NOTES ON WATERGATE

No doubt about it: we were dead wrong in pooh-poohing the political significance of Watergate (Nov. 1972). In our defense, however, Watergate remained a minor caper of piddling proportions until James W. McCord, Jr., under the hammer blows of Judge "Maximum John" Sirica, broke and began to implicate the higher-ups.

Sub specie aeternitatis, one set of politicians spying upon and sabotaging another is hardly of cosmic significance. But oh the deliciousness as the whole sleazy, robotic crew, even unto the highest reaches of the White House, gets its comeuppance! Every morning's news brings further revelations, further scandal, as the network of the corruption of power extends upward and outward. One by one they topple, as the President becomes so short-handed that some have to double up on jobs. One thing is certain: it couldn't have happened to a nicer or more deserving bunch of guys, or to a more deserving institution.

There are many interesting and even neglected facets to Watergate. We see the White House staff as the epitome of the Organization Man: people with one thought and one loyalty—not to truth, or justice, or honor, or even country, but to The President. The President becomes a quasi-divine figure in whose service any and all means may be employed. And yet what happens when the crust of loyalty is broken, when the pressure is on? Then, The President is forgotten and it's every man for himself, each rushing to try to clear himself and point the finger at his former colleagues. Truly an edifying spectacle of our inveterate instincts of the Bureaucracy to hush things up, to kick things under the rug, and never let the long suffering citizen and taxpayer in on what is going on. So much for the "democratic process."

There is finally the reaction of America. And who reacts to that reaction? The politicians, of course, who are seriously contemplating such action. And the general Congressional reaction to current calls for impeachment are not that they are lunatic or absurd, but only that they are "premature." Use of such a word seems to imply that pretty soon the idea of impeachment may indeed mature.

And how many people really believe that Mr. Nixon knew nothing of the vast and extensive bugging-sabotage-espionage operations on the Democrats? When literally millions of dollars were being handed around under the table? And how many believe that he knew nothing of the gigantic and well-coordinated cover-up? Nixon, after all, is no boob like Grant or Harding: he has always been a shrewd and ruthless political operator, and he has always proclaimed the tightness of his political ship. Besides if he really takes "responsibility," isn't that enough to meet out proper punishment?

One of the demurrers on impeachment is that this would bring Spiro Agnew into the Presidency. Apart from the likelihood that Agnew would (Continued On Page 2)
Notes On Watergate — (Continued From Page 1)

As well as generously ex ore mensium, the President must do his best to make this Watergate network as good men whose "zeal exceeded their judgement" in the righteous cause of getting him re-elected. Governor Reagan says that these men are not criminals because they were acting in a good cause (I thought it was only the bad old Communists who are always charged with believing that "the ends justify the means").

One fascinating aspect of the Watergate has not been commented on in the media. It was the breaking of James McCord, Jr. that broke open the entire Watergate network. Crucial to McCord's sudden decision to talk, in addition to Judge Sirica's stff sentencing, was the advice of his new lawyer, Bernard Fensterwald. But who is Mr. Fensterwald, who played a crucial role in the Watergate revelations? Old Kennedy Assassination Revisionists know Fensterwald well: for he is the dedicated head of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations, which for several years has been the major research organization investigating the critical political assassinations of our time: King, the two Kennedys, Malcolm X, etc. Undoubtedly, Fensterwald was intrigued by the Cuban emigre-CIA connections of most of the Watergate burglars, connections which also permeate the Oswald-JFK Assassination case. Perhaps he was hoping that blowing the lid off Watergate might also lead to further revelations on the assassination of Lee Harvey Oswald? We shall never know? maybe it will.

In this connection, President Nixon promises us that his investigation into Watergate will be "the most thorough investigation since the Warren Commission." To old Kennedy Assassination buffs, this is surely the gristiest joke of the year.

Everyone, I suppose, has his own particular favorite among the storehouse of goodies unearthed by the Watergate case. My own is the outlandish behavior of the head of the FBI, L. Patrick Gray, Jr., in dumping crucial documents unread into the "burn bag." Another happy result of Watergate, as well as the entire tenure of Gray, is the rapid desanctification of our national secret police. Surely, it will never be the same again.


While we all chortle at Watergate and its ramifying consequences, we might also keep a wary eye on the future. A seminal article, "The World Behind Watergate", by Kirkpatrick Sale, has recently been published in the New York Review of Books (May 3). Here is an article which should be read by everyone interested in the men behind and around Watergate and in the politico-economic roots of the Nixon Administration. Mr. Sale traces the intricate and extensive connections between all the powers in and around the administration. Taking off from Carl Oglesby's trenchant distinction between the "cowboys" and the "yankees" among the power elite, Sale treats the Nixon (as well the Johnson) Administration as the embodiment of the relative accession to power of the nouvelle riche "Southern rim" elite centered in Southern California, Texas, and Florida, as contrasted to the suaver, more sophisticated "older money" of the Eastern Establishment-corporate liberal elite. The Southern Rim tends to be blunter, more crass, more narrowly focussed and politically conservative, and more prone to short-range crookery; while the Eastern Establishment is smoother, more settled and cosmopolitan, more focussed on wider and long-range concerns, corporate-liberal, and more content to stay within the legal forms.

There is no question about the fact that the Watergate revelations are shaking the political power of the Southern rim clique, and perhaps that of their very own Southern Californian President along with it. But doesn't this forebode a re-accession to power of the Eastern Establishment, which while smoother and less crudely obnoxious is in the long run more dangerous? After all, Rockefeller's personal representative in government, Henry Kissinger, comes out smelling like a rose, as do Rockefeller-connected economic czars George Pratt Shultz and Arthur F. Burns. The suspicious observer may ask: is the Rockefeller-Eastern Establishment pushing the Watergate espose for its own ends? Is it connected with a possible Rockefeller run for the Presidency in 1976? Does the emergence of Boston Brahmin Elliot Richardson and New York liberal Leonard Garment embody a return to power of the Eastern Establishment? And is Texan John Connally riding in to head the Yankees off at the pass?

For A New Liberty

Reviewed By J. Neil Schulman

The prime axiom of Human Action is that men employ means to gain ends. Mr. Libertarian, Murray N. Rothbard, has just given us one hell of a book. Everyone interested in the chaos caused by State interventionism, and Dr. Rothbard presents a marvelously rational analysis of how the free market and other purely voluntary institutions could throw oil on troubled waters (and yes, pollution is discussed). There are chapters on involuntary servitude, personal liberty, education, welfare, the public sector, conservation, and war, and throughout Dr. Rothbard is radicalizing us by demonstrating that the draft is slavery, taxtion robbery, public schools thinly-disguised compulsory mind control, and war a euphemism for mass murder. To read the injustice done to us daily by the State in such rapid succession is so overpowering that if any of these chapters were ever read to a large audience, it would be enough to have the speaker thrown in jail on charges of "inciting to riot," an absurdity Dr. Rothbard also challenges in his discussion on freedom of speech. And it is also in this section that Dr. Rothbard's chapter on "Police, Law and the Courts" — already famous to readers of Reason Magazine — makes its first appearance in book form. It is the most persuasive case for natural law, private defense, and voluntary arbitration ever set to paper, and is

(Continued On Page 3)
Floyd Arthur ‘Baldy’ Harper, RIP

On the evening of Saturday, April 21, Dr. F. A. “Baldy” Harper died suddenly, of a heart attack, at the age of 88. To say that Baldy’s death is an irreparable loss, personally and in every other way, to the libertarian movement, would be a masterpiece of understatement. Ever since he came to the Foundation for Economic Education in 1946 as its chief economist and theoretician, Baldy Harper, in a very real sense, has been the libertarian movement. For all these years, this gentle and lovable man, this wise and Socratic teacher, has been the heart and soul and nerve center of the libertarian cause.

I had the privilege of meeting Baldy in the winter of 1946-47, and from that first meeting, he became my first dear friend and mentor in the libertarian movement. And I was scarcely an isolated example. For years before and ever since, Baldy Harper carried on an enormous and inspiring correspondence, seeking out all promising libertarians, encouraging any signs of their productivity, by his wise teaching and example developing a large and devoted following of friends and students. The thought of never again receiving one of Baldy’s famous cryptic and magnificently-prepared dinner, and any libertarians who dare disagree any signs of their productivity, by his wise teaching and example developing a large and devoted following of friends and students. The thought of never again receiving one of Baldy’s famous cryptic and allusive hand-written notes is almost enough to move one to tears. The last letter I had received from him, a brief week or two before his death, was typical: a glowing note about his discovery of a brilliant young mathematician professor who is anxious to move into the field of Austrian economics and to refute the fallacies of orthodox mathematical economics.

It was Baldy’s burden, which he bore with his usual uncomplaining grace, that he was a member of a veritable “lost generation” from the libertarian point of view. In the late 1940’s, there were some libertarians and free-market economists of the Ludwig von Mises generation or slightly younger: men then in their 60’s, such as Mises, Fred Carlhild, Willford I. King. And there were a few of us youngsters coming up. But in his vital “middle generation”, there was only Baldy: all of the other intellectuals of his day were leftists and statists. And so Baldy simply set out, in his quiet and gentle way, to create a body of students and followers. In those early days at FEE, for example, almost every staff member had been brought into the movement by Baldy: W. M. Curtiss, Paul Poiriot, Ivan Bieri, Ellis Lamborn, all students of Baldy at Cornell. Baldy was indeed a notable inspiration and guide for young people, and his followers are now everywhere in the libertarian world. There were scarcely any of us touched by his special magic who did not come to love Baldy as a mentor and a friend.

Baldy and I came to anarcho-capitalism from laissez-faire at about the same time, driven by inexorable logic, in what for us was the memorable winter of 1949-50. I vividly remember one time I was visiting him at FEE and he quietly pulled out a copy of Tolstoy’s anarchist Law of Love and the Law of Violence, which he confided that “some of us are now reading with great interest.”

Baldy in those days contributed some vital works to the libertarian literature: perhaps the most memorable was his great anti-war pamphlet, In Search of Peace, and his magnum opus, Liberty: A Path to its Recovery, which brought to libertarian theory an abiding concern for human variety and diversity which reflected Baldy’s lifelong interest in the “hard” and the biological sciences. But Baldy’s abiding passion was a deep concern for strategy, for the development of a strategic theory and practice for the libertarian cause. It was out of a concern for strategy that Baldy developed his lifelong dream, his vision of the course which libertarians must take for ultimate victory. He saw that the hub and the heart of libertarian strategy must be ideas and scholarship, that activism could never succeed unless informed by a body of ideas and research on the deepest and most advanced levels. Baldy’s great vision was to guide and develop a body of libertarian scholarship and research.

In pursuit of this dream, Baldy Harper moved in 1958 to the William Volker Fund, of Burlingame, California, which had been engaged in the vital task of discovering and sponsoring libertarian and allied scholars in all related fields and disciplines, and in aiding and publishing their work as individuals, completely separate from their universities or from such Establishment-agencies as the Social Science Research Council. The Volker Fund concept: of discovering and aiding libertarian scholars, and of bringing them together in meetings and conferences, was an unsung task of enormous importance to which he devoted his life.

In Part III, Dr. Rothbard wraps up with a brief discussion of strategy, how to get from our present coercive society to a free one. He discusses the need for both education and action, and stresses that we must keep up our ultimate goal constantly in view even while working for reforms that may fail short of our hopes and expectations. It is a fitting dessert to a hazardous course indeed.

For A New Liberty — (Continued From Page 2)

perhaps the most important essay — in its own right — since Lysander Spooner’s No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority.

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For A New Liberty is unlike Dr. Rothbard’s previous major works in that it is not aimed at the scholar already familiar with his subject, but is directed to the casual reader, albeit one in full focus. In its successful attempt at comprehensiveness (I can think of no major topic left unaddressed, or common fallacy about our position left unrefuted), it has made no compromise with either detailed accuracy, or the climate of popular opinion at the present time.

If this view has so far sounded like a sales pitch . . . it is. For A New Liberty is “hard core” and, in my opinion, the single most important book on libertarianism ever published, judging from its potential for converting the general public to our cause. Read it yourself: it will clarify your concepts; and recommend it to anyone with any leanings towards freedom: if he has any intelligence and integrity at all, this book must convince him. If the public gives For A New Liberty even half the attention it so richly deserves, we will be well on our way to a free society.

But then we ‘New Libertarians’ suspected that from the beginning, didn’t we?
McGovern vs. Rothbard

On November 17, 1972, your publisher edited a blistering attack on the Quota System, the leftist doctrine that every identifiable group, ethnic, racial, sexual, or whatever, should have its proportionate, pro rata share of all of life's goodies, and that it is the function of the political arm to pressure or coerce that share into being. Our attack was in the form of a letter sent out by the Forum for Contemporary History (P.O. Box 127, Stearns Wharf, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101), an organization that sends out bi-weekly four-page letters to its vast membership on controversial issues of the day. Recognizing its own built-in liberal leanings, by the way, the Forum is almost desperately eager to publish controversial non-liberal opinions, and libertarians will find a friendly reception from the staff of this new publication. Not only was yours truly invited to join the Forum's Editorial Review Committee, but it has already published letters from libertarians Ernest Fitzgerald and Robert LeFevre. Non-members will be able to read the Rothbard letter in its reprinted form in the February, 1973 issue of Intellectual Digest, there entitled: "The Quota System, In Short, Must Be Repudiated Immediately".

The letter attacked both the theory of the quota system, and its selective leftist application to a few favored and allegedly "oppressed" "minority groups". Part of the attack was levelled against the McGovern movement, and its insistence on overriding the freely elected choices of Democrats on behalf of imposing a non-elected but cutely pure oligarchy of delegates at the Convention.

Interestingly enough, one of the comments sent to the Forum on the Rothbard letter was by none other than Senator McGovern himself. The most interesting aspect of the McGovern comment is that he explicitly agreed with my strictures — on all aspects of society and the economy except the political party structure. Senator McGovern wrote: "The central thesis of Professor Rothbard's argument is that the quota system discriminates against people of ability. I accept that as a truism for most purposes. In sum, Professor Rothbard raises strong arguments against the quota system in general." (McGovern to the Forum for Contemporary History, December 7, 1972).

The Senator's attempt to exempt political realities from the argument was a specious and tortured one, based on the objective of widening "access to the voting booth." McGovern added:

"Our objective in a democracy is to have leaders who are representative of the population as a whole, not just of those who have superior talent, intelligence, or energy. . . . Simple common sense suggests that when we are talking about the electoral process, in which all can and should participate, the relevant argument is not whether those with intuition apply when the subject is upward mobility in the economic system, the right to hold a job, or the practice of a profession." 

Libertarian Forum readers might enjoy my reply, which follows in full:

"I am delighted to see that in his comment on my Forum letter, Senator McGovern joins me in repudiating the quota system for the entire economy and for our society, the only apparent exception being the political party structure. I venture to say that if the Senator had made his position explicit or better known to the electorate, he might well have garnered many more votes last November."

"Our only quarrel, then, seems to be over the electoral process. Senator McGovern is concerned about the widest possible participation in the electoral process; but surely, elections in America, both in primaries and in general elections, are now open to all Americans, regardless of race, sex, creed, color, or ethnic origin. In this concern, the Senator is pushing against an open door. But what of the fact that a few people often form slates of candidates? I fail to see anything wrong with that: the point is that any 'few' who wish can form slates and present them to the electorate: why should not Richard Daley have the same privilege in slate-forming as the Rev. Jesse Jackson? And if Mr. Daley had chosen to nominate only one-eyed Scandinavian-Americans over 6 feet tall, why shouldn't he have had that privilege? The point is that all Democrats of Illinois had the right to participate in the choice of delegates: whom they selected should certainly be up to them. (In point of fact, convention delegates are usually nominated by leaders on the basis of interest and loyalty in party activity, virtues which were scarcely conspicuous in the Jackson delegation.) Overriding the free choice of the electorate by imposing ethnic, etc. guidelines upon them is precisely the anti-democratic quota system which Senator McGovern agrees is bad in every other area of American life.

"One argument of Senator McGovern's is rather astounding one: that we should 'have leaders who are representative of the population as a whole, not just of those who have superior talent, intelligence or energy.' Does he really mean to endorse Senator Hruska's famous assertion that the mediocre people are entitled to some of their own on the Supreme Court?"
The Wild Bunch was one of the great Westerns of all time; Straw Dogs unstable, and flawed nature of his oeuvre. And yet Peckinpah at his worst directs in the classic tradition of Hollywood adventure movies, but that he McGraw.

individualism, and the readiness of his heroes to use violence to defend itself. The Wild Bunch was one of the great Westerns of all time; Straw Dogs was marred by the slowness of the buildup and the total miscasting of Dustin Hoffman; in a far different vein, The Ballad of Cable Hogue, starring Jason Robards, was a beautiful and lyrical evocation of the individualism of the Old West. It is, indeed, Peckinpah's uncompromising individualism, and the readiness of his heroes to use violence to defend themselves against attack, that sticks in the craw of the left-intelligentsia.

The Getaway, unfortunately, is not one of Peckinpah's better efforts. Its central theme — the caper-plus-getaway — is a fine one, and Peckinpah gets down to it well after an unsatisfactory beginning marred by fashionable avant-garde camera jumps in time and space. The scenes of violence are consistently brilliant, as even his worst detractors concede. The Wild Bunch was one of the great Westerns of all time; Straw Dogs was marred by the slowness of the buildup and the total miscasting of Dustin Hoffman; in a far different vein, The Ballad of Cable Hogue, starring Jason Robards, was a beautiful and lyrical evocation of the individualism of the Old West. It is, indeed, Peckinpah's uncompromising individualism, and the readiness of his heroes to use violence to defend themselves against attack, that sticks in the craw of the left-intelligentsia.

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there is that annoying "symbolism", with Eastwood painting the houses red, naming the town "Hell", and killing the bad guys while the flames leap upward. The alert viewer can smell a rat at the very first sequence, when Clint rides slowly into town with the lighting so adjusted that we can't see his face. Let's hope that next time Clint drops the mystical symbolism and Comes Home. 9

John Koch Retrospective. John Koch is unquestionably, and far and away, the greatest painter of the twentieth century has produced. A recent Koch retrospective at the New York City Cultural Center was a breathtaking delight. There were a few of the impressionist works from Koch's early period (circa 1940) that fully matched the delightful works of Renoir. But the glory of John Koch was his mature and magnificent classicism, which was fully represented on two floors of the Cultural Center. At the last Koch show, Emily Genauer of the New York Post wrote that Koch was the greatest painter of this century, and the full equal of the old masters. That is not too high a compliment. There is no doubt about it. The precision and elegance of Koch's classical realism, the incredible use of light that fully matches Vermeer, the play on perspectives that is the equal of Velasquez, the still lifes, the portraits, the genre scenes, one could go on and on.

Given Koch's evident greatness, why 0 why has he been systematically ignored by the Art Establishment? Why do the critics patently dislike his work even as they greedly concede his "technical perfection"? The ugly explanation is all too clear in their writings. It is because John Koch is not only a realist, he is a painter, not of "ashcan" scenes, not of depressing pessimism, nor of ugliness, but of the elegant life that he clearly loves so well: himself, his friends, his beautifully furnished duplex on Central Park West. Every painting of John Koch rubs his critics' noses in his decidedly unashcan, aristocratic and optimistic view of life and the world. Andrew Wyeth, though a realistic artist far inferior to Koch, can be forgiven for his pessimism and near-despair; Koch's elegant optimism cannot.

Anti-Tax Demonstration
By Kenneth W. Kalcheim

New York, April 14 — The Libertarian Alliance put on its first successful, major demonstration to exhibit its conviction that the power to tax is the power to destroy. There were about 25 individuals involved in the demonstration. The groups represented were the Free Libertarian Party radical caucus, the Libertarian Tax Rebellion Committee, the Student Libertarian Action Movement, the New York Libertarian Association, and the Free Libertarian Party Liberty Amendment Committee. It was a totally peaceful demonstration as one of the main principles of libertarianism is the non-initiation of force. The highlight of the demonstration took place at noon when Kenneth W. Kalcheim of the Libertarian Tax Rebellion Committee burned his IRS Summons (which he refused to answer or appear on), all his tax records, and his social security card as he also declared his total allegiance to that social security is a fraudulent, confiscatory, coercive tax. After the burning, he set up a table with tax rebellion literature inside the front entrance of the building. He was told by a U. S. Treasury Agent to leave the building. He refused as he said he had as much right to be there as anybody else. When the police asked to see his identification, particularly his draft card, he refused to comply.

Meanwhile, outside, the demonstration was still going quite strong. The demonstrators continued to march up and back in front of the entrance to the building. They did not block the entrance or prevent anyone from entering the building. There were no arrests but it was touch and go for awhile. Four individuals were immediately singled by the police as troublemakers. They were Sam Konkin, J. Neil Schulman, John Pachak and Ken Kalcheim. The police advised Kalcheim that he had violated at least three of their laws but they never proceeded any further. Konkin and Schulman were advised that if they continued to "obstruct access to the entrance of the building" they would be arrested. They neither blocked the entrance nor prevented anyone from entering the building.

Subsequently, they were arrested. However due to the intervention of "radical minarchist" Howie Katz they were finally released. Considering that there was a large press turnout representing the major media in New York City, there seemingly was political pressure or censorship to bury the news item as nothing was reported by the press. Only WNEW, a minor, independent TV station, gave us about 15 seconds of reporting. Anything the government considers too radical, they immediately fear. As taxation is a major issue and there is mass dissatisfaction with it around the country, this is the issue the government most fears. This weekend again proves that we are losing more and more of our freedoms day by day. There is very little freedom of the press left, if any at all. The public, media and government might be interested in knowing that there is still a small number of free press left. The demonstration will be covered in many libertarian and leftist publications and newspapers. It will also be reported in these publications that the media has seemingly submitted to government coercion and therefore helped the government destroy our freedoms.

Hospers On Rothbard's Rebuttal

The trouble with writing a letter responding to an author who is also editor of the same journal is that the editor always has the last word. Nevertheless, I welcome the opportunity to air the exchange of views; so I shall address a few remarks to the Libertarian Forum once again, much more briefly this time. If my last letter was a catalyst for getting Dr. Rothbard's views on foreign policy paper, it has been worth-while for that reason alone.

1. I admit at the outset that I am not a historian. I have read extensively (and written) in the areas of aesthetics, epistemology and ethics, but not history. And since the issue between us is admittedly an empirical one, about what happened and to whom, I cannot claim to a competence in it based on personal research. The fact is that I am not very happy about writings that give interpretations of historical events: some people find interpretation A more plausible and attack interpretation B; some find B more plausible or utterly convincing and attack A. And whether a person opts for A or for B seems in 99 cases out of 100, to depend on which one he wants to opt for, and which one conforms to his pre-existing prejudices. This leaves me in rather a state of mental paralysis when it comes to making a decision between two specialists who disagree with one another, each of whom has a greater knowledge of the field than I have. For example, I have read not only Quigley but Kolko; as far as my knowledge of the facts is concerned, either of them may be right; and thus far I am no more convinced by the one than by the other.

The historian I am most impressed by, and who has researched some aspects of the issue more than anyone I know, is Professor Anthony Sutton, whose three-volume work American Technology and Soviet Economic Development is a masterpiece of detailed research. Professor Sutton's new book, Our National Suicide, will be published in a few months by Arlington House. Its main thesis is that the United States in the last half century has given, lent, or leased to Soviet Russia the technology which she did not have and would not have had without American help: that this technology, though classified as non-military (e.g., truck factories, ball-bearing plants), has enabled the Soviet Union to achieve the degree of military expertise which it now possesses — e.g., our ball bearings have made their missiles accurate any time they choose to use them on an American city. In other words, the United States as part of its own official policy has caused the Soviet Union to grow into a military giant, and kept that giant alive and in a position to attack us. According to this view, the Soviet Union does represent a military danger to the United States because of the United States' own policy. Dr. Rothbard will be pleased to find data further blackening his least-favorite president, Woodrow Wilson; for it was Wilson who, at the behest of the power-behind-the-throne, Colonel House, attempted to keep all criticism of the Bolshevik regime out of the American press. (I have myself seen a microfilm copy of House's urgent memo to Wilson to this effect, and he did what he could to "win over" the Bolsheviks.) Since that time, the history of United States-Soviet relations has been principally that of the
Hospers —
(Continued From Page 6)

self-defeating and perhaps suicidal policy of the nation A raising nation B into a position of strength from which B could threaten A. And yet, Dr. Rothbard says that B is no threat. Possibly; but if so, it is not for lack of attempt on the part of A to make it one. (See Prof. Sutton’s article in the Sept. 9, 1972, issue of Human Events, pp. 12-13.)

2. But on to non-historical matters. Dr. Rothbard wonders why I would be more worried about a Soviet attack immediately after the Pacifist scheme. Dr. Thomas Szasz (“Medicine and the State: the First Minerva Will” (March-April 1973) isSzasz’s first book on anti-trust from an Austrian, and therefore from a pure laissez-faire, perspective. Armentano’s The Myths of Antitrust (Arlington House, $11.95) is a breath of fresh air in the industrial organization quagmire. Armentano concentrates on the major antitrust cases, from the E. C. Knight Case (1895) to the present. Excellent and readable.

The Minerva Caper.
Peter C. Du Bois’ “Utopia on the Rocks”, Barrons (March 25) is a thorough and entertaining history of the ill-fated Minerva venture, the attempt of libertarian and quasi-libertarian retreatists to found their own “Republic” on a submerged coral reef in the far Pacific. The Minerva will o’ the wisp could be regarded as sheer farce, were it not for the tragic fact that libertarian capitalists sank hundreds of thousands of dollars into this wild and woolly scheme. This is a tragic waste of precious libertarian resources that we can ill afford. When will our libertarian capitalists invest their resources on behalf of liberty at home, and abandon the kooky quest for a libertarian Shangri-la?

Medical Freedom.
The most recent interview with the scintillating libertarian psychoanalyst, Dr. Thomas Szasz (“‘Medicine and the State: the First Amendment Violated’”, The Humanist, March-April 1973) is Szasz at his sharp and charismatic best. Szasz here deals not only with his familiar opposition to involuntary commitment, but with the full range of medical despotism in this country. The entire interview is a gem, but here is Szasz, after a blistering attack on monopolistic medical licensing, and after the editor asks: But doesn’t the public “need protection from incompetent medical practitioners?” Szasz answers: “Oh, I agree that people need protection — but not only from bad, stupid, inept, greedy, evil doctors; they also need protection from bad parents and children, husbands and wives, mothers-in-law, bureaucrats, teachers, politicians — the list is endless. And, then, of course, they’ll need protection from the protectors! So the question of how people should be protected from incompetent medical practitioners is really a part of the larger question of how they should be protected from the countless hazards of life. . . . The first line of protection for the public lies. I would say, in self-protection. People must grow up and learn to protect themselves — or suffer the consequences. There can be no freedom without risk and responsibility.”

Rothbardiana.
Rothbardiana continues apace. In the last couple of months, Rothbard has come out with the following: a Letter on the Quota System, by the Forum for Contemporary History (Nov. 17), reprinted in The Intellectual Digest (February, 1973); a two-part interview in The Gold and Silver Newsletter of the Pacific Coast Coin Exchange (Nov. 30 & Dec. 31); a joint interview with Leonard Liggio on “The New Isolationism” in Reason (February), which has already drawn considerable blood from the Cold Warriors; a chapter on “Free Market Police, Courts, and Law” in Reason (March) taken from his forthcoming “book” on Liberty; an article on “Libertarianism” for the 1972 edition of the Encyclopedia Americana; and the “Introduction” to the Garland Press reprint of Sidney Rogerson’s Propaganda for the Next War. Also articles for Outlook, and book reviews for Choice. And coming very soon: Rothbard’s booklet, “The Essential Von Mises” for the revived “minibook” series, published by Oakley Bramble’s Constitutional Alliance.

Contra Utilitarianism.
There is nothing like a brutal, genocidal war to lead one to question the validity of the utilitarian approach to ethics, with its cool totting up of “social costs” and “social benefits” from policies imposing various “megadeaths” on society. The Vietnam War has come as a shock to the highest circles of modern philosophy, and is leading to a fundamental re-thinking, and a welcome shift, at long last, away from utilitarian amorality. One important development is the recent, highly-touted book by John Rawls, A Theory of Justice, which levels a vigorous critique of the collectivist ethic, and in the process to add and subtract “social costs” and “social benefits”. Rawls’ positive contribution, however, is an unsatisfactory return to a new form of Hobbesian “contract” theory. Now, the distinguished British philosopher Stuart Hampshire signals his break with utilitarianism in an excellent critique, “Morality and Pessimism”, New York Review of Books (Jan. 25, 1973). Hampshire charges that utilitarianism can simply not defend the individual’s overriding right to life, regardless of the alleged social benefits that may ensue from his murder. And, mireable dieta, Hampshire declares that we must get back to “ancient philosophy,” to Aristotle and the theory of natural law, to arrive at an ethic that will be grounded in the right to life. This can be a truly significant breakthrough on the philosophic front, and may make the formidable task of our budding young neo-objectivist philosophers that much easier.

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The Editor’s Final Rebuttal

I am going to spare the reader in this last of a series of rounds (Dec. 1972-Feb. 1973) by being mercifully brief.

1. I am sorry to see Dr. Hospers adopting the position of historiographical nihilism. If two historians differ, how can the reader come to a judgment? In basically the same way as when two economists differ, or two philosophers differ: by learning and reading more about the discipline of history and about the concrete areas under discussion. On the philosophy of history, in my view the most developed position is that of Ludwig von Mises’ grievously neglected Theory and History, with the proviso that I would add the moral dimension of the great Lord Acton. On the concretes, space requires me to be simply arbitrary and say here that there are good and sufficient reasons, totally apart from their political conclusions, why Gabriel Kolko is deeply respected as a scholar in the historical profession and Carroll Quigley is not. As for me personally, I did not begin with an emotional preference for the Kolko thesis; I began, many years ago, by adopting the Cold War historical mythology, and it was by learning more that I some years later changed my position.

2. I have not read Professor Sutton’s book, but from the reviews of its admirers I would conclude that his thesis is correct but trivial in importance. Not just the Soviet Union, but all late-developing countries borrow technology from the existing industrialized countries. In the nineteenth century, the United States borrowed technology, often illegally, from Great Britain. So what? The important point for economic development is not technology anyway, but the saving and investment of capital.

3. I’m afraid I cannot be pleased with Dr. Hospers’ interpretation of the Wilson policy or of the U. S. policy in general in the past half-century. As Arno J. Mayer has demonstrated in his monumental two-volume work (Political Origins of the New Diplomacy and The Politics and Diplomacy of Peace-making), crucial to Wilsonian imperialism was the coercive suppression of Bolshevism in Russia and in Eastern and Central Europe — the latter largely succeeding with the aid of the Social Democrats. As for Russia itself, Woodrow Wilson sent American troops to the Soviet Union and kept them there for several years, along with troops of the Allies, to try to crush Bolshevism in the bud. This is a “suicidal” buildup of Bolshevism?

4. Here I stand on my previous article: that what the Russians are frightened of are our missiles and nuclear weapons as employed by the American Leviathan State; they are not worried about our free-market ideology, because they are Marxist-Leninists and as such they are convinced (wrongly, of course) that their ideological victory is assured by the ineluctable laws of history. They consider us libertarians as harmless reactionary throwbacks to a “pre-imperialist form of capitalism”, and far less dangerous to them because we do not endorse or employ State imperialism.

5. I consider it immoral and criminal to force someone else to pay for my own defense. Period. I frankly don’t give a damn about the Friedmannite worries about the “free rider” and “external economies”. If it costs me more to defend myself because my neighbor is either a pacifist or a blind fool it is just too bad; I should either pay the resulting full cost of my defense or shut up about it.

As for Dr. Hospers’ complaint about modern warfare, that is precisely my position, and that is why I oppose any and all use of modern weapons that make it impossible for the rain to fall only on the unjust. As for nuclear weapons, for the present and the foreseeable future there is no defense against them: hence the very practical importance of getting rid of them altogether. A practical way of doing this was the American disarmament proposal which we withdrew as soon as the Russians finally accepted it, on May 10, 1955. The essence of the Russian proposal since that date has been for all nations to scrap all of their nuclear weapons, and then to allow any and all groups, private as well as public, to inspect all sites to see that this agreement is being carried out. Right now, of course, the existence of satellites makes the inspection problem an easy one to solve, so that world disarmament of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction is now more feasible than ever before. (Those interested in the Russians and May 10, 1955 should read the excellent account in Philip Noel-Baker’s paperback, The Arms Race.)

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