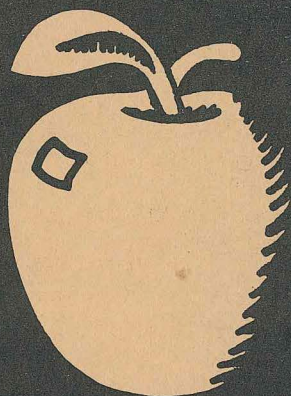


The Last Whole
Abolitionist



(depending on your outlook)

abolitionist

Volume II

Number 11

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To Our Readers

by Jerome Tuccille

Beginning in March, 1972, the libertarian movement will enter a new phase. With the next issue, under the guidance of a new editorial board, the *Abolitionist* will convert to a new size, format and name, *Outlook*. *Outlook* will be larger in size and intention. We dare to stick our necks way out and attempt to fill the vacuum created by the lack of a national political magazine with a libertarian orientation.

We strive to become the (if you'll pardon the expression) *National Review* of the libertarian movement. Or the *New Republic* at least.

Whether or not we will succeed depends, of course, on the quality of the product we put out. But it also depends to a great extent on you, the libertarian faithful. For a publication of the scope we envision requires subscribers, advertisers and others fired with the spirit of financial generosity. In short, we need bread, otherwise known as legal tender. We need people willing to spend \$5.00 a year (our new subscription rate) for the funniest, most irreverent and, at the same time, most pertinent political journal in existence anywhere.

We will, indeed, rake the muck and sling it in the faces of the assorted thieves, frauds, murderers, scoundrels and connivers who flesh out this society of ours. We will also zero in on the key issues of the day—drugs, crime, economics, taxation, amnesty for draft evaders, etc.—and analyze them from a consistent libertarian perspective.

Going national, as we hope to do, means abandoning much of the intra-family squabbling that has characterized the movement over the past few years. Your new editor-in-chief has always been a man of peace, tranquility and even disposition. (Someone recently published a book called *It Usually Begins With Ayn Rand* using my name as a pseudonym, but, I assure you, I had nothing whatsoever to do with it.) So, we extend the olive branch of peace to all others parading under the libertarian banner (reserving, of course, the right to viciously attack deviationists wherever they appear). We will concentrate on general political and social issues, and leave the bickering to others.

We invite from our readers manuscripts, up to ten typewritten pages, on any major subject they care to tackle - the only stipulation being that the content is topical and practical rather than philosophical (there are other journals for that). We are interested in seeing meaty, thought-provoking discussions of concrete issues, fiction and nonfiction satire, poetry, short stories, movie and book reviews, just about anything that reflects a libertarian interpretation of contemporary issues. Alas, at present we can only offer would-be contributors ten free copies of the issue he or she is published in. We promise to read everything that is submitted and *return those manuscripts accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope*. Each submission should be typed and double-spaced.

And so we face the future with optimism, eagerly girding ourselves for combat. We will take on all comers regardless of race, creed, color, sex or ideology, at any time and place. It is a deadly contest we undertake, but we are committed and there is no turning back. All spoils to the winner.

Starting in the March issue, *Outlook* will begin serialization of a wicked new satire by Jerome Tuccille. The title will be *Fun City Shenanigans*, and the cast of characters is as follows:

John Laffaday
Mitch Fitzberger
Bill Birchfield, Jr.

Mayor of New York City
Commissioner of Human Resources
Conservative intellectual and
editor of *American Inquisition*
Leader of the New York Archdiocese
A white revolutionary
A black revolutionary
First Irish pope of the
Roman Catholic Church

Moe Klotz
Mario Castanetta
Sancho Rosalez
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Leaders of the New Regime

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Letters to the Editor

To The Editor:

You confuse Ayn Rand and the *Objectivist* with yourself. Any Libertarian publication that would print a tribute in any form to Nikita Khrushchev is not only an embarrassment to the libertarian cause but also an outright disgrace to that cause. One does not 'pay homage' to a mass murderer.

Miss Rand's remarks concerning anarchism may not have been objective but to drop context to the degree that you did and to try to pretend that Miss Rand has offered nothing to libertarian thought and in fact has nothing to offer is such an extreme blanking out of reality that it staggers my imagination.

Since Miss Rand has so much more to offer libertarian thought than you could ever hope to offer, I'll continue to hold her as foremost spokesman for the libertarian movement.

One more question. Do you really believe that there would have been a Libertarian Conference had Ayn Rand not existed?

Yours Truly,
Robert Cassella

Do you really believe there would have been a Libertarian Conference had Khrushchev accepted JFK's invitation to a nuclear pillow fight over Cuba? Ed.

To The Editor:

We would like to commend John V. Peters for the ideas he endorsed in his 'letter to the editor', (*Abolitionist*, Oct., 1971) entitled, "For an Effective Conspiracy". If a rational anarchistic society is to come about, it will only be the result of intense intellectual efforts such as Mr. Peters suggests. The ultimate determiners of conditions of human existence are ideas. When the logical idea of the illegitimacy of the State penetrates the consciousness of individuals (especially leaders) in reasonable numbers, it will filter down by social-metaphysical osmosis to most of the remaining population. When this occurs, people will refuse to support the State. In short, when we succeed in *ideologically* disarming the State by the conscious, deliberate, and intense propagation of rational anarchistic ideas, we will also simultaneously succeed in eliminating the need to *physically* disarm them. The one condition goes with the other.

Our second comment is addressed to some of your editors, such as John Brotschol, Ralph Fucetola III, and Jerome Tuccille. Our question is: are you gentlemen anarchists or not? Please tell your readers because your position is not clear from the writings we have seen. If you are not anarchists, then you

must advocate some sort of *political* structure (Libertarian government?) which would *have* to maintain itself by aggression, and we are sure that you gentlemen would claim to be opposed to aggression! If this is so, on what grounds do you hold that *your* politics is any different *in principle* to what exists now? On the other hand, if you are anarchists, (and if you are opposed to government in principle you must be), on what grounds do you engage in the political process?

If the State is illegitimate, then how will partaking in the activities which bring about and perpetuate the State, help us? The time and effort put into political activities is time and effort which *could* be (as Mr. Peters states) put into intellectual, academic, and journalistic effort which might cause millions of people to cease even looking to the State for help! If Ralph Fucetola III spends his time in politics certain things offer. First, he morally sanctions the political process by deliberately partaking in it. Secondly, he thereby directly sanctions the use of the State to achieve certain ends. Now if the State is illegitimate to use as a means to an end, *by what rule of logic, or epistemology, does it become legitimate for an anarchist to use the State*, (which means the use of aggression) *for his ends*, in the presence of the many *moral* alternatives, such as outlined by Mr. Peters?

At a political meeting about four years ago, we can recall being present when Objectivists, who held the same contradictory ideas which you gentlemen are entertaining, *urged* those who desired a non-coercive society to go out and vote for Nixon. At that time, Nixon *seemed* to be a great improvement over the Johnson administration. Nixon's political reputation at that time indicated that he was an advocate for "free enterprise." The fact is, the only tool a politician has is aggression! Anyone entering the political arena *must*, because of the nature of government and politics, move toward greater and greater evil; so why would rational men want to support any politician, regardless of his promises? History at least, if not reason, should tell these gentlemen that the reliance upon a politician's promise to lessen or abolish governmental aggression is tantamount to relying on a termite's promise not to eat so much, or quit eating trees.

To our mind, your magazine will accomplish far more toward the goal of abolishing the State by journalistic efforts such as the other excellent articles in the October issue by Messrs. Halliday, Halbrook, and Peters, rather than filling its pages with political writings. Can a government supporter be persuaded that government is *not necessary* to achieve *his* good ends if at the same time he observes the persuader using the governmental process to achieve his (the persuader's) good ends? The average government supporter would call that "vile hypocrisy," and he would be right—he would also most likely turn a deaf ear to the persuader's arguments that a government is not necessary! By the very fact that libertarians are engaging in politics, they are saying loud and clear that while they do not believe government to be necessary, it is necessary

for *them* to use the governmental process! Such contradictions can only hinder the cause for freedom from governmental aggression.

But there is another point of importance here: *what evidence do these libertarians have for claiming that a rational anarchist society is impossible within the foreseeable future?* It is this type of malevolent thinking which pushes them into the contradictory position of advocating “some” politics, and which in turn pushes the “foreseeable future” ever farther and farther away! If every anarchist were to persuade only two other individuals per year (on an average) that government is not only unnecessary, but illegitimate, (and we are sure that gentlemen such as Mr. Brotschol et al can do better than that!) then assuming there are only 500 rational anarchists in North America today, in eleven years, (if each anarchist continued to further convince only two more people per year) 88 million people would be convinced of the non-necessity of government! If you do not believe this, work this out for yourselves, it is a simple mathematical progression, based on very realistic premises.

In our view, this goal is a hell of a lot more practical than the attempt to achieve liberty through political means.

Yours truly,
Richard and Ernestine Perkins

Reply
by John Brotschol

The tactical position advanced by Richard and Ernestine Perkins is a mere reflection of the political naivete spouting forth from the Society for Individual Liberty's main office in Philadelphia. There can be no doubt that education is the foundation for the creation of a libertarian society, but to do nothing until everyone becomes a libertarian is unbelievable. Pure education is an excellent long term strategy but to completely ignore the political system we live in, while solely concentrating on education, spells doom for the cause. Very few people care about what society will be like after they are dead. It is incumbent upon us to shed our pure white robes and begin relating libertarianism to the man on the street who is tired of paying exorbitant taxes to line the pockets of the government bureaucracy. If this means spending some time engaging in politics, we should do it. I realize many libertarians prefer spending their time engaged in scholarly work. I have no objection to this. Since they enjoy their endeavors, their productivity is good and libertarianism is the winner. However, some of us enjoy recruiting outside the university and working in politics to achieve given goals that would improve existing conditions for the individual, while simultaneously spreading libertarianism to a much wider audience. It is this two pronged approach that has caused a handful of libertarians and myself to become active in the Ripon Society. We are trying to

infect this influential organization with some ideas that might lead to the decentralization of power.

In the New Jersey chapter of the Ripon Society, libertarians maintain a very significant caucus that must be reckoned with. Very recently, this writer was offered the position of research director for the state chapter - what an excellent vehicle to spread some libertarian concepts! A contributing editor to this publication, William Baumgarth, combines both scholarship and political action at Harvard University Graduate School. While completing his doctorate and teaching undergraduates, Mr. Baumgarth is working in the national office of the Ripon Society in Cambridge, Massachusetts. A few weeks ago, he was asked to write a regular column for their national publication, *The Ripon Forum*. Why shouldn't this be acceptable to educationalists? I have noticed in the last couple of years that educationalists are great at educating other libertarians but leave much to be desired when it comes to gaining new recruits. I thought the November Libertarian Conference in New York City was a prime example of this. Not once, during the two day gathering was there a discussion of tactics. Instead, we just sat there listening to lecture after lecture on such topics as Kid Lib, The Self-Improvement of the Libertarian Psyche, etc. It is wasn't for the social benefits of these gatherings, I would stay home because I brought away nothing new.

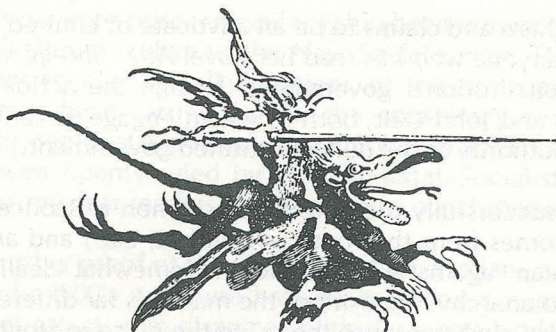
Education breaks down completely when it comes to trying to enact certain planks of its program. The educationalists refuse to soil their clean white garments, using the excuse that it is immoral to employ the political system because it gives sanction to its existence. This is sheer nonsense. Dr. Murray Rothbard, at an October Taxpayer Conference in New Jersey, said in reply to a purist's question on participation in elections: "If you engage in reform politics, it doesn't mean you're endorsing the whole coercive apparatus. You're simply taking advantage of this tiny area in which they're allowing you to have some choice. Voting is merely the first line of defense, and we are fools if we don't use it."

Finally, the participatory approach lends our assistance to libertarian projects being advanced by decentralist oriented groups. In the case of the Ripon Society, they support the termination of military conscription, guaranteeing the right to dissent for GI's, legalization of marijuana, and curbing the military-industrial complex. You may think this is shortsighted, but I am tired of engaging solely in end game tactics. I am a libertarian situated in the United States at position A, a very centralized society and every day a little more of my individual liberties are being eroded; I would like to reach position Z with all coercion terminated. However, if I can help in moving this country to position B in my lifetime, I'll consider it an improvement and well worth my effort, even if it means engaging in the political process.

The Libertarian Movement Exposed

by Major Winston Domo, USAF, Ret.

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The following article is reprinted from *Attack & Kill* newsletter, published by the *Christian Truth Crusade*, America's leading anti-communist organization. The chairman of CTC, Major Winston Domo, USAF, Ret., and author of the following expose of the Libertarian Movement, has gained a reputation for scholarship, research and documentation among the leaders of the anti-communist movement. Unfortunately, much of the documentation for this article must be kept secret to protect those courageous persons who risked death to tell Major Domo of their experiences in the Libertarian Movement. Needless to say, however, the Major has never once been sued for libel, attesting to the strong documentation he has whenever he levels an accusation. Persons wishing more information about CTC activities should write Christian Truth Crusade, Tulsa, Oklahoma.—*Editorial Note.*

Libertarianism is the latest movement to inundate the college campuses with a flood of literature undermining the basis for a Constitutional Republic under Christian Principles. The burgeoning success of this movement has made it necessary to conduct a detailed investigation into the origins, leaders and goals of the Libertarian Movement. The following is the result of that investigation.

While Libertarianism first came to major public attention via an article in the *New York Times* (naturally) entitled "The New Right Credo: Libertarianism" by Stan Lehr and Lou Rossetto (actually Rosen), it has intellectual roots going back to early Christian heretics and troublemakers such as Ann Hutchinson and Lysander Spooner. This can be readily seen from the fact that the Libertarians call themselves by the publicly accepted name of "Libertarianism" when, in fact, they really are anarchists and hide that term because the public would never buy the anarchist label. Anarchists have traditionally been associated with Godless Atheistic Communism and even Ayn Rand (Russian Jewish emigre), the Marcuse of the Hippie Right, has cautioned her followers against following the anarchists. (2) (Miss Rand doesn't consider all Liber-

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1. Roy Childs, "An Open Letter to Ayn Rand."
 2. Ayn Rand, *The Objectivist*.

tarians to be anarchists and claims to be an advocate of Limited Constitutional Government, but anyone who has read her novel *Atlas Shrugged* can see what she thought of Constitutional government through the actions of her main characters Ragnar and John Galt, both of whom engage in various attacks on the property and authority of the duly constituted government.)

Libertarians have successfully promoted the common misconception that the word *anarchism* comes from the roots *an* (against, Lat.) and *arch* (rule, Lat.) thus coming to mean "against rule." While this somewhat idealistic view turns many people on to anarchy, the truth of the matter is far different. If you take the word "Anarchist" and transpose the "r" to the place in front of the "i" the word becomes "Anachrist" which is clearly another way, however cryptic, of saying Anti-Christ. So the true goal of the libertarian movement is made clear. It is Anti-Christ and that is why it is almost always allied with the communists against the existing Government.

This Anti-Christ attitude is evidenced in other ways. Many Libertarians wear the dollar sign as a symbol of the movement. This is another deception deliberately planned by the Libertarians. Professing to be believers in free enterprise the symbol of the dollar has a much deeper meaning for libertarians.

The reverse side of the one dollar Federal Reserve Note contains a seal which is actually the back side of the great seal of the United States. Federal Reserve spokesmen define the seal as follows:

"On the back of the seal is an unfinished pyramid, a symbol of material strength and enduring foundation for future growth and a goal of perfection. Above the pyramid is a 'glory' of burst of light with an eye inside a triangle, referring to the eternal eye of God, and placing the spiritual above the material. At the top and around the edge in Latin is the 13 letter motto, *Annuit Coeptis*, meaning "he has favored our undertakings." The base of the pyramid bears the numerals MDCCCLXXVI or 1776, and below is the motto *Novus Ordo Seclorum* or "A New Order of the Ages." (3)

Although this pyramid had a Masonic significance, it had been used earlier by the Order of Illuminati which had been founded in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt, a turncoat priest. This arch-criminal envisioned world control (one world government) with himself and followers at the head. The Roman numerals 1776 on the base of the pyramid represents this date and not the date of the Declaration of Independence. The seeing eye is symbolic of the terrorist tactics used by the conspirators to force their brutal rule on the population. Destruction of the Catholic Church is depicted by the pyramid. "Annuit

3. "Fundamental Facts About US Money" (Atlanta Georgia: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, 1968).

Coeptis" means our enterprise (conspiracy) has been crowned with success. (4) "Novus Ordo Seclorum" refers to the New Social Order. The New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier, etc. are all variations of the same program that their puppet presidents have carried out for the conspiracy with such slave-like faithfulness. This seal first appeared on our money in 1933. Can we assume that the U.S. has been openly ruled by this Illuminati-Socialist gang since that time? I'll let you, my dear readers, draw your own conclusions.

There is even further proof of the close ties of Libertarians and the Illuminati. Back in the early 1900's a dispute broke out among a number of Illuminati leaders. A secret group, who disagreed with Illuminati leaders such as Lenin, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Trotsky, broke off from the main branch and retreated to Bavaria, where they formed the Bavarian Illuminati. At the time of the break, Bavaria was part of the Austrian empire. Is there any doubt left that that is why Libertarians, basically an American movement, openly but mysteriously dub their economic philosophy "Austrian" economics? The most conspicuous advocate of Austrian economics is one Murray Rothbard, a frequent advocate of alliances with the communistic New Left.

It is not surprising that this sinister foreign economic policy has infiltrated into the ranks of pseudo-conservative publication *National Review*, where advocates of Austrian economics find a frequent voice. As I pointed out in my expose of *National Review*, (Wm. F. Buckley's Real Name is Mendel Cohen, A & K Newsletter No. 185) the NR staff is composed of many editors with long communist backgrounds. It is no secret that several editors claim to be ex-communists. But can you be sure? Can you trust a communist?

In order to bolster this fledgling Libertarian movement, the NR staff and one Jerome Tuccille (real name, Tuckman) a leading propagandist for the Libertarian movement, entered into a secret agreement to engage in a public fight with the sinister goal of exploiting the *New York Times'* hatred of *National Review* and getting them to publish articles on the Op-Ed page by Libertarians in the mistaken belief by the *Times* that this would hurt *National Review*. This plot can be documented by an affidavit of a former undercover FBI agent who infiltrated the Libertarian Movement and wormed his way into Tuccille's confidence and thereby gained access to the secret meeting.

Although, as pointed out earlier, Libertarianism has a long historical background, a formal movement didn't get underway until 1969 in St. Louis. There, at a meeting of YAF, a patriotic but Left-of-Center youth organization, several Libertarians attempted to start a riot when one commie bum tried to burn his draft card. The YAFers wanted to throw the traitor out, but the

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Bangla Desh: In The Beginning

By John Brotschol



The formal establishment of Bangla Desh has ended 24 years of political, economic and social exploitation by West Pakistan. However, as a price for India's military assistance in removing the Pakistanis, the Bengali people may have substituted one oppressor for another.

When Pakistan was created in August 15, 1947, the only thing that held the east and west wings together was the forceful political leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the common religion of Islam. In a little over a year, Jinnah was dead and factionalism replaced him. Gradually, the Islam faith showed itself to be a weak adhesive in holding two ethnically different wings of Pakistan together.

The vast majority of the people in East Pakistan are Bengalis who originally came from Southeast Asia. The Punjabis who are the dominant group in the west have their roots in the Middle East. The two wings of Pakistan had different languages—Bengali spoken in the east and Urdu in the west. Combine this with the 1,000 mile distance between both wings and the low level of technology which prevented cultural mixing, and you have the foundation of a crisis which eventually led to the break-up of Pakistan.

Although East Pakistan and the Bengalis composed 55% of the population, the national government was dominated by Punjabis. The Punjabis made sure that the overwhelming **proportion** of foreign aid remained in the west. This helped

West Pakistan make strides in industrialization whose products, including flimsy woven cotton fabrics, were marketed in the east at inflated government-fixed prices since their inferior quality made them unsalable abroad. The West Pakistan regime could get away with this because of the high protective tariffs they imposed to save the west's infant industries. This worsened the already wretched existence of the Bengali people, whose per capita income is only 77 dollars a year.

Besides being made the victims of this economic exploitation, the Bengalis were forced to sacrifice further for its continuance. The main foreign exchange earners for Pakistan were jute (twine) and tea produced in East Pakistan. The revenues from these exports, however, did not go back to the Bengalis, but, instead, fueled West Pakistan's factories.

Tension between the east and west was increased as a result of the miserable relief services the Islamabad government provided the Bengali victims of the November 1970 cyclone. This anger was reflected in Pakistan's first free and direct election for the central government in its history which, supposedly, would return the country to civilian rule. In a concession, General Yahya Khan allotted East Pakistan 169 out of the 313 seats in the new National Assembly. President Yahya and other Punjabi military chiefs expected that the Bengali people would split their vote among right-wing religious parties and the Awami League, and thus assure their continued control. However, the Awami League, led by the charismatic Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, running on a platform of more autonomy for East Pakistan, rallied the oppressed Bengalis to their cause. The Awami League platform stated that the east should have separate powers of taxation, a separate currency and internal banking system, separate trading agreements with foreign countries and the establishment of East Pakistani trading missions abroad. The only role reserved for the central government was defense and foreign affairs outside the sphere of trade. The election results produced a landslide for the Awami League in the East as they captured 167 out of 169 seats. They were now the majority party and should have been given the authority to organize a new, radically decentralized government for Pakistan under Sheikh Mujib as Prime Minister. However, in keeping with Pakistani tradition in politics, the rules of the game were changed when the wrong people seemed to be winning.

The leader of the Pakistan People's Party (the majority party in the west), Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, informed Yahya that he and his party would boycott the National Assembly scheduled to convene March 3, 1971. The first duty of this body would have been the writing of a new constitution formally installing civilian rule and guaranteeing the rights of the Bengali people against the central government's encroachment. The power crazed Mr. Bhutto had no intention of serving merely as the opposition leader, so he collaborated with the General in crushing the return of the civilian rule he had spent years advocating.

When the President announced the postponement of the opening session of the National Assembly, the Bengalis responded with demonstrations and riots. Army units were then called to quell the disturbances and many Bengalis were killed. Sheikh Mujib, upon hearing of the massacres in the streets, urged Bengalis not to cooperate with the central government. The result of this was that a kind of Awami League government was operating in competition to Yahya's regime.

While airlifting troop reinforcements into the East, President Yahya flew to Dacca on March 15 to negotiate with Sheikh Mujib. The negotiations served to divert world attention away from these troop movements. On March 25, the army attacked the largely unarmed citizens of Dacca with tanks and rockets. After the destruction of Dacca, the army was then deployed to other sections of East Pakistan to crush the insurgents. General Yahya Kahn declared the Awami League illegal and threw Sheikh Mujib into prison. Bengali personnel in government (sympathetic to the Awami League) were removed and replaced by West Pakistanis. Estimates are that 200,000 Bengalis were killed by the Pakistani army.

In response to the Pakistani reign of terror, the Mukti Bahini guerilla force was organized and grew rapidly, reaching approximately 100,000 before India invaded East Pakistan. The Mukti Bahini received quantities of arms from India and along with captured West Pakistani guns made considerable progress in the countryside. They established the government of Bangla Desh in areas they held and the Mukti Bahini operated a mail service there.

The Mukti Bahini welcomed Indian assistance but they didn't want Indira Gandhi's armed forces to invade their country. The guerillas realized that if India invaded, the Bengali drive for self-determination might be frustrated again. Demonstrations were organized in liberated areas demanding that Indian troops stay out of Bangla Desh. The Mukti Bahini then severed relations with the Awami League representatives sitting comfortably in Calcutta, claiming to be the government of Bangla Desh. The Mukti Bahini knew that these "leaders" were now mere puppets of Mrs. Gandhi.

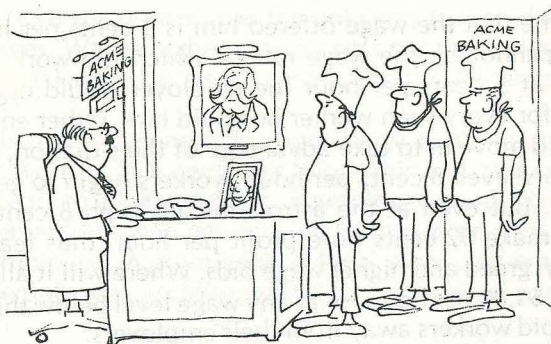
Reports estimate that 10 million people, 70% being Hindu Bengalis, fled the Pakistani army into India. The shops, homes and land of these individuals were given by the West Pakistanis to quislings who cooperated with them. More importantly, however, this mass exodus gave India the excuse it needed to break up a hostile neighbor and establish itself as the power of the Indian subcontinent.

On December 3, all-out war between India and Pakistan broke out and from the beginning everyone knew that the 80,000 Pakistani occupation forces in Bangla Desh could not withstand the 100,000 Mukti Bahini combined with

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It Usually Starts With Five Cents An Hour

by Walter Block



"We're here for a bigger piece of the cake!"

Down with the minimum wage law? But then the fat capitalist employers would lower wages to whatever they wanted to pay. They would probably like to pay, if they were in a generous mood, maybe 5 cents per hour. At best, we would be pushed back to the days of the sweat shops at worst, to the days of the industrial revolution and before, when mankind waged an often losing battle with starvation.... Or so goes the conventional wisdom on the subject.

If we are able to shed any light on this morass of error, fabrication, and misunderstanding, we will have to make use of several basic economic concepts used in all introductory economics courses.

The minimum wage law is, on the face of it, not an employment law, but an unemployment law. It does not force an employer to *hire* an employee at the minimum wage level, or at any other wage level. It compels the employer *not* to hire the employee at certain wage levels (those below the minimum set by law). It also compels the *worker*, no matter how anxious for a job even at a wage level below the minimum, *not* to accept the job. It compels the worker with a choice between a low wage job and unemployment, to accept the unemployment, no matter how much he would prefer the low-wage job. Moreover, it does not even state that any wage presently below the minimum shall be raised to (or above) the minimum; it only provides that no wage below the minimum shall be paid.

How would wages be determined in the absence of minimum wage legislation? The wage rate will tend to be set in accordance with what the economist calls the marginal productivity of labor. The marginal productivity of a laborer is the extra amount of receipts an employer will have if he employs this particular worker, over and above the receipts he would have if he did not employ this worker. Why will the wage rate tend to equal the marginal productivity of the worker, especially in view of the fact that the employer would like nothing better than to pay the worker virtually nothing, no matter what his productivity? Assume that the worker's marginal productivity is equal to \$1.00 per hour. (This means that any employer will be better off by \$1.00 per hour if he

hires him). Assume that the wage offered him is 5 cents per hour. The reason this wage offer cannot be the wage rate at which the worker will be finally hired is because at 5 cents per hour the employer would make 95 cents per hour pure profit for every such worker he could hire. Other employers, jealous and greedy, would move in to take advantage of the situation, offering 6 cents, 7 cents and horrors! even 8 cents per hour (workers begin to get uppity at such high wage rates). But even at the astronomically high 8 cents per hour, employers can still make 92 cents pure profit per hour, thus leading to another round of jealousy, greed and higher wage bids. Where will it all end? Clearly, at the wage level of \$1.00 per hour, for at any wage level below this, there will still be incentives to bid workers away from their employers.

(Do not waste any sympathy on the employers and wonder where their profits will come from if they are forced to pay \$1.00 per hour for productivity of \$1.00 per hour. The profits come from the intramarginal workers. Due to the famous law of diminishing returns, the first in a series of equally-productive workers will have a higher productivity than the marginal worker whose productivity we have been assuming to be \$1.00 per hour. In much the same way, a housewife who buys only 10 oranges because, to her, the eleventh is not worth the price, obtains consumers' surplus or consumers' profit from the first 10 which, to her, are worth more than the price).

But suppose the employers "get together" and agree not to hire workers at more than 5 cents per hour? The only time a scheme like this succeeded was in the middle ages when a cartel of employers got together *with the aid of the state* and passed a maximum wage law which prohibited wage levels *above* a certain maximum. And it's not just an historical accident that no such schemes have succeeded without state aid. There are very good theoretical reasons why this should be so.

The reason (in a free market, without a cartel) why the employer does not hire any more workers than he does is because he thinks that the next worker's marginal product will be so reduced by diminishing returns that it will be below the wage rate he must pay. To continue our analogy, if an employer has hired only 10 workers, it is because he thinks the productivity of the eleventh will be less than the wage he must pay all the workers.

If a cartel succeeds in lowering the wage of the workers with a marginal productivity of \$1.00 to five cents per hour, each employer will want to hire many more workers. This is part and parcel of the law of downward sloping demand: the lower the price, the more the buyers will want to purchase. The worker whose productivity was, in the eyes of the employer, just below \$1.00 and therefore not hired at \$1.00 per hour, will be eagerly sought at 5 cents per hour. This is the first flaw in the cartel: each employer who is a party to the cartel will have a great financial incentive to cheat. Each employer will try to

bid workers away from the others. And the only way he can do this will be by offering higher wages. Wages higher than 5 cents per hour. How much higher? All the way up to \$1.00 as we have seen before, and for the same reason.

The second flaw is that everyone who is not party to the cartel arrangement want to hire these workers at 5 cents per hour. This will also tend to drive up the wage from 5 cents to \$1.00 per hour. Examples of people who are not part of the cartel agreement but who would want to hire more workers if it were in effect would be employers in other geographical areas, self-employed artisans who could afford employees, employers who had only hired part time workers.

But suppose the workers are ignorant of wage levels paid elsewhere in the city, and/or are located in the boondocks where there is no alternative employment? What forces will then ensure that workers are paid at their marginal productivity level?

It is often mistakenly assumed that knowledge on *both* sides of the trade is necessary for the trade to take place; that cases in which such full and perfect knowledge is lacking are cases of "imperfect competition," where economic postulates somehow do not apply. Knowledge on both sides of the trade, however, is not necessary. Certainly, knowledge of the labor market on the part of workers, especially immigrant workers, is faulty. But the employer's knowledge about the job market is usually conceded to be adequate, indeed, exceedingly so, by typical questioners of marginal productivity theory. And this is all that is necessary. While the worker does not know too well of alternative job opportunities, he knows well enough to take the highest paying job, and all that is necessary is that the employer present himself to the downtrodden employee earning less than his marginal productivity with a higher wage offer. The self interest of employers will lead them "as if by an invisible hand" to ferret out such downtrodden workers, offer them higher wages, and spirit them away. The whole process will tend to raise wages to the level of marginal productivity.

The same analysis applies to workers out in the boondocks who are ignorant of alternative job opportunities and have no money to travel to them even if they were aware of them. Although, here the differential between the wage level and the productivity of the "boonie" worker will have to be high enough to compensate the employer for the costs of coming to him, telling him of the alternatives, and paying the costs of sending him there. But this is just what the employer will do. The Mexican "wetbacks" are a case in point. Few groups have less knowledge of the U.S. labor market, and less money for traveling to lucrative jobs. Not only, however, do employers from southern California travel hundreds of miles to search them out, they furnish trucks or travel money to transport them northward. Employers from as far away as Wisconsin travel to Mexico for "cheap labor" (workers getting less than their marginal product) in

eloquent testimony to the workings of an obscure economic law they never even heard of. (There are complaints of the poor working conditions these migrant workers undergo. These are mainly from unions of U.S. farm workers who are not in sympathy with minority group members receiving wages commensurate with their productivity. The Mexican workers view the package of wages and working conditions favorably compared with alternatives at home. This is seen in their willingness, year after year, to come to the U.S. during the picking season).

What will be the reaction of the typical worker earning \$1.00 per hour to a legislated increase in wages from \$1.00 to \$2.00 per hour? If he is already fully employed he will probably want to work even more hours (although there are special conditions under which he will want to work fewer hours). If he is only partially employed or unemployed, it is virtually certain that he will want to work more. On the other hand, the typical employer will react in the opposite way: he will want to have fewer of such workers. He might not be able to do anything about this immediately, but as time goes on he will replace his suddenly more expensive unskilled workers with skilled workers and more sophisticated machinery of an equivalent productivity.

Students of introductory economics courses know that when a price level above equilibrium is set, it causes a surplus. When a minimum wage level above our \$1.00 per hour is set, it causes a surplus of labor—otherwise called unemployment. The minimum wage law causes unemployment! Iconoclastic as it may sound, it is true. At the higher wage level more people are willing to work and there are fewer jobs available. Unemployment.

The only debatable question is how much unemployment? This depends on how quickly the unskilled workers will be able to be replaced by equivalently productive skilled workers in conjunction with machines. When the minimum wage law increased from 40 cents to 75 cents per hour, elevator operators were replaced. It has taken a while, but virtually all elevators are now automatic. Ditto for unskilled dishwashers and automatic dishwashing machinery operated and repaired by semiskilled and skilled workers. As the minimum wage law becomes applied to wider and wider segments of the unskilled population and as its level rises, more and more unskilled people will become unemployed.

A minimum wage law only affects directly those earning less than the minimum wage level. What effect can a law requiring that everyone be paid at least \$2.00 (*or not at all*) have on someone already earning \$10.00 per hour? None. He is already being paid in accordance with the law. In order to convince yourself that a minimum wage law of \$2.00 does affect those earning less than \$2.00 per hour, consider the effects of a \$100.00 per hour minimum wage law. A law requiring that at least \$100.00 per hour be paid (*or nothing at all*).

How many of us has such a great marginal product that an employer would willingly shell out \$100.00 for an hour of our services?

Who is hurt by the minimum wage law? The unskilled whose productivity level is below the wage level required to be paid. The unemployment rate of black male teenagers is usually (under)estimated at 30%. Twice the unemployment level of the 1933 depression! And this does not take into account the great numbers who have given up searching for a job in the face of this unemployment rate.

The lost income that this represents is only the tip of the iceberg. More important is all the on-the-job training these young men are not getting. Were they working at \$1.00 (or even less) instead of being unemployed at \$2.00 per hour, they would be learning skills that would enable them to raise their productivity and wage rates above \$2.00 in the years to follow.

A paradox is that many black teenagers are worth more than the minimum wage but are unemployed because of it anyway. For in order to be employed with a \$2.00 minimum wage law, it is not enough just to *be worth* \$2.00 per hour. You have to be *thought* to be worth \$2.00 per hour by an employer who stands to lose money if he guesses wrong and who stands to go broke if he guesses wrong too often. In the ordinary course of business, the hero, when confronted with a situation like this, would stride manfully up to the employer, look him squarely in the eye, and offer to work for him for a token salary like 5 cents per hour, or even nothing, for a term of two weeks. During this time our hero would prove to the employer that his productivity deserved a higher wage rate. More important, he would bear with the employer part of the risk of hiring an unproductive worker. The employer might go along with the deal since he would be risking little. But the minimum wage law would make all this illegal. One less chance for the black teenager to prove his worth in an honest way.

The minimum wage law also hurts the black ghetto merchant and industrialist. But for this law, he would have an advantage over his white counterpart in access to the cheap pool of black teen-aged labor. Not only does the young black worker tend to live in the ghetto and therefore have less distance to travel to reach a job in the ghetto; he can also be expected to have less resentment toward, and work more smoothly with, the black entrepreneur than the white. As this is a component of productivity, this can be expected to raise the wages of black workers working for black employers rather than whites. This also impinges on the problem of getting the first job, where all employers seemingly demand experience (if they are forced to pay for experienced workers, is it any wonder that they demand experienced workers?): black employers might well be more willing to take a chance on a young black worker than white employers. With this kind of mutual self-support between

the ghetto businessman and worker replacing the present vicious cycle of unemployment and despair, one is forced to wonder whether repeal of this one law might mean more for the economic well being of the ghetto than all the fanfare of Nixon's "black capitalism."

Unfortunate as the effects on young black workers are, the real tragedy of the minimum wage law is not found here. The real tragedy concerns the handicapped worker: the lame, the blind, the deaf, the amputee, the mentally handicapped, the paralyzed. It is here that the real tragedy lies. Imagine this predicament coupled with a law which makes it illegal for a profit-seeking employer to hire a handicapped person! All hopes of even a modicum of self-reliance are dashed. The only choice is enforced idleness or governmentally supported make-work schemes—from a government that had made an honest job an impossibility in the first place.

It is not the fault of profit-seeking. It is the fault of a law that completely perverts Adam Smith's hand by making it in the self-interest of profit seekers *not* to do the humane thing and hire the handicapped.

As if to add insult to injury, there has been an exception made to the minimum wage law for certain classes of handicapped people; for people that have been defined as only "slightly handicapped." So it is now in the interest of employers to hire the slightly handicapped. They now have jobs. But if it has been realized that the minimum wage law hurts the employment chances of covered groups, why have not *all* groups been exempted? Especially the seriously handicapped. Why has not the minimum wage law itself been repealed? And if it has not been realized that the minimum wage law hurts the employment chances of covered groups, why have the slightly handicapped been stripped of its "protection?" Why, if the minimum wage law has all the deleterious effects specified, did the all-loving government pass such a law?

Among the most vociferous proponents of minimum wage legislation is organized labor. Now surely this must give pause for thought. For the typical union member makes quite a bit more than the minimum wage level or \$2.00 per hour. If he is already making \$10.00 per hour, as we have seen, his wage level will not be directly affected, for it is already in accordance with the law.

How then to explain his fanatical adherence to the concept? It is hardly his concern with the downtrodden worker, his black and Puerto-Rican and Mexican-American and American-Indian brethren. His union is typically 99.44% lily-white. More than anything else, it is an attempt to resist the inroads of these minority groups into the unions.

Just as the law of downward sloping demand caused the employer to substitute skilled labor for unskilled labor when the minimum wage law forced up the wage of unskilled labor, so does the law of downward sloping demand cause

the employer to substitute unskilled labor for skilled labor whenever a labor union (composed mainly of skilled laborers) obtains a wage increase. In other words, skilled labor is in competition with unskilled labor! This competition arises because skilled and unskilled laborers are substitutable for each other, within certain bounds. It might well be that it is 10 or 20 unskilled workers who are in competition with only 2 or 3 skilled workers (plus a more sophisticated machine). But the competition is there nonetheless.

What better way to get rid of your competition than to force it to price itself out of the market? What better way for a union to insure that the next wage hike will not tempt employers to hire unskilled, non-union scabs (read minority group members)? (According to the logic of this argument, a powerful way for minority groups to get back at unions would be to somehow to get a law passed requiring that all union wages rise to no less than ten times their present amount. Although this would cause unheard of cataclysms, and is only meant for purposes of illustration, union membership would decline precipitously. Employers would fire all unionists or go bankrupt. The shoe would truly be on the other foot.)

Do the unions purposefully and knowingly advocate such a harmful law? I do not know unionists well enough to answer. And I really do not care. It is not motives that we are concerned with here. It is only with facts. And their effects. The effects of the law are a disaster. They play havoc with the poor, unskilled and minority group member, just the people they were supposedly designed to help.

What kinds of jobs would open up were the minimum wage law to be repealed? Although it is oft times mere idle speculation to try and anticipate the market, in this case there are several effects immediately apparent, which can aid groups oppressed by the minimum wage law.* Take ecology, for instance. Container manufacturers have of late been switching to non-recyclable non-deposit bottles and cans. They are doing this because (for among other reasons) it is prohibitive to undergo the costs of checking up on the deposits and paying the premium. At lower wage rates, however, it would become more feasible. Since there will almost always be some companies just on the verge of switching from deposit to non-deposit bottles, allowing people to take jobs below the present minimums should discourage at least some companies from taking this step.

It is also presently too expensive to sort out refuse and garbage, saving newsprint, glass, several metals and other materials that could be reused instead of tapping virgin sources. If people were not barred from accepting jobs at a low but mutually agreed upon wage, some could be employed to save

*Groups oppressed not by the unemployment effects of minimum wage laws, but by not being able to hire those who are not allowed to work.

resources in this manner. It is just the liberal type who is most vociferous on the topic of ecology who is likely to oppose repeal of wage minima the most.

(The day care movement is another case in point. Traditionally, baby sitting has been exempt from mal effects of a wage minimum, if only *de facto*.) But only informal, non-“commercial” babysitting. The type of babysitting, for instance, done by a fourteen year old girl in the child’s parents’ home. Thus day care has not been allowed to develop on the free market. For day care companies, engaged in formal, commercial, efficient large scale baby watching most certainly are subject to the limitations of the minimum wage law. It is as if the State had in effect said: “We shall encourage babysitting in the home on a one-to-one basis by allowing those who do so to work for less than \$2.00 per hour; we shall discourage commercial babysitting on a large scale (day care centers run for profit) by requiring such entrepreneurs to pay at least \$2.00 per hour.” So the State first gives fourteen year old girls an unfair commercial advantage denied to their competitors; day care centers, forced to operate at a disadvantage, never really get started at all; interventionists and large segments of the women’s liberation movement complain that capitalism is sexist; and that the State is “forced” to step in to rectify this latest “market imperfection.” If, however, the state did not interfere with the market in the first place, many “unemployables” might have found employment in day care, thus solving their own unemployment problems, helping mothers with children to find gainful employment, and obviating the “need” for Big Brother to become a Big Babysitter.

I have not discussed so-called improvements or alternatives to the minimum wage law such as welfare, job training, guaranteed annual income schemes. I believe these programs are all disastrous stop-gap measures engendered by the failure of the minimum wage law, which will inexorably give rise to stop-gap measures when their own failures become apparent. I have tried to restrict myself to an examination of the minimum wage law itself, which is usually defended as a separate issue.

Crime, Drugs and the State

by Gary Greenberg

There is a tendency among Libertarians to blame our growing crime problem on the "something for nothing" philosophy of the welfare state, i.e., belief by criminals that they have a right to the properties of others because they need it, and that criminals are nothing more than the consumers of the welfare state who have eliminated the bureaucrats as middlemen by going directly to the producers (read victims).

The fallacy underlying this analysis is the assumption that the criminals in our society have come to some sort of moral conclusion about their behavior. In considering the problem, it is apparent to me that the villain is indeed the government, but the cause is not the moral conclusions of criminals but rather the government's suppression of narcotic sale and use.

Most people experienced in the area of crime would probably agree that from 60 to 80% of the robberies, burglaries, muggings, shopliftings and other crimes aimed at obtaining property are committed by narcotics addicts.

To get a better picture of the problem consider the following: 1) a heroin habit will cost five to seven hundred dollars a week and few people can afford such a habit by working at honest employment; 2) to earn five hundred dollars a week through criminal acts a person would probably have to steal twenty-five hundred dollars worth of goods in addition to any cash obtained; 3) the size of the addict population is constantly increasing (in New York City it is estimated that there are now 150,000 to 200,000 addicts) and virtually all addicts are full time criminals.

When we realize that, under present conditions, the addict is consumed by one obsession—obtaining the next fix—it is quite evident that law and order not only will not stop the rise in crime but will, in fact, be the major cause of the rise in crime. A fix costs fifteen cents to produce. Government suppression of narcotic use and sale has resulted in a coercive monopoly run by the elements of organized crime. The only factor limiting the price charged by this monopoly is the outside limit of income obtained by the average addict through criminal activity.

If heroin were sold openly on the free market the cost of maintaining a habit would be on the order of the cost of cigarettes to a heavy smoker, and there are very few persons driven to a life of crime by a cigarette habit. Once the addict knows that he can supply his habit without any difficulty or great expense he can function as a relatively useful individual capable of holding down a job and earning his way. In addition, the addict no longer has an incentive to increase the addict population because he no longer needs to find customers for pushers in order to get some cheap supplies of his own as a reward.

As a result of the continuing increase in crime, the criminal courts have become so crowded that they no longer seek justice but are instead only

concerned with disposing of cases. Cases frequently drag out for over a year and the deterrent effect of swift punishment has been lost. As a matter of fact, one can safely say that not only does crime pay, but there is virtually no enterprise that pays as well with such a low risk of failure. In New York City, for example, in 95% of reported burglaries (only a portion of the actual burglaries committed) there is no suspect even brought into court.

This is not to say that the situation is inevitably hopeless. The crisis is purely a government created crisis. Not only has government given organized crime a prosperous monopoly, but it has increased its size and its own power to destroy civil liberties—and all with the howling support of the people. Judges frequently look the other way as police perjury becomes an accepted and favored method in obtaining convictions. For fear of constitutional restraints on police procedure, the police have taken to straight-out lying about how they siezed evidence or obtained confessions.

Off the bench and in private the judges will usually admit that most testimony from narcotics officers is untrustworthy, but once they start speaking for the public record, the police are transformed into poor maligned public servants who deserve public support and sympathy. To suggest to the law and order crowd that there is widespread police perjury is to invite a capophony of verbal abuse.

The legalization of heroin would result in an almost overnight elimination of one of the greatest social problems. Not only would we eliminate the crime crisis, we could fire a lot of cops, judges and other assorted government hangers-on as well as break the back of organized crime's financial base.

Many people oppose the legalization of drugs on the non sequitor ground that legalization will not solve the drug problem. Legalization of heroin is not supposed to solve the drug problem; it is supposed to solve the crime problem. Solutions to the drug problem lie with the medical profession, not the law enforcement profession.

Libertarians should make it clear: If you support an increase in crime, then support law and order; if you wish to drastically reduce the crime problem, then support the order of the market place.

Continued from page 12

200,000 Indian forces. The Indians cut the Pakistani army off from the outside by controlling the skies with Russian MIGs and a naval blockade in the Bay of Bengal. Fourteen days later, Lieutenant General A.A.K. Niazi, Pakistani commander in Bangla Desh, surrounded on all sides, surrendered to Indian "Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora, general officer commanding in chief of the Indian and *Bangladesh* forces in the eastern theatre." This quote is from the surrender document which concluded the eastern war on December 16 and shows the dilemma the Bengalis are faced with. India, by successfully invading Bangla Desh and defeating the Pakistanis, became the "protector" of the Bengalis, and this is a role they certainly want to keep to assure a friendly administration in Dacca. Unless the Mukti Bahini fill important positions in the "official" Bangla Desh government, this country, the eighth most populated in the world, will merely be a satellite of India. The Mukti Bahini are the only force who are not completely beholden to Indira Gandhi. Already, Mrs. Gandhi has forced the Calcutta Awami League to accept pro-Soviet communists in the Bangla Desh government, even though they failed to win one seat in the December 1970 elections. This, of course, is a concession the Soviet Union forced on India in return for Russian military and diplomatic assistance. In the next issue, I'll examine the effects this conflict had on power relationships between the Soviet Union, China, and the United States.

Continued from page 9

libertarians formed a phalanx around this vile person in order to protect him.

Attempts at corrupting our youth through drugs and acid rock have been part and parcel of the Libertarian movement. Prominent in that line has been NJ Libertarian leader, Ralph Fucetola. Fucetola, who changed his name from Fuchs, is an heir to the Fuchs International Banking fortune, whose headquarters are, strangely enough, located in Bavaria. Fucetola has frequently turned down all requests to permit this reporter an interview. In one very cryptic phone conversation between Fucetola (Fuchs) and one of my investigators, Fuchs feigned mock concern about the man's health by suggesting that the investigator shouldn't come see him because he (Fuchs) was too high up. Pursuing the conversation, the investigator tried to learn if Fuchs was the head of RLA (Radical Libertarian Alliance). Fuchs replied everyone is a head in the RLA. Seeing that he wasn't getting anywhere, our investigator terminated the phone call.

At present we have only scratched the surface of this Atheistic, Anti-Christ Libertarian movement. There is a great deal still to be reported. Among the topics to be covered in future newsletters will be individual exposes of Libertarian leaders. For examples: Is West Coast Libertarian Skye D'Aureous really the mysterious Sid Golden, the Illuminati representative in California? Why was Leonard Liggio (real name, Lipsky) so active in the War Crimes Tribunal of Bertrand Russel? Have Libertarians infiltrated the Jewish Defense League?

Of Cabbages and Kings

by Gary Greenberg

An interview with Gary Greenberg about drug laws on Ralph Fucetola and Walter Block's Libertarian Perspectives series for WBAI was broadcast on Thanksgiving day...Additional interviews have been taped with Robert Baker and Israel Kirzner...Ralph Fucetola and Stan Lehr spoke at NJ's Lawrenceville School to an enthusiastic audience...NJLA's *Life and Liberty* has suspended publication but hopes to publish from time to time...It will bring out a pamphlet version of Sam Konkin's *Free Marketeers* serial with some unpublished chapters added...John Zeigler, head of the nation's only cause and ecology oriented advertising agency, at a meeting of the Association of Direct Marketing Agencies, urged advertising people to start a campaign to unsell big government...Several members of the *Abolitionist* staff recently attended a showing of *The French Connection* andd were pleasantly surprised at the friendly rapport between the audience and the head of the international dope smuggling syndicate...Jerry Tuccille recently spoke at Baruch College...By the time you read this, Jerry Tuccille will probably have another piece in the *Times* Op-Ed page...Speaking of Jerry, *National Review* recently claimed that Jerry is just a short lived phenomenon...Bob Baker will have a major piece on compulsory education laws in the U.S. published in the spring issue of the Seton Hall Law Review...WNBC played an anti-wage freeze editorial reply by Jeff Fox of Stony Brook (SUNY) SIL...John Brotschol has been appointed research director of the NJ Ripon...several libertarians have recently appeared before John Zeigler's class on cause advertising at the New School for Social Research...NJ Libertarians are participating in the forming of the New Jersey Committee To Repeal Marijuana Prohibition...The 12/31/71 issue of *National Review* has a report on the People's Party convention which nominated Dr. Spock; the reporter says that one of the oft-discussed candidates to head the ticket was Karl Hess, but he was eliminated due to his not being present at the convention...Californis activist Bill Steel announces a psychopolitical libertarian symposium to be held on February 13 & 14 at USC. The purpose of the symposium will be to join with non-libertarians to strike to the heart of current controversies in psychology. The discussion will center around B.F. Skinner's proclaimed "need" for "society" to control the individual. Prominent psychologists have been invited to offer their views.

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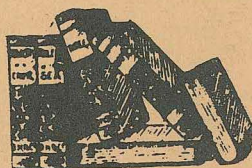
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