was named the Bilderberg Meeting.

Here the various "leaders" of the Atlantic community were collaborating, yet their popular constituencies knew nothing about the meeting. Only those directly concerned with their activities knew that the meeting even existed. Part of the explanation for this is that the host government for the conference provided top security. In addition, the key international newspapers and wire

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services cooperated by maintaining a press black-out on the conference.

Within the context of such tight security, one observer noted "this conference is considered so important, even the 'leaks' are watertight." [1]

The story of Bilderberg is not just about this one meeting but rather an entire series of meetings that started in 1954 and have continued to this day. Meetings have been held at least once a year under top security at some of the most remote spots in the Atlantic countries.

The people attending these meetings come from the strategic elites which dominate both the political and the socio-economic systems of the various countries. However, the public actions of these individuals would not reveal the common basis of their cooperation in private.

These meetings were an additional confirmation of the "end of ideology" between the West European ruling classes and the so-called "Socialist" opposition. Leading "Socialists" such as Hugh Gaitskell, Gaston Defferre, Guy Mollet and Fritz Erler sat down and cooperated with their alleged political and class opponents. Within the context of Bilderberg, it is not surprising to learn that many of the operations and programs of these "Socialist" parties have been paid for by the United States' Central Intelligence Agency. [2]

America's Holy Crusade

With the end of the Second World War and the death of FDR, the "internationally" minded individuals who controlled the commanding heights of the national economy and the executive branch of government aimed at the creation of a new world order under the guidance of American leadership and the slogans of the United Nations. They warned that the mistake of isolationism of the post World War I period must not be made again. The key objective of the new American policy was the restoration of the old socio-economic systems in Europe

with slightly new window-dressing, containment of the Soviet Union and Communism, and, in general, an attempt to make the entire world safe for American investment and influence. Under this grand strategy the United States, in a sense, would become the British Empire of the twentieth century—without a direct colonial system.

In the process of achieving these objectives, it became clear that a new forum outside of the formal nation-state structures was necessary for the ruling elites of Western Europe and the United States to get together and clear up some of their "misunderstandings" in order to develop further means of cooperation. Such an interlocking system would permit the new transnational groupings to communicate in private and make the necessary decisions to manipulate the formal political structures on both sides of the Atlantic. Consequently, the Bilderberg Meeting was initiated to address the strategic issues of collective security.

Meet the Bilderbergers

The first Bilderberg Meeting in Oosterbeek witnessed many of the divisions between the ideologies of the participants. Political and economic rivals were together at one meeting in the hope that at Bilderberg there could be recognition of common interests and goals of allegedly opposing political rivalry between Europe and America.

The participants of the first Bilderberg Meeting recognized the usefulness of gathering the NATO elite in one place. Hence, the Bilderberg Group collectively agreed to continue meeting on an annual basis.

The authors have obtained from several foreign sources confidential documents printed by the Bilderberg Secretariat. The documents illustrate the development of an organization structure which coordinates the effort of both the American and European power elite. Two years after the first Bilderberg meeting a

Steering Committee was formed, consisting of thirty-nine members (fifteen from the United States). The Steering Committee is "composed of persons who have proved particularly valuable to Bilderberg." [3] In 1959 the Advisory Committee, an inner core group of the Steering Committee, was formed. Its *raison d'être* was "to insure a still closer cooperation and understanding between members of the Steering Committee on both sides of the Ocean." All the Americans on the Steering Committee are members or officers of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), of which David Rockefeller is chairman of the board. It is understandable then, that the American members of the Steering Committee have been associated with many aspects of the Rockefeller financial, industrial and political empire. Indeed, four members of the Steering Committee were also members of the National Finance Group of the "Nelson Rockefeller for President Committee." No Goldwaterites are Bilderbergers!

The best represented industry at Bilderberg is banking. The chairmen of the boards of the Chase Manhattan Bank, David Rockefeller, and of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, Gabriel Hauge, are both Steering Committee members. Three directors of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company have been participants at Bilderberg and one of them, Robert D. Murphy, chairman of Corning Glass International, is on the Steering Committee. A disproportionate share of the participants at the Bilderberg Meeting in Mont Tremblant, Canada, were international bankers. The list included: Wilfrid S. Baumbartner, honorary governor, Banque de France; Louis Camu, president; Banque de Bruxelles; C. Douglas Dillon, president of Dillon, Read and Company and former Secretary of the Treasury; Allen T. Lambert, chairman and president, the Toronto Dominion Bank; Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank.

The industrialists from both sides of the Atlantic are equally impressive. Officers and directors representing General Motors, Standard Oil (N.J.), Ford, General Electric, duPont, Alcoa and Allied Chemical were able to confer with their "competitors" in Europe. Likewise, European industrialists represented such giants as Royal Dutch Shell, Fiat, Pirelli, August Thyssen-Hütte A.G., I.C.I., K.L.M., Unilever, Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., to name but a few.

Lobby Lawyers' Undisciplined Power

"Lobby Lawyers, fixers for a fee" as one Washington columnist calls them, are regular participants at Bilderberg. [4] Two members of the Steering Committee, George Ball and Arthur Dean, are of particular interest to anyone interested in studying the dynamics of international jurisprudence and diplomacy.

Until 1961, Ball was a partner in the firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen and Ball, a firm with intimate establishment entrees. With the advent of the "New Frontier" Ball joined with other "Bilderberg Alumni," [5] as C.D. Jackson termed them, to dominate the highest policy-making levels with the Kennedy Administration. Lobby lawyer Arthur Dean has been co-chairman of the Bilderberg Group since 1957, while also serving on the Steering Committee. Since 1919, he has been a partner in the Wall Street law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, whose senior partners were Allen and John Foster Dulles.

Philanthropic Misanthropes

Recently more attention has been given to the tax-exempt foundations, universities and "research" organizations and their relation to the national power structure. The linkages between these institutions and national policy formation have become increasingly more evident. The dimensions of this have been well documented in the case of the CIA and its use of foundations as conduits of funds for some of its covert activities.

The CIA, unlike the FBI, is not a monolithic organization with a single leadership elite but rather since its creation under the National Security Act of 1947 has represented ideologies of both New Deal Liberalism and militant anti-Communism. Articles in the *Nation*, *Ramparts* and the *Washington Post* have documented the affiliation of foundations and organizations with international operations to the covert activities of the CIA. The subsidized organizations had a liberal ideology which was a good "cover" for the spy agency.

For fourteen years the National Student Association received its CIA money via the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (FYSA). [6] President of FYSA was Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., who is a director of Corning Glass Works and trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation. Another director of Corning Glass Works is Robert D. Murphy. Murphy is chairman of Corning Glass International and he is a member of the Bilderberg Steering Committee. Murphy has also been on the President's

Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities, commonly known as the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (FIAB). [7] John Foster Dulles has been the chairman of the board of both the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), whose past president was Alger Hiss.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has spent its earnings supporting the Bilderberg Group as well as the Foreign Policy Association and the Brookings Institution. The Brookings Institution, located in Washington, D.C., has been represented at Bilderberg by two trustees and its chairman, Eugene R. Black, former president of the World Bank, a trustee of the Ford Foundation and a member of the boards of both Harvard University and Johns Hopkins University. Dean Rusk, former president of the Rockefeller Foundation and Secretary of State, was until 1961 a member of the Bilderberg Steering Committee.

The Ford Foundation, with total assets of three billion dollars, has played an equally significant role within the Bilderberg Group. McGeorge Bundy, president of the foundation, has participated in several meetings while the former chairman of the foundation, John J. McCloy, has attended one meeting. A former president of the foundation, and former coordinator of the Marshall Plan, Paul G. Hoffman, is presently administrator of the United Nations Development Program, a trustee of the University of Chicago and a member of the Business Council. From the various foundations that Andrew Carnegie created there have been eleven trustees attending Bilderberg Meetings of which five are members of the Steering Committee.

The University & The Press

The university as a strategic institution within American society provides both the technical manpower and the ideological justification for the warfare-welfare corporate state. Since the legal and political power of the university system clearly rests in the hands of the ruling class, it follows that as an institution, the university's primary function is to serve the interest of wealth and power rather than free inquiry. Aside from the myriad of schools that serve essentially parochial power structures, it is the handful of elite universities that supply the academic mercenaries for the maintenance of Empire. These

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Fucetola: Screw magazine has been in existence for four years, it has been arrested seven times, and it has been found guilty of obscenity six times. We're told that the ACLU, the defender of free speech, has told the editors of Screw that they give freedom of speech a bad name. I think that's a good way to begin our conversation today. Just why do you give freedom of speech a bad name?

Buckley: Because we do, that's the problem. So many people on the left think freedom of speech is meaningful only as some abstract concept. We use, it, we speak it, we abuse people, we quasi-libel movements. We're antagonistic, we advocate ideas, we're involved in a very exciting, vibrant, journalistic enterprise which is what Screw is, and therefore we're so offensive, vulgar, and repugnant to the sensibilities of the left that they would choose to see us disappear just like the right would like us to stop publication.

It's only been the Liberal Establishment that's attacked us so far, people like Lindsay. He's been the Mayor ever since we've started, and the only

arrests we've got have been from him. He's not the right.

Fucetola: How does an obscenity arrest for a magazine like yours occur? What is it like?

Buckley: Well, normally the arresting officer disguises himself as something or other. The first time he disguised himself as a newspaper boy; the second time he came up as a transvestite. There are many ways that they come up to arrest us.

Goldstein: They came up as a pistol once.

Buckley: As a gun, right. Normally, they try to win the confidence of the arrestee by dressing up as freaks and perverts. But anyway, after they do that, they telephone us and say, "You guys, you're going to have to come down to the station; you're under arrest." That's how it goes. We don't get handcuffed, except this last time, this baby-thing in Mineola. Al was handcuffed and I was handcuffed.

Fucetola: What is "this baby-thing" in Mineola," if you could elaborate?

Buckley: It's a frame-up, first of all.

Goldstein: Jim loved a six-year old, wanted to marry her.

Buckley: It's a famous French story.

What

happened was this nut, and I say "nut" because he was later found to be criminally insane and sent away, was running ads in Screw, with his telephone number and home address, asking for models age eight to fourteen, or something like that. And the ad said, "You must have parents' consent." So we looked at it and looked at it and said, "Gee, it sounds legitimate." We ran it and

it turns out to be that it wasn't legitimate at all. They were taking pictures of kids doing various things with adults. Consequently, we were arrested along with them.

Fucetola: What, exactly, were you arrested for?

Goldstein: On 51 counts, which have since been reduced to 25. So the maximum sentence we can get, instead of 109 years, is 36 years. But, the primary thrust of the indictment is that the ads were for some illegal acts, and therefore we were contributing to illegal acts by running them in Screw. Paradoxically, the same ads appeared in the *Village Voice* and they never came to arrest the publisher of the *Voice*. Equally interesting, the concept they're using to bust us would also result in the *New York Times* and the *Daily News* getting busted for running ads for cigarettes, which have been proven to cause cancer.

Buckley: Not just cigarettes, but even things like knives, since someone can rob or mug somebody with a knife or almost anything.

The point is, what they're doing is really harassment. There's no substance to the charge except they're picking on Screw rather than the *Village Voice* or the *Times* or the *News* because they obviously wish to put us out of business. Around the same time we were arrested, the D.A. of Nassau County, where we got the bust, was named Man of the Month by the *Morality in Media Newsletter*. I think they got the scoop before the press did.

[Al Goldstein and James Buckley are co-editors of Screw magazine, and have just announced that they will be entering the Free Libertarian Party primaries for the mayoralty and city council presidency nominations in 1973. Subscriptions to Screw are available c/o Milky Way Post Office, Box 432-A, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Dollar for a sample issue.—Ed.]

Free Speech & Pornography

Interview With Jim Buckley & Al Goldstein

Interview conducted by
Ralph Fucetola III
& Walter Block

Goldstein: The *Morality in Media Newsletter*, for your readers who aren't aware of it, is under the guidance of Father Hill, a Jesuit priest, who was on the President's Commission of Obscenity, and who voted with the minority. The vote was 12 to 6, the majority voting that all restraints on pornography should be removed. Father Hill felt that the First Amendment should be removed. This is a man who spends his time looking at porn ten hours a day and feels it will rot everyone's mind but his own. He's actually very good proof that looking at porn does rot your mind.

Fucetola: You mentioned the First Amendment. It says, "Congress shall make no laws . . . abridging the freedom of speech." What does that mean, as far as you're concerned?

Goldstein: It means it's a lie, that's what it means. As the jailing of Ralphie Ginzburg showed us, the bars seem to be clinking with greater frequency, not only on political activists, whether it be priests who are against the war in Viet Nam, or Angela Davis, or people who feel that erotica has the same right to exist as schematic diagrams on bombing City Hall. Freedom of speech seems to be in disrepute now.

Fucetola: Then being arrested for pornography is really a political crime?

Goldstein: Yeah, there's a politics of the body. Whether you wish to use your body homosexually or heterosexually.

Buckley: I'm against that, by the way.

Goldstein: . . . or by swinging from a chandelier, you're really dealing with individual rights—versus somebody else presupposing to know what's best for you. It is very political, and it's always amazed me that the left is so enamoured with its own rectum that it doesn't quite see it.

Buckley: We nominated Spiro Agnew as Man of the Year in a special Penis Supplement that we did of *Screw*. The reason that we nominated him was for a quote which was "I am opposed to censorship in all forms."

Goldstein: We call Spiro "the Spiral" because of the syphilis we now know is pulsating through his blood.

Buckley: He should sit up. It's not that he doesn't have it.

Fucetola: The State has rules about slander, but, okay . . .

Goldstein: He's a public character. They have to prove malice.

Fucetola: Right, there's no malice.

Buckley: We have no malice.

Goldstein: I love Spiro.

Buckley: In fact, we feel sorry for the guy. The fact that he's a mainliner . . .

Goldstein: The fact that he's of the Greek culture is not for us to attack the man . . .

Buckley: Certainly not our position.

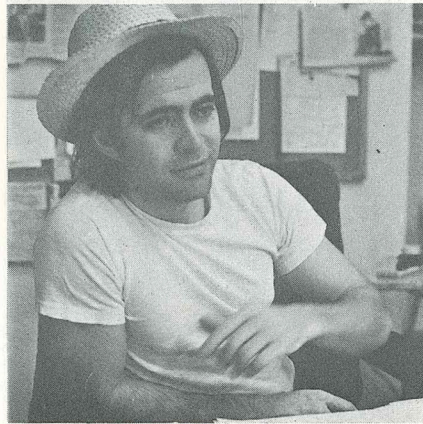
Goldstein: He happens to love three of the Secret Service agents who have been tailing him . . . tailing him is a good word.

Buckley: I'm told two of them love him too.

Goldstein: Yes, but it's not a meaningful relationship. Screw is very political. It really is. We constantly abuse people. We see the world in terms of good guys and bad guys, but there are very few good guys left. Ralph Nader's the last one . . .

Buckley: And me, besides myself.

Goldstein: You're a bad guy to me.



Jim Buckley

Fucetola: What about Ralph Ginzburg?

Goldstein: Ralphie, I can only use obscenities to describe . . .

Buckley: He's a good bad guy.

Goldstein: He's a charlatan.

Buckley: Or a bad good guy.

Goldstein: He's been cited by the Federal Trade Commission on his *Moneysworth*, he's a total bandit. But he shouldn't go to jail for obscenities, he should go to jail for thievery.

Buckley: Personally, we do wish he were a better guy so we could really rally behind him. We still opposed it when he went to jail, but we can't get behind him all the way. We don't like him.

Block: I hate to inject any levity into this serious conversation, but let me ask you a funny question. The usual attack on free speech is that you can't yell "Fire!" in a crowded theatre. That's an excuse they use to abrogate the First Amendment. How would you say that deals with . . .

Goldstein: I've changed it. I've always maintained the John Stuart Mill quote, the new freedom is the right to . . . I almost can't say it.

Buckley: I know you can't.

Goldstein: . . . the right to describe vaginal area—a word beginning with "c", dash, dash, "t"—using that word in a room full of feminists. That, to me, is freedom of speech. If there's a clear and present danger, which with a fire you might prove there is to some degree, that there might be panic, then I would say that in freedom of speech, as in all things, there is some relativity. But sexual freedom, and the right to read what one wishes has in every case proven *not* to be harmful. The empirical evidence is spotty—but check the President's Commission on Obscenity, check the Scandinavian experiment; there really is no cause and effect. So the burden, I think, is really on those who want to censor us to prove that there is a clear and present danger, and I mean a danger beyond sexual activity.

Fucetola: Does the First Amendment talk in terms of harm, or anything else?

Buckley: No.

Fucetola: It says absolutely "no laws." "Congress shall make *no* laws abridging the freedom of speech."

Goldstein: Right, you are what is considered an idealist because you really believe in that.

Fucetola: That document is theoretically the basis of the power of the American government.

Buckley: Actually, the first laws weren't drawn up by Congress, they were drawn up by the various localities and States. I think one of the things the new Supreme Court is trying to do is give the States the right to choose whether something is obscene or not, because I think even they feel that they don't really have the right. In fact, Oregon has just gone the way of Denmark as of February 1.

Fucetola: I'm afraid New Jersey went the opposite way back on January 15, and . . .

Goldstein: Yeah, but it's OK if you smoke pot now, because Cahill's son was busted on pot. That was liberal. So we can only hope that Cahill's son will be caught masturbating with pornography, and then they're going to liberalize the erotica laws there. Apparently, only self-interest will be operative.

One of the interesting things I find is that the opponents of freedom of speech say the Founding Fathers did not mean what they wrote in the First Amendment, yet when it comes to gun control, the Right to Bear Arms, these self-same yahoos and yokels say, "Well, there, we really do have the Right

to Bear Arms, and carry guns, and to knock off Presidents."

Buckley: They're very strict, when it comes to their own means.

Fucetola: It's very interesting. They're not so bluenose about knocking off presidents.

Block: You know, the Elastic Clause, you stretch it whichever way you want. Well, we've discussed the left-wing attacks on pornography. How about the right wing?

Buckley: Actually, I think the Right has been much more insidious. Since they're the people in power, they've been the people who tap our phones, and make sure we get arrested. But they know the value of publicity and I don't think they want to attack us publicly, because they'll only make friends for us.

Goldstein: From the right, we expect it. I think that's why I'm possibly being heavily antagonistic to the left. From the right, I expect nothing. I really don't expect William Buckley to rally to my defense, but I do expect WBAI or the *Nation* or the *New Republic*, or *East Village Other* or the *Ace* to support us. In most cases that support does not come because of very fallacious thinking, such as that we're sexist. I challenge that right at the outset. Where are we sexists? For example, we have Communists in our building, these old Hadassah ladies, and they feel *Screw* interferes with the Revolution—homosexuality does too—because they feel that the Masses should be out rallying around various slogans. The left, which says it believes in freedom, and is anti-establishment, is really in the same bag as the Establishment in trying not only to repress us but to jail us.

Fucetola: What about Women's Lib?

Buckley: Well, we're all in favor of Women's Lib. I can't understand why women are against *Screw*. We run naked pictures of women, but we run naked pictures of men. I think that Women's Lib is just basically anti-sexual, not just anti-*Screw*. When they see anything dealing with the naked body, they go the way of the Weatherman and Weatherwoman, and become very uptight and unliberated about us.

Block: Would you say that this sort of neo-puritanism is widespread? I mean, the whole Women's Liberation Movement?

Goldstein: Parts of it, not all.

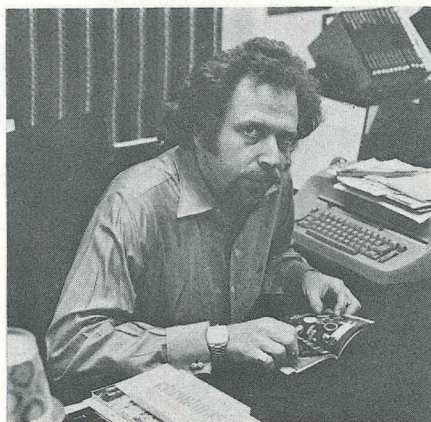
Buckley: Pretty much so, I think.

Goldstein: It depends. For instance, Mary Phillips, one of our editors, came out with a Women's Lib paper called the *New Broadside*. She was a Pan Am stewardess who got fired for writing for *Screw*. Her

credentials in the movement are as good, I feel, as anybody else's, and besides being wife number two of mine, she was also a very competent managing editor of *Screw*. The *New Broadside* was a good paper.

Buckley: But she was branded as a sexist by the rest of the movement because of her association with *Screw*.

Goldstein: True. but then she was still Editor of the *NOW Newsletter*, even after. If we're to judge a sexism charge, if it comes from the Red Stockings or the militant quasi-lesbian group, we must ask: "Who speaks for the left?" There's fragmentation and splintering all over. I would say that any woman who would



Al Goldstein

look at *Screw*, and most women haven't who put us down, would be hard put to nail us on a sexist issue.

We were the first publication to use the Ms. surname. We felt that was valid, not to use Miss or Mrs. Our managing editor of the past year is a female. Our advertising manager . . .

Buckley: She's been a woman her whole life, as a matter of fact.

Goldstein: No, I think just recently. Our advertising manager is a woman. In other words, we're not just talking or theorizing. In terms of power at *Screw*, those reins are run by women, because they happen to be more competent than the men who might have filled the jobs. So I say the sexist charge is crap.

Block: I want to make a comment about the right because I regard myself, and Ralph also, as sort of right-wingers. The libertarian right, that is, as opposed to the Buckley-fascist-Nixon right; as people who really take the things in the First Amendment seriously, and who don't think that our government believes in it. We, as members of the *libertarian* right,

would want to differentiate ourselves from these other "right-wingers."

Buckley: Are you a member of the Libertarian Party?

Block: Yes.

Buckley: Because we endorsed it in this issue of *Screw*; I endorsed it, anyhow.

Fucetola: Oh really? *Far out!!* I think the thing that sets us apart from the left, and certainly from the authoritarian right, is that we're very strong on one thing: individual rights and the absolute primacy of the individual and his right to control his own life. That's where we get the idea of freedom of speech from.

Buckley: I think that's been the conservative viewpoint all along, but it's been twisted. In France, if you're a right-winger, if you're a conservative in France, you're for sexual liberation, for sexual freedom. If you're of the left in France, you're a Puitan. In the United States, it's been twisted because of the extremes.

Fucetola: This twisting is because of the right itself in America. The right was isolationist and individualist and anti-imperialist back before the Second World War, but became captured by the Big Business Establishment, by the Liberal Establishment, and just became an adjunct to the Cold War, through the efforts of people like Buckley, and McCarthy, and that crowd.

Block: People think that the right is puritanical and "Bible-toting." Well, there are certain Bible-toters that I really dig, like John Brown, who was a right-wing Bible-toter if ever there was one. But he didn't like slavery and he attacked all those government forts in the south which supported slavery. Malcolm X, when asked in his most anti-white days, if there was any white who could join the Black Muslims, said that John Brown could because he really took resistance to slavery seriously.

But let's get back to the *Screw* editorial on the Libertarian Party. Why don't you read it, Ralph?

Goldstein: Read it out loud, you might find it interesting.

Fucetola: This is what it says: "Don't vote for shit-heads! Just a gentle reminder during this critical year, don't vote for Nixon. More important shit: there's a new political party coming out of Denver, Colorado, which you might have read about, but which you probably didn't read about, since most of us don't read any more. Its name is the Libertarian Party, and I'm all for it. Some of its stands, which I heartily endorse, are 'Repeal of all

criminal laws in which there is no victim. Full freedom of speech and the press along with repeal of the Federal Communications Act. Opposition to No-knock law," etc., etc., etc.

Buckley: Yeah, basically we stand with the Libertarian Party in opposition to all forms of government repression of liberty. And that's, I think, the whole area where *Screw* is really political. *Screw* is doing what a lot of people are talking about. *Screw* is being free. That's where *Screw* is really political.

Goldstein: And the result is, of course, we're not free, we might be going to jail. In other words, it's the exercise of the freedom which you say you theoretically favor, which causes us to go on trial often, to be handcuffed, to spend \$135,000 out of the corporate pockets. We have not been helped by the ACLU even to file an *Amicus Curiae* brief. We have not been helped by the Playboy Foundation.

Buckley: Nor have we been helped by WBAI.

Goldstein: WBAI! I'm sure the Larry Josephsons and the Bob Fassses [*Josephson and Fass are officers of radio station WBAI—Ed.*] would be the first to be critical of us. They consider us rip-offs, and we think they're typical of the type of people on the left who only favor their own inner coterie.

Buckley: Just to make a point. They've been able to give Ernest Van den Haag a show on the air, and we feel we should have the same right. We know that if we were to have a show on the air, we would bring 10,000 new subscribers to WBAI, which they say they need very badly. But I read in *Gay* a year ago that the Program Director is heir to the Bergdoff-Goodman fortune.

Goldstein: The test of a point of view is that it be repugnant and still be represented. In *Screw*, we'll run an article by a guy who was a writer for *Commonweal* saying why Jim and I should get busted.

Fucetola: Do you feel obligated to run that sort of article?

Goldstein: Yes, I really do.

Fucetola: Why

Goldstein: Because nobody else would. Because I think it's our integrity as newspapermen. Because we consider ourselves journalists, not pornographers.

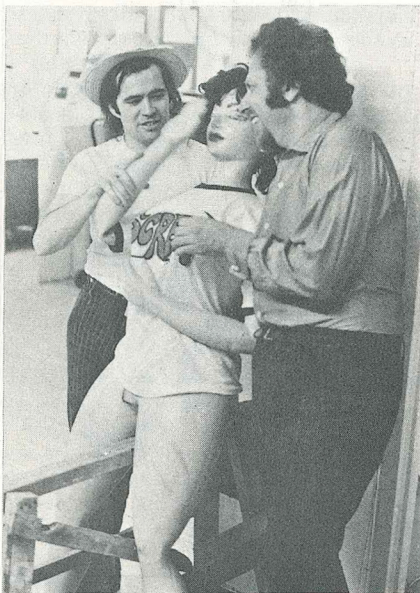
We really are committed—really, very much so—to the whole concept of an honest press, and when we feel our integrity is a little soft,

we admit that in print too, and try to be honest.

Buckley: Just the idea that we can present the other side, knowing that it has so many holes that... hopefully, people will be able to see our side of the story. So we feel we have enough power to run a story opposing us, whereas the other side...

Fucetola: Your reputation depends on your willingness to be real journalists.

Goldstein: Yeah, right. If the anti-



establishment fall prey to the same dogma as the establishment, than what's the difference? This is where the left and the underground have been so self-destructive, so self-defeating. It's tied up with the polemics of evil. Evil has changed a bit, and I hope that the newspaper Jim works for, *Ace*, is not going to fall prey to "All cops are pigs," and "Off the pig," and "Power to the people." I've been saturated with it. It's as vitriolic and as boring to me as a *Daily News* editorial page. Because in *Screw* we've said that, and the left has not found it in its heart to support us. The point is, we think *Screw* should be better than what exists; therefore, we exercise truth, even to lambaste ourselves and each other. I am personally very proud of the integrity of *Screw*. We would let anybody who disagrees with us publish; their story would see the light of day, it really would.

Block: It seems obvious to me that it's very easy to be in favor of speech when you agree with what they are saying.

Goldstein: Absolutely.

Block: The only true test is when you disagree.

Goldstein: We wanted Father Hill to have a weekly column in *Screw* explaining why we should go to jail, why pornography is bad.

Buckley: People like him wouldn't. I never understand that. I would be glad to take a column in, say, the *National Review* or something like that. But they don't want to take the other side.

Fucetola: You people are involved in civil disobedience in many ways. I'm wondering if you see the connection between change in the society, and being willing to disobey? Not being willing to go to jail, but being willing to disobey?

Buckley: One of the things we've never done is disobey, though. I don't think we've gone that far. Since we have to abide by the First...

Fucetola: You've been convicted five times.

Buckley: No, I know. Since the Bill of Rights says there are no laws abridging freedom of speech, we're practicing our right. We've never disobeyed any kind of civil law, because there is no civil law which says we can't print.

Fucetola: You're saying that all obscenity laws are, in fact, unconstitutional.

Buckley: Right. We're challenging the constitutionality of the laws that exist; not that we're breaking them, but that they shouldn't exist in the first place.

Goldstein: Give you a step further, too, from what Jim says. We also publish *Gay*, which is a very successful homosexual publication, with a circulation of about 35,000. Now, the people who read *Gay* theoretically are homosexual, which means they are committing sodomy which is against the law. We very sincerely believe that there should be publications advocating ideas, and also actions, which are, in effect, civil disobedience. We're very proud of *Gay*. As an interesting side-comment, we've never been busted for *Gay*, which seems to show the homosexuals have greater freedom than heterosexuals. That seems to be the only conclusion one can draw from it.

Buckley: That's because they stick together. Once they get into the bathroom...

Goldstein: It's the shower room. They play "drop the soap." We also have a new magazine coming out—let me be commercial because, what the hell, we're not going to get any money for this—it's called *Mobster Times: Crime Does Pay*, which is the first magazine which will glorify the criminal. We will be treating

GO TO 21

Movie Review: Marjoe

Reviewed by Ron Schwarz

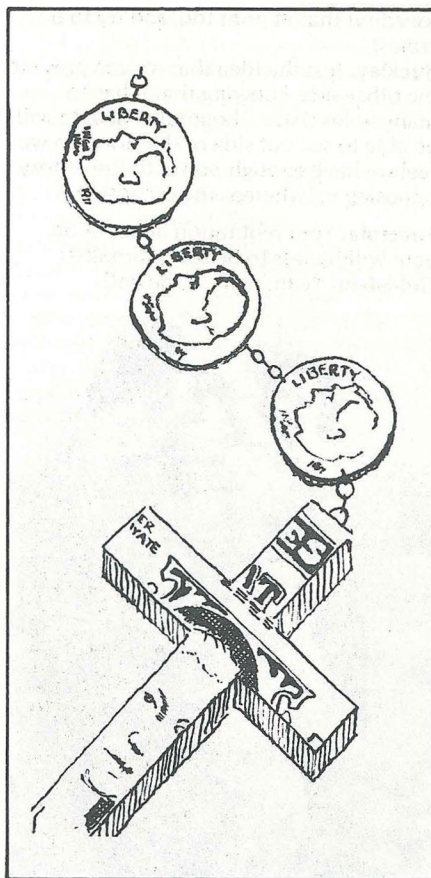
New York has never been particularly fertile ground for faith healers. Despite occasional appearances here, they remain more a Southern and Western phenomenon (not particularly surprising, and due to our greater degree of sophistication, we like to tell ourselves). Certainly, this strangeness is greatly responsible for the box-office success of *Marjoe*, a documentary on a faith healer, which is now completing a rather lengthy engagement in New York area theaters.

Contributing even more to the film's success, however, is the personality of the faith healer himself, who is appropriately named Marjoe, a contraction of Mary and Joseph (I'm sure you remember who *They* were).

Marjoe has decided to quit the faith-healing business, and moreover, to use the opportunity presented by the making of this documentary to describe his activities as a faith-healer with amazing candor.

The curious tent-Revival meetings at which he performs, are filmed with hand-held, constantly moving cameras, which effectively convey the tumultuous nature of these sessions. Interspersed with these are other, more static shots of Marjoe and his cohorts backstage, counting the take in that day's offering, prior to dividing it up, as well as other shots of Marjoe describing his background and experiences in late-night dope-smoking sessions with the film crew, which acts as a sort of substitute audience for us, in reacting to Marjoe's revelations. The film doesn't hesitate showing its crew at work, where need be, which indicates a nice balance in documentary style between the film-as-made-by-unseen-agents on the one hand, and the overdone film-about-filming-a-film tendency on the other.

And what of Marjoe himself? He's in his twenties, with rather long, curly blonde hair, and an attractively cynical attitude. He's been doing the Revival thing since early childhood, when he was his preacher father's "boy wonder" gimmick, earning the old man a fortune, little of which the boy ever saw (ah, charity). Such a background makes Marjoe's decision to quit faith-healing somewhat more significant, although the film fails to present his precise motivation for doing so. Since the film suggests that he has been turning on, the consequent change in values this entails may have been a factor, along with the desire he expresses to become an actor, or perhaps because he has been "tainted by the devil," as David Wilkerson, one of his former colleagues, asserts.



One's first reaction to Marjoe's *shtick* is surely a negative one: repulsed by the mysticism, the fraud, the irrationality.

Marjoe, however, sees himself as an entertainer, deliberately imitating the gestures and mannerisms of Mick Jagger, and indeed, if received in this light, a much more sympathetic picture emerges. The people attending certainly get their money's worth: as far as audience participation is concerned, Marjoe's technique is superb. We see Marjoe singing, moaning and shrieking on stage, with almost the entire audience (mostly old) out of their seats, either dancing with joy in the aisles (in a rather grotesque parody of the dancing style of dope-smoking young people) or are moaning and writhing on the floor (in what looks suspiciously like sexual ecstasy). However, since dope and sex are virtually unknown in most areas of rural America, such behavior is definitely cool for those who are Possessed by the Spirit of the Lord.

Besides, I venture to say that witnessing a genuine miracle *must* be one of the grooviest things a person can do in, say,

Dubuque or Council Bluffs. There are enough people around with psychosomatic illnesses, who can be touched by the hand of God (watch 'em fall), and rise up healed. Anyway, who'd have the nerve to admit that God wouldn't heal *them*?

I'm reminded of a faith-healer I saw on television in Los Angeles doing a live telecast from some stadium. After laying 'em in the aisles (literally), he approached an old woman, who complained of ear trouble. After praying and laying on of hands, and lots of shouting (she didn't fall), he pronounce her ear cured, and began thanking the Lord. The woman (barely audible) was heard to murmur "But it's my other ear!" Without missing a single amen, the healer assured her that God certainly knew which ear to cure, and quickly moved on to the next infirmity.

Of course faith healers are ridiculous mystics; most people realize that. What is more important to realize, however, is that faith healers are only a slight exaggeration of our society's respected and established religious institutions. Certainly both groups share the same basic premises and values; they differ only in that faith healers are less hypocritical than the others: they really believe what the Bible says. In many ways, one can respect them more than the "respectable" churches. They defraud the gullible it's true, but give them a great show, and then go away and leave them alone afterwards. Established churches defraud the people just as much, but what's worse, instill in them a perverted and damaging moral code.

It's no coincidence that the most frequent church-goers are also the least tolerant and most psychologically repressed segment of our society. It's in the nature of every religion to regard its particular dogma as the One and Only Truth and to teach its adherents first, not to question anything, but to accept it all on faith; second, to regard any other ideas as not only untruthful, but often dangerous; and, third, that it's a moral duty to enlighten non-believers to the Truth, often whether those non-believers want to hear it or not.

Certainly faith healers are more interesting and more colorful than their straight counterparts. *Marjoe* amply proves this. Indeed, so much so, that at times it is hard to believe the film is non-fiction. See it for yourself; you'll probably find it fascinating, and perhaps enlightening as well. **E**

Book Review: Eyewitness in Greece

Reviewed by David Stewart

Eyewitness in Greece: The Colonels Come to Power

by John A. Katris

New Critics Press, St. Louis, c.1971, \$9.95

In the introduction to *Eyewitness*, Vassilis Vassilikos states: "Like its earlier counterpart, *The Birth of Fascism* by Angelo Tasca, a political exile of the Mussolini years, [*Eyewitness In Greece*] describes the almost mathematical political equation that leads inevitably to dictatorship . . . as Tasca said in 1926, 'What happened in Italy could spread or happen anywhere.' History has vindicated him, but we hope it will not vindicate Katris. . . . Personally, I devoured the book as if reading a detective story, or rather as if watching a horror film I had seen in the past. . . . I was angry at myself for not remembering so many details. And it is these details that give the book its immense authenticity."

I second that observation. Although the American libertarian opposes on principle the current Greek dictatorship and argues against the flow of American dollars and material to it, the problem has been that no full account of the atrocities committed against freedom by Papadopolous has been available for a wide-range, full-scale intellectual attack on that regime.

Well, here it is, a stunningly well-documented and eminently readable history of political Greece, concentrating on the years 1960-1970. An account of the entwined chaos of a monarchy, a republic and a rich, pampered and powerful oligarchy struggling to control a country of fewer than nine million people, a struggle which led, in bitterly-contested but logical steps, to the junta of April 21, 1967, "the Night of the Colonels." The players: Frederika, Constantine, Karamanlis, the old King Paul, the heroic but enigmatic Papandreou, and, rising like a phoenix out of Nazi (and CIA) ashes, George Papadopolous.

Here are the atrocities: the assassinations—including that of George Lambrakis, the young parliamentary hero, upon which the movie *Z* was based—the mass arrests, the abolition of trials, the terrorism, the censorship, the extortion, the expropriations. Here are the rationalizations, schemes and pressure of the State. Here are Bouboulina Street and the torture of Electra Papa. And, ugliest of all, here are the taxpayers of the United States: the Patton tanks rumbling down

the boulevards of a bewildered Athens, the American computers set up by American systems men to organize the files on Greek "dissidents"—all 1,500,000 of them—the American equipment and training and umpiring, CIA encouragement, State Department complicity, and N.A.T.O. assistance—along every bloody step of the way.

Author Katris was a correspondent and political editor for several newspapers in Athens for thirty-five years. It is apparent from the occasional adjective, emphasis or "aside" that Katris' own ideology embraces a kind of "benevolent" welfare statism. This is unfortunate but does not damage the book—the target of which is fascism. Katris knows fascism intimately. He depicts it mercilessly. He has drawn from the first-hand knowledge of a lifetime of friendships, enmities, contacts and alliances the raw material for a fascinating, compelling and terrifying book: an objective and passionate book.

My only regret—although I can understand to a certain degree the reason for the shortcoming—is that the area of U.S. involvement is the area least well documented by the author. I would like to have seen statistics, sums, dates and details of the aid that this country has provided such a regime, and the names of the government officials responsible for providing it.

There is a saying which goes: judge your friends by their enemies. Katris is a friend. The phrase turned around becomes: judge your enemies by their friends. I predict that any begrudging respect you may have for, say, Spiro Agnew, will vanish when you read this book and learn the nature of the policies of the men he has been praising. *Eyewitness in Greece* is an uncompromising indictment and, to use someone else's term, provides "intellectual ammunition" to last a lifetime. I enthusiastically recommend it. ☉

Letters

Continued from 5

More Peden Vs. LeFevre On Voting

The essential difference between Bob LeFevre's understanding of the ethics of libertarianism and my own is quite simple. I distinguish between the moral legitimacy of violence, or action taken in self-defence of one's life or liberty, and the moral legitimacy of violence or action taken to deprive someone else of his life or liberty. Once one is prepared to make such a distinction between the violence of self-defense and the violence of aggression, libertarian politics becomes an ethical possibility. It is a politics which defends the life and liberty of men against the aggressive encroachments of the coercive State, and attempts to liberate them from existing coercive State power. I reject the pacifist position that treats both forms of "violence" as moral equivalents.

I am also accused of advocating that libertarians force everyone to be a libertarian, and that "those who are at the mercy of those who hold power" will be compelled into a state of anarchy by libertarian power-brokers. Mr. LeFevre here seems to be saying that those who want a State cannot be opposed without denying them their rights. Does he really believe that the alleged right to compel others to obey the State is morally equivalent to the right of libertarians to be free of State coercion? No man has the right to be a master; no group of men has the right to extend their power over other men by coercion.

Finally, Mr. LeFevre asks what history has to say of libertarians who won political power through the electoral process. Did they gladly give up their power? The picture is, as one might expect, mixed. The English Radicals and Liberals did not abolish the State when they achieved political power at various times in the 19th century because that was not their intention! But they did abolish human slavery by act of Parliament; they won religious liberty and civil equality for Catholics and Jews and disestablished the Protestant Church in Ireland; they abolished the Corn Laws and broadened the practice of free trade; they gave the workers the right to freedom of association which permitted the legal functioning of trade unionism; they espoused a foreign policy of peace, anti-militarism and anti-imperialism. That they did not achieve perfect consistency in their libertarian politics should not detract from their very real accomplishments. That they failed

ultimately to free England of the last remnants of feudalism, mercantilism, imperialism and statism does not mean that no one should ever try to follow in their footsteps.

In fact, that is the heart of the matter. Human society is always in flux; men make history by their actions or inactions. The future of liberty is in our hands—even if we choose to sit on them.

Joseph R. Peden

[Joseph R. Peden is the publisher of Libertarian Forum and Professor of History at Baruch College, C.U.N.Y. The original exchange between Messrs. LeFevre and Peden appeared in the October **Outlook**.—Ed.]

Who's laughing?

In a letter to the editor, July-August 1972 **Outlook**, Mr. Elton Chalmers writes of A is A records, a Colorado company. This letter is to inform you that "A is A" is a trademark of Mega, a Michigan company which currently publishes *A is A Newsletter* and *A is A Libertarian Directory*. We would consider the use of "A is A" in connection with the sale of records to be an infringement of our property rights.

Dale Haviland
Editor, *A is A Newsletter*
Brighton, Michigan

[?—Ed.]



Hess

Continued from 9
their actual cost (remember the DDT problem)?

The subject is nothing less than the subject of the human condition itself inasmuch as tools are both the way we survive and a way we most savagely abuse each other and the planet.

Please, then, think about it and keep in touch.

Co-operation, I have found, is itself a tool of considerable strength.⊕

[Readers interested in joining Karl Hess in this endeavor may reach him c/o **Outlook**, 208-A Mercer Street, New York, N.Y. 10012.—Ed.]

Pasymowski & Gilbert

Continued from 12

mercenaries form the academic procession to Bilderberg each year. They have included the presidents, trustees and faculty members of Harvard, M.I.T., Johns Hopkins, University of Chicago, Columbia, Yale and Cornell, to name a few. The last three mentioned universities had their presidents, Andrew Cordier, Kingman Brewster, Jr., and James Perkins respectively, as Bilderberg participants.

One of Harvard's "overseers," David Rockefeller, is a member of the Bilderberg Steering Committee and also manages to be a life trustee of the University of Chicago and chairman of the Rockefeller University. - Another overseer of Harvard is C. Douglas Dillon, a Bilderberg participant and a trustee of the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA). Four other Bilderbergers are also IDA trustees, one being James Perkins, former president of Cornell University and a trustee of the Rand Corporation, the leading military "think tank" in the United States.

The key media of mass communications have been well represented at the Bilderberg meetings. The major newspaper of record, *The New York Times*, has sent several key individuals to the conference. The list included the late Arthur Hays Sulzberger, C.L. Sulzberger, James Reston, Max Frankel and Thomas Wicker. The chairman of the board of *The Washington Post*, Frederick S. Beebe, has attended one meeting. C.D. Jackson of Time, Inc. played an important role in the early Bilderberg meetings, Gardner Cowles of Cowles publications has been at several, and in addition, such newsmen as Joseph Kraft and Joseph C. Harsch have attended.

Bilderberg Format and Agenda

The meetings are held for three days in rather remote locations offering many of the major comforts of life. At the conference the participants are housed in one location (usually a hotel) and are protected by a vast security network. The discussions are organized around previously arranged topics, and a few background papers are sent to each participant. Over the years the topics discussed have centered around the political, economic, and military problems of the Atlantic alliance. The issues of the third world and the question of underdevelopment have been discussed at Bilderberg. The following are the agendas from two Bilderberg Conferences:

1963

I.—The balance of power in light of recent international developments. This item will cover changes in power relations—political, economic and military—between the Communist and Western countries and inside each group. **II.**—Trade relations between the U.S.A. and Europe in the light of the negotiations for Britain's entry into the Common Market. **III.**—Trade relations between the Western World and the developing countries.

1967

I.—(a) Do the basic concepts of Atlantic cooperation remain valid for the evolving world situation? (b) If not, what concepts could take their place? **II.**—The technological

gap between America and Europe with special reference to American investments in Europe.

Within the narrow political limitations on the invitations, i.e., "anyone who belongs to a country that believes in defending Western ethical and cultural values, and himself shares these ideals," [8] the political debate can be quite varied. In the discussion of point one at the 1967 meeting, one Bilderberg document read: "that 98 interventions (speeches) occurred among 72 speakers, consisting of 86 different positions, the number of conflicting positions is greater than the number of speakers but not all the speakers managed to defend the same position twice." [9] However, this division took place before the Russian actions in Czechoslovakia and the winds of detente were changing the Cold War images of the world.

The discussions at Bilderberg are limited in scope since some participants are still afraid to make known their opinions and the people invited generally share a common point of view. Some participants who do not believe in German reunification have been afraid to make their views known during discussions on Germany. The American delegation to Bilderberg seems to be the most monolithic as compared to other countries. Individuals that have major moral objections to Vietnam or NATO policy have never been invited. Joseph E. Johnson, a key official on the American Steering Committee and President Emeritus of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which is ostensibly dedicated "to hasten the abolition of international war. . . ." said he would never invite Linus Pauling to a Bilderberg meeting because of Pauling's manner in objecting to the war in Vietnam during a conference sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. [10] While making the statement this member of the Steering Committee could not find the time to raise any moral objections to the activity of the American military forces in Vietnam.

The participants are invited because they are known to the Steering Committee through similar activities and life style. The backbone of the American group have been consistently been hawkish on most questions of foreign policy. In the Eisenhower period and the early sixties, these individuals were part of the web of interests that were concerned with developing new weapons, testing atomic bombs, and increasing the defense expenditures, i.e., the myth of negotiating from strength. This program meant trying to convince the American people that radiation from atomic weapons was not a major health hazard and atomic warfare was a method to defend freedom, i.e., "the willingness to engage in nuclear war, when necessary, is part of the price of freedom." [11]

The major advances in policy that the Bilderberg meetings have created have been in the area of European integration, directly contributing to the Treaty of Rome and the Common Market. [12] The major stress of the Bilderberg conferences has been in fostering increased cooperation and unity within the Atlantic Community.

American graduates of the Bilderberg meetings

have played important roles in the making of American policy. This has been evident in the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations, where Bilderberg "alumni" included Dean Rusk, George W. Ball, George McGhee, Walt Whitman Rostow, McGeorge Bundy, Robert McNamara, Arthur Dean, Paul Nitze and Henry A. Kissinger. These individuals have all played a consistent role in stressing the hard line and seem unaware of the dangers of the "military industrial complex."

In understanding the importance of Bilderberg, it is important to remember that this is not just a series of meetings. All the people who have attended the conferences get annual reports, and have almost automatic entree into additional contacts with fellow participants. To help this process along, the organization provides up-to-date addresses of all participants in the meetings. Hence, Bilderberg has contributed to the creation of a transnational or international group. Perhaps Bilderberg has been more important in creating new forms of organization beyond economic cooperation.

Bilderberg participants comprise a self-conscious elite which takes the position that "political decisions of great magnitude are rarely understood by the public at large," [13] hence, the Bilderberg group has become an intervening factor that has helped maintain the Atlantic Community. Unfortunately, the more basic issues of peace in the world and disarmament have not been aided by the Bilderberg group. Against the madness of the arms race and atomic weapons, the agents for peace have been the anti-war groups and such international conferences as Pugwash. [14]

The political limitations placed on the Bilderberg meetings has meant that individuals and groups seeking significant change in the Atlantic Community that would have either brought the world closer to peace or limit the military-industrial complex were not invited. Compare the function and membership of the Bilderberg meetings with the Pugwash Conferences sponsored by Cyrus Eaton. The Bilderberg meetings are a place where the sophisticated members of the ruling class and their retainers can meet to circumvent the formally constituted political institutions of their respective governments, i.e., congress, parliament, etc. The Jeffersonian principal that "... the ultimate power in society [must be] in the people themselves" has been reversed by the contemporary Hamiltonianism of the liberal-imperialist Bilderberg clique.

Conclusion

It has been the fashion of most social scientists to use a pluralist model of American society in which there is no power elite or governing class. In writing their articles and books, these men conveniently omit all the data that would suggest other models of American society, and the curse of neo-Marxism and economic determinism descends on the heads of those who point out the intimate relations between economic and political power in America.

The issues raised in this article are not settled by talking about the "sincerity" of John Foster Dulles. Nor can they be settled by treating each new atrocity of American foreign policy

as an "accident" caused by a lack of communications. Rather, one must see that foreign policy (for the last two decades, at least) has been made by people who wanted to make the world safe for American investment and trade. The overwhelming majority of the American people and even the Congress have been made impotent in the formulation of American policy. The Bilderberg Group is one manifestation of a trans-national closed elite which has implemented its privately formulated plans by careful manipulation of information and the mass media.

Footnotes

1. "Even the Leaks are Watertight," *Daily Sketch* (London), April 3, 1967.
2. "Aid by C.I.A. Put in the Millions; Group Total Up," *New York Times*, February 19, 1967, p. 1.
3. Joseph H. Retinger, *Bilderberg Meetings* (unpublished confidential report, November 1966), p. 14.
14. Edith Kermit Roosevelt, "Lobby Lawyers: Hidden World of Secret Pressures," *Manchester [N.H.] Union Leader*, October 31, 1968, p. 20.
5. Alden Hatch, *H.R.H. Bernhard Prince of the Netherlands* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1962), p. 223.
6. *New York Times*, loc. cit. 7.
- "President Revives Intelligence Board," *New York Times*, May 5, 1961, p. 3.
8. Retinger, op. cit., p. 8.
9. "Max Kuhnstamm's Summary of Discussion Which Took Place at the Bilderberg Conference in Cambridge, England—April 2, 1967," Confidential correspondence from Max Kuhnstamm to H.R.H. Bernhard.
10. From interview with Joseph E. Johnson, August 15, 1968.
11. *Rockefeller Brothers Fund Report*, 1958.
12. Hatch, op. cit., p. 223.
13. Retinger, op. cit., p. 4.
14. Barbara Ward Jackson, "A Stevenson Memorial," *Saturday Review*, July 9, 1966, p. 19. ☐

[For a complete list of Bilderberg participants from 1955-1968, see *Congressional Record*, Extension of Remarks, September 15, 1971, pp. E9615-E9624. For more background information on this subject, the authors especially recommend Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy & Hope: A History of the World in Our Time* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), pp. 131-133, 581-583 & 928-956. Many of the sources cited above are unpublished. If the reader is interested in following them up, he can contact the authors c/o *Outlook*, 208-A Mercer Street, New York, N.Y. 10012.]

Interview

Continued from 17

people like Rockefeller, Joe Kennedy, and "Big Al" Capone all in the same light. There's no difference. What's that thing you did on our friend in Washington?

Buckley: LBJ and George Metesky. We've uncovered what seems to be the truth that Lyndon Baines Johnson actually died in Dallas in November, 1963, and that George Metesky, the mad bomber, was plucked from the state mental institution and sworn in as President on Air Force One. And that's in the first issue of *Mobster Times*. It's very revealing.

Fucetola: Would it have made any difference if LBJ had lived?

Goldstein: He might have been softer. No sane person would have done to Vietnam what George Metesky did.

Fucetola: Do sane people rise in politics and become Presidents?

Goldstein: Probably not, but it's the degree of insanity. I think what we are speaking about—your readers will be the first to know about it—I think it will be a front page story in the *New York Times*, the fact that all the while we thought it was Johnson, all the time it was Metesky. In fact, the children, and Lady Bird, and...

Buckley: They still believe it's Johnson.

Goldstein: They don't know. Right. Probably they were all eunuchs.

Block: I'd like to register a little disagreement with you on criminality. It seems to me to be a high insult to someone like Al Capone to link Joe Kennedy or Rockefeller with him because it seems to me there's a great difference: namely, the question of hypocrisy. Al is a bad guy and that's it, whereas these white-collar criminal types are sanctified and looked up to, etc. I admit there are certain similarities, but I insist we keep the differences in mind, too.

Buckley: We had the same problem at first, but we decided to glorify them all, so we're not putting down Joe Kennedy. We're glorifying Joe Kennedy and John D. Rockefeller, as well as Al Capone. We think they all did marvelous jobs in their respective careers.

Fucetola: What makes a person a criminal?

Buckley: Success. Success makes a person a criminal. You can't...

Fucetola: Isn't Screw successful?

Buckley: [Laughs] No, it's not. When it's successful, we'll be... we are considered criminals, you see. So, in a way, that's true.

Fucetola: What's your criterion for putting somebody in *Mobster Times*?

Goldstein: Vantage point, really. It depends. One man's hero is another man's criminal.

Fucetola: What's your vantage point?

Goldstein: I was, of course, very anti-establishment. We would take J. Edgar Hoover, as we have on this issue, and, instead of making him a hero deserving of a television serial, he is listed as the most elusive criminal of the last fifty years.

Fucetola: Do you really mean he's a criminal or are you just doing a satire?

Buckley: Yeah, I know we have a problem because we glorify the criminal. By calling him a criminal, we glorify him.

Goldstein: There's a problem there, too. We are, of course, trying to put him down and ridicule him, and that's where it becomes sort of diffused.

Fucetola: You see, libertarians have a very specific definition of criminality. A person who is an aggressor is a criminal. That's what being a criminal means, it means being an aggressor. People like LBJ and all the rest of that crowd are, in fact, aggressors, whether they are aggressors because they throw people in jail for obscenity laws, or whether they are aggressors because they rob people and call it taxation. They're still aggressors. That's why we would take you seriously. They really are criminals.

Block: And we would make a very big distinction between people who succeed monetarily through criminality, and people who succeed monetarily through honest effort,

like selling a product that consumers want.

Buckley: Yeah, we do.

Block: So I certainly wouldn't consider anyone who's successful at making large packets of money a criminal.

Goldstein: You have a problem, though. For instance, HFC loans money at 18% a year, 1-1/2% a month, a very high rate—usury, really. Chemical Bank is six or seven per cent. . . .

Buckley: Up to eleven percent, Chemical Bank.

Goldstein: Jim and I interviewed a Shylock, nice, little Italian man. He lends money at some incredibly high rate. . . .

Buckley: Well, it's twenty per cent, only.

Goldstein: We interviewed him, not from a moral point of view, but explaining to our readers how they too can set up their own business. How their capital can triple in six months. How this is risk capital and is capitalism at its best.

Block: Right on.

Fucetola: That's why the interest rates are so high.

Goldstein: We want to bring in more small businessmen. Why should banks be franchised to loan money? Let's bring in an influx of new people.

Fucetola: That would probably drive down the interest rates, in fact.

Goldstein: Exactly.

Buckley: If money were tighter, interest would go to usurious rates. If there weren't any money around, you'd be paying forty or fifty per cent.

Fucetola: I wish you wouldn't use strange words. Usury. That's an old Christian word. It means that God said that above x%, an interest rate is evil.

Block: But interest rates are dependent on supply and demand.

Goldstein: But, you see, that's a value judgment. How do you define crime? It's OK for HFC to loan money, but this little Italian friend of ours will get busted for breaking the law.

Here's another problem. I have certain tools in my house now, for which, if I was busted, I would be arrested for having burglar tools. But no, not really. I'm taking a locksmith course from a mail order place which advertises in *Official Detective* and I'm learning to be a locksmith. Actually, I'm learning to be a burglar, but I can't get busted for it. Now, am I a criminal or am I not. It depends on the definition.

Fucetola: Of course, with the government's definition, you may be a criminal at any moment without knowing about it. Certainly, our definition would be different. You've actually got to commit an act of aggression, a very specific act of aggression; this is a more sane way of approaching criminality.

Goldstein: You can learn locksmithing from *Mobster Times*.

Buckley: Which goes back to the ad thing that we ran. In other words, if Al does commit burglary with those tools, can those people who ran the ads, and those who sell them, be arrested?

Fucetola: Under the legal criteria used to arrest you people in the Baby caper, yes.

Block: That's so much the worse for that legal

criteria. Let's ask one last question. Whither

Screw? What's the future of *Screw* magazine?

Buckley: *Screw* is buying a country.

Goldstein: Jim wants to buy a country, and, you want to tell them about. . . .

Buckley: The *Screw* skyscraper.

Goldstein: Yeah, the building.

Buckley: As soon as *Life* folds, of course, *Time* is going on its way out as well, it will be replaced by the *Screw* building, and with *Screw* flashing on and off over the city of New York.

Goldstein: A phallic shape. When the tip of the phallus grows red, you'll know it's going to rain.

Buckley: I just want to mention we'll also take over the Times Square Building, which is now Allied Chemical, and on New Year's Eve, it will be an ejaculation through the tip.

Fucetola: Ah, I like that. A climactic way to start the new year?

Goldstein: We also have WBAI now under arrest. We have 14 gun-toting people. If those people want revolution, we're going to give it to them.

Block: Thank you very much, Al and Jim. ☺

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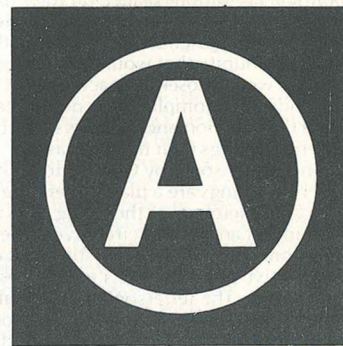
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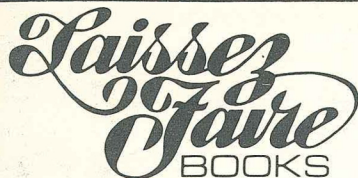
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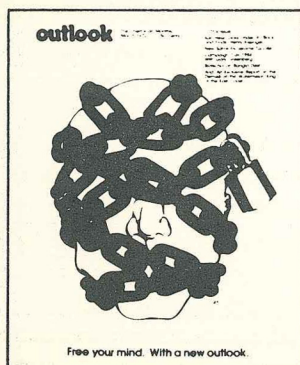
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